XIII. D. 26.
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THE WORKES OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER in God, IAMES VSSHER, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of IRELAND.

CONTAINING,

I. *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Iesuite in Ireland: wherein the iudgement of Antiquity in the points questioned is deliuered, and the Nouelty of the now* Romish *Doctrine is plainly discouered.*

II. *A Sermon preached before the Commons house of Parliament, Febr.* 18. 1620.

III. *A briefe Declaration of the Vniuersality of the Church of Christ, in a Sermon before his Maiestie, Anno* 1624.

IV. *A Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Brittish.*

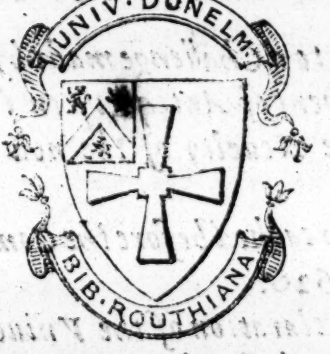
V. *A Speech deliuered in the Castle-Chamber at Dublin, concerning the Oath of Supremacie.*

All newly reuised and published with priuiledge.

LONDON,
Printed for the Companie of Stationers, Aduenturers in the Factorie for Ireland, And are to be sold at the Shops of Nathanael Butter, and Phil. Stephens. 1631.

THE WORKS OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER in God, JAMES USSHER, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.

CONTAINING,



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LONDON,

Printed for the Company of Stationers. MDCLXXXV.

AN ANSWER TO A CHALLENGE MADE BY A IESVITE In IRELAND.

WHEREIN

The Iudgement of ANTIQUITY in the Points questioned is truly delivered, and the Noveltie of the now ROMISH doctrine plainely discovered.

By IAMES VSSHER Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.

WHEREVNTO

Certain other Treatises of the same Author are adjoyned, the Titles whereof in the next leafe are more particularly specified.

LONDON,
Printed by R.I. for the Partners of the Irish Stocke. 1631.

LONDON,
Printed by R.J. for the Patentees of the

The Treatiſes contained in this VOLUME.

I. AN Anſwer to a challenge made by a Ieſuite in Ireland; firſt publiſhed in the yeare, 1624. and ſince reviſed and augmented.

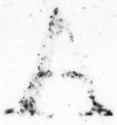
II. A Sermon preached before the Commons houſe of Parliament, the 18th. of February, 1620.

III. A briefe declaration of the Vniverſalitie of the Church of Chriſt, and the Vnitie of the Catholike Faith profeſſed therein; delivered in a Sermon before the kings Majeſtie, the 20th. of June, 1624.

IIII. A diſcourſe of the Religion anciently profeſſed by the Iriſh and Britiſh, firſt ſet forth in the yeare 1622. and now digeſted in ſome better forme, and further enlarged.

V. A Speech delivered in the Caſtle-Chamber at Dublin, the 22th. of November 1622. concerning the Oath of Supremacy.





AN

ANSWER

TO

A CHALLENGE

MADE BY A *IESUITE*

In IRELAND.

WHEREIN,

THE IVDGEMENT OF

ANTIQUITY in the points queſtioned is truly delivered, and the Noveltie of the now ROMISH doctrine plainely diſcovered

By IAMES USSHER Arch-biſhop of Armagh.

MATTH. 19.8.

From the beginning it was not ſo.

The third edition, corrected and enlarged by the Author.

LONDON,
Printed by R. YOUNG for the Partners of the Iriſh ſtocke. 1631.

AN

ANSWER

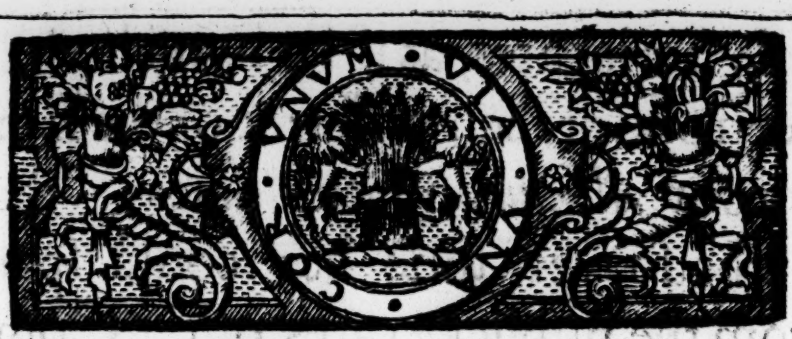
TO

A CHANCERY BILL

MADE BY A MISCHIEVOUS

AND

TROUBLESOME PERSON



TO HIS MOST SACRED MAIESTIE, IAMES BY THE GRACE OF God King of great BRITAINE, FRANCE, and IRELAND, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most gracious and Dread Soveraigne.

WEe finde it recorded for the everlasting honour of *Theodosius* the yonger, that it was his use [a] to reason with his Bishops of the things contained in the holy

[a] *Socrat. lib. 7. hist. cap. 22*

holy Scriptures, as if he himſelfe had been one of their order: & of the Emperour *Alexius* in latter daies; that [b] whatſoever time hee could ſpare from the publicke cares of the Common-wealth, hee did wholly employ in the diligent reading of Gods book, and in conferring thereof with worthy men, of whom his Court was never emptie. How little inferiour, or how much ſuperiour rather, your Majeſtie is to either of theſe in this kinde of praiſe, I need not ſpeake: it is acknowledged even by ſuch as differ from you in the point of Religon, as a matter that hath [c] added more than ordinarie luſtre of ornament to your Royall eſtate; that you *doe not forbeare ſo much as at the time of your bodily repaſt, to have for the then like feeding of your intellectuall part, your Highneſſe table*

[b] *Euthym. Zigaben. in Præfat. Dogmatica Panoplia.*

[c] *Io. Brereley, in his Epiſtle before S.* Auguſtines Religion.

table ſurrounded with the attendance and conference of your grave and learned Divines.

What inward joy my heart conceived, as oft as I have had the happineſs to be preſent at ſuch ſeaſons, I forbear to utter: only I will ſay with *Iob*; that [d] *the eare which heard you bleſſed you, and the eye which ſaw you, gave witneſſe to you.* But of all other things which I obſerved, your ſingular dexteritie in detecting the frauds of the Romiſh Church, & untying the moſt knotty Arguments of the Sophiſters of that ſide, was it (I confeſſe) that I admired moſt. eſpecially where occaſion was offered you to utter your skill, not in the word of God alone, but alſo in the Antiquities of the Church: wherin you have attained ſuch a meaſure of knowledge, as (with honour to God,

[d] *Iob* 29.11.

God, I trust I may speake it, and without flatterie to you) in a well studied Divine we would account very commendable, but in such a Monarch as your selfe almost incredible. And this is one cause (most Gracious Soveraigne) beside my generall duetie, and the manie speciall obligations whereby I am otherwise bound unto your Majestie, which hath emboldned me to intreat your patience at this time, in vouchsafing to be a spectator of this combate, which I am now entred into with a Iesuite, who chargeth us to *disallow many chiefe Articles, which the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church did generally hold to be true;* and undertaketh to make good, that they of his side doe not disagree from that holy Church, either in these, or in any other point of Religion.

Now

Now true it is, if a man do only attend unto the bare ſound of the word, (as in the queſtion of *Merit*, for example) or to the thing in generall, without deſcending into the particular conſideration of the true ground thereof (as in the matter of *Praying for the dead*) he may eaſily be induced to beleeve that in divers of theſe controverſies the Fathers ſpeake clearely for them, and againſt us: neither is there any one thing that hath wonne more credit to that Religion, or more advanced it in the conſciences of ſimple men, than the conformitie that it retaineth in ſome words and outward obſervances with the ancient Church of *Chriſt*. Whereas if the thing it ſelfe were narrowly looked into, it would be found that *they* have only the ſhell without the kernell, and *we* the kernel

without the ſhell: they having retained certaine words and rites of the ancient Church, but applied them to a new invented doctrine; and we on the other ſide having relinquiſhed theſe words and obſervances, but retained nevertheleſſe the ſame primitive doctrine, unto which by their firſt inſtitution they had relation.

The more cauſe have I to count my ſelf happy, that am to anſwer of theſe matters before a King that is able to diſcern betwixt things that differ, and hath knowledge of all theſe queſtions. Act. 26.26. *before whō* therfore I may *ſpeak boldly: becauſe I am perſwaded that none of theſe things are hid from him.* For it is not of late daies that your Majeſtie hath begun to take theſe things into your conſideration: from a child have you bin trained up to this warfare; yea be-

fore you were twenty yeares of age, the Lord had taught your hands to fight against the man of sin, and your fingers to make battell against his *Babel*. Whereof your Paraphrase upon the Revelation of S. *Iohn*, is a memorable monument left to all posterity: which I can never looke upon, but those verses of the Poët runne alwaies in my minde:

Cæsaribus virtus contigit ante diem; Ovid.
Ingenium cæleste suis velocius annis
Surgit, & ignavæ fert mala damna moræ.

How constant you have been ever since in the profession & maintenance of the truth: your late protestation, made unto both the houses of your Parlament giveth sufficient evidence. So much whereof as may serve for a present antidote against that false and

scandalous [e] Oration spread amongst forrainers under your Majesties sacred name: I humbly make bold to insert in this place, as a perpetuall testimonie of your integritie in this behalfe.

e *Merc. Gallobelgic. ann.* 1623.

f His Majesties answer to the Petition of the Parliament touching Recusants. 23. April. 1624.

[f] *WHAT my Religion is my books do declare, my profession and my behaviour doe shew: and I hope in God, I shall never live to bee thought otherwise; sure I am I shall never deserve it. And for my part I wish that it might be written in Marble, and remaine to posteritie, as a marke upon me, when I shall swerve from my Religion. for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted by man. My Lords, I protest before God, my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase of Poperie: and God is my Iudge, it hath been so great a griefe unto mee, that it hath beene like*

thornes

thornes in mine eyes, and prickes in my ſides; ſo far have I beene, and ever ſhall be, from turning any other way. And my Lords and Gentlemen, you all ſhall bee my Confeſſors; if I knew any way better than other to hinder the growth of Popery, I would take it: and he cannot bee an honeſt man, who knowing as I doe, and being perſwaded as I am, would doe otherwiſe.

As you have ſo long ſince begun, and happily continued, ſo goe on (moſt renowned King) and ſtill ſhew your ſelfe to bee a *Defender of the faith*. fight the Lords battells courageouſly, honour him evermore, and advance his truth. that when you have fought this good fight, and finiſhed your courſe, and kept the faith; you may receive the Crowne of righteouſneſſe, reſerved 2 *Tim.* 4. 7, 8.

in heaven for you. for the obtaining of which double blessing, both of *grace* and of *glorie*, together with all outward prosperitie and happinesse in this life; you shall never want the instant prayers of

Your Majesties most faithfull

subject, and humble servant,

IA. MILDENSIS.

TO THE READER.

IT is now about ſixe yeares (as I gather by the reckoning laid downe in the 25. page of this Booke) ſince this following Challenge was brought vnto me from a Ieſuite; and receiued that generall Anſwer, which now ſerueth to make up the firſt Chapter onely of this preſent Worke. The particular Points which were by him but barely named, I meddled not withall at that time: conceiuing it to bee his part (as in the 34th. page is touched) who ſuſtained the Perſon of the Aſſailant, to bring forth his armes, and giue the firſt onſet; and mine, as the Defendant, to repell his encounter afterwards. Only I then collected certaine materials out of the Scriptures and writings of the Fathers, which I meant to make vſe of for a ſecond conflict, whenſoeuer our Challenger

Challenger ſhould bee pleaſed to deſcend to the handling of the particular Articles by him propoſed; the truth of everie of which he had taken upon him to prove, by the expreſſe teſtimonies of the Fathers of the primitive Church, *as alſo by* good and certaine grounds out of the ſacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authoritie would not ſuffice.

Thus this matter lay dead for divers yeares together: and ſo would ſtill have done, but that ſome of high place in both Kingdomes, having beene pleaſed to thinke farre better of that little which I had done, than the thing deſerved, adviſed me to goe forward, and to deliver the Iudgement of Antiquitie touching thoſe particular points in controverſie, wherein the Challenger was ſo confident that the whole current of the Doctors, Paſtors and Fathers of the Primitive Church did mainly run on his ſide. Hereupon I gathered my ſcattered notes together, and as the multitude of my employments would give mee leave, now entred into the handling of one Point, and then of another: treating of each, eyther more briefly or more largely, as the opportunitie of my preſent leiſure would give me leave. And ſo at laſt, after many interruptions, I have made up in ſuch manner as thou ſeeſt, a kinde of a Doctrinall

Cursorall Historie of those severall points, which the Iesuite culled out, as speciall instances of the consonancie of the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome, with the perpetuall and constant judgement of all Antiquitie.

The doctrine that here I take upon me to defend, (what different opinions soever I relate of others) is that which by publick Authoritie is professed in the Church of England, and comprised in the booke of Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at LONDON in the yeer 1562. concerning which I dare be bold to challenge our Challenger and all his complices, that they shall never be able to prove, that there is either any one article of Religion disallowed therein, which the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church did generally hold to bee true, (I use the words of my challenging Iesuite) or any one point of doctrine allowed, which by those Saints and Fathers was generally held to bee untrue. As for the testimonies of the Authors which I alledge, I have been carefull to set them in the margent in their owne words in their owne language, (such places of the Greeke Doctors only excepted, whereof the originall text could not be had) as well for the better satisfaction of the Readers (who either cannot come by that varietie of bookes, whereof use is here made, or will not take the paines to enter in-

to a curious search of every particular allegation) as for the preventing of those trifling quarrels that are commonly made against translations. for if it fall out, that word be not every where precisely rendred by word (as who would tye himselfe to such a pedanticall observation?) none but an idle caviller can object, that this was done with any purpose to corrupt the meaning of the Author; whose words he seeth laid down before his eyes, to the end he may the better judge of the translation, and rectifie it where there is cause.

Againe, because it is a thing very materiall in the historicall handling of controversies, both to understand the Times wherein the severall Authors lived, and likewise what bookes bee truly or falsly ascribed to each of them: for some direction of the Reader in the first, I have annexed at the end of this Booke, a Chronologicall Catalogue of the Authors cited therin (wherin such as have no number of years affixed unto them, are thereby signified to be incerti temporis; their age being not found by me, upon this sudden search, to be noted by any:) and for the second, I have seldome neglected in the worke it selfe, whensoever a doubtfull or suppositicious writing was alleaged, to give some intimation whereby it might be discerned that it was not esteemed to bee the booke of that Author, unto whom it

was

was intituled. The exact discussion as well of the Authors Times, as of the Censures of their Works, I referre to my Theologicall Bibliotheque: *if God hereafter shall lend mee life and leasure, to make up that worke, for the use of those that meane to give themselves to that Noble study of the doctrine and rites of the ancient Church.*

In the meane time I commit this Booke to thy favourable censure, and thy selfe to Gods gracious direction: earnestly advising thee, that whatsoever other studies thou intermittest, the carefull and conscionable reading of Gods booke may never be neglected by thee. For whatsoever becōmeth of our disputes touching other antiquities or novelties: thou mayst stand assured, that thou shalt there finde so much by Gods blessing, as shall bee able to make thee wise unto salvation, *and* to build thee up, *and* to give thee an inheritance among all them that are sanctified. *Which next under Gods glory, is the utmost thing (I know) thou aymest at: and for the attaining whereunto I heartily wish, that the* word of Christ may dwell in thee richly, in all wisedome.

2 Tim. 3. 15.
Act. 20. 32.
Coloss. 3. 16.

THE

THE CONTENTS of the Booke.

CHAP. I. A Generall answer to the Iesuits Challenge pag. 1.

II. Of Traditions. pag. 35.

III. Of the Reall presence. pag. 45.

IIII. Of Confession. pag. 83.

V. Of the Priests power to forgive sinnes. pag. 114.

VI. Of Purgatorie. pag. 173.

VII. Of Prayer for the dead pag. 194.

VIII. Of Limbus Patrum, and Christs descent into Hell. pag. 276.

IX. Of Prayer to Saints. pag. 418.

X. Of Images. pag. 496.

XI. Of Free-will. pag. 514.

XII. Of Merits. pag. 545.

THE IESVITES CHALLENGE.

How ſhall I anſwer to a Papiſt, demanding This Queſtion?

YOur Doctors and Maſters grant, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 years after Chriſt, did hold the true Religion. Firſt then would I faine know, what Biſhop of Rome did firſt alter that Religion, which you commend in them of the firſt 400 yeares: In what Pope his dayes was the true Religion ouerthrowne in Rome?

Next, I would faine know, How can your Religion be true, which diſſalloweth of many chiefe articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to bee true?

For they of your ſide, that haue read the Fathers

of that unspotted Church, can well testifie (and if any deny it, it shall bee presently shewne) that the Doctors, Pastors, and Fathers of that Church doe allow of Traditions; that they acknowledge the reall presence of the bodie of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar: that they exhorted the people to confesse their sinnes unto their ghostly Fathers: that they affirmed, that Priests have power to forgive sinnes: that they taught, that there is a Purgatory: that prayer for the dead is both commendable and godly: that there is Limbus Patrum; and that our Saviour descended into Hell, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament; because before his Passion none ever entred into Heaven: that prayer to Saints and use of holy Images was of great account amongst them: that man hath free-will, and that for his meritorious works he receiveth, through the assistance of Gods grace, the bliss of everlasting happinesse.

Now would I faine know whether of both have the true Religion, they that hold all these abovesaid points, with the Primitive Church; or they that doe most vehemently contradict and gaine-say them? They that doe not disagree with that holy Church in any point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?

Will

Will you say, that these Fathers maintayned these opinions, contarie to the word of God? why you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the champions of Christ his Church, and of the true Catholick Religion, which they most learnedly defended against divers heresies; and therefore spent all their time in a most serious studie of the holy Scripture. Or will you say, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought-in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why your selves cannot deny, but that they lived most holy and vertuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting, or perverting of Gods holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to raigne with God in his glory. Insomuch as their admirable learning may sufficiently crosse out all suspicion of ignorant error; and their innocent sanctity freeeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption.

Now would I willingly see what reasonable answer may bee made to this. For the Protestants grant, that the Church of Rome for 400 or 500 yeares held the true Religion of Christ: yet doe they exclaime against the abovesaid Articles, which the same Church did maintaine and uphold; as may be shewne by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church, and shall be largely laid down,

if any learned Protestant will deny it.

Yea, which is more, for the confirmation of all the aboue mentioned points of our Religion; wee will produce good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authority will not suffice. And we doe desire any Protestant to alleage any one Text out of the said Scripture, which condemneth any of the aboue written points: which wee hold for certaine they ~~should~~ shall *neuer be able to doe. For indeed they are neyther more learned, more pious, nor more holy than the blessed Doctors and Martyres of that first Church of Rome, which they allow and esteeme of so much, and by which we most willingly will bee tryed, in any point which is in controuersie betwixt the* Protestants *and the* Catholiks. *Which wee desire may be done with christian charitie and sinceritie, to the glory of God, and instruction of them that are astray.*

W. B.

AN ANSVVER TO THE FORMER CHALLENGE.

TO uphold the Religion which at this day is maintained in the Church of Rome, and to diſcredit the truth which we profeſſe: three things are here urged, by one who hath undertaken to make good the Papiſts cauſe againſt all gainesayers. The firſt concerneth the originall of the errors wherewith that part ſtandeth charged: the Author and time whereof, he requireth us to ſhew. The other two reſpect the teſtimonie, both of the *Primitive Church*, & of the *ſacred Scriptures*: which, in the points wherein we varie, if this man may bee beleeved, maketh wholly for them, and againſt us.

Firſt then would hee faine know, what Biſhop of Rome did firſt alter that Religion, which wee commend in them of the firſt 400 *yeares? In what Popes dayes was the true Religion overthrowne in Rome?* To which I anſwer. Firſt, that wee doe not hold that Rome was built in a day; or that the great dung-hill of errors, which now wee ſee in it, was raiſed in an age: and therefore it is a

vaine demand, to require from us the name of anie one Biſhop of Rome, by whom or under whom this Babyloniſh confuſion was brought in. Secondly, that a great difference is to bee put betwixt Hereſies which openly oppoſe the foundations of our Faith, and that Apoſtaſie which the Spirit hath evidently foretold ſhould bee brought in by ſuch as *ſpeake lyes in hypocriſie*, (1. *Tim.* 4. 1,2.) The impiety of the one is ſo notorious, that at the very firſt appearance it is manifeſtly diſcerned: the other is a *myſterie of iniquitie* (as the Apoſtle termeth it, 2. *Theſ.* 2.7.) *iniquitas, ſed myſtica, id eſt, pietatis nomine palliata*, (ſo the ordinarie Gloſſe expoundeth the place) *an iniquitie indeede, but myſticall, that is, cloked with the name of pietie.* And therefore they who kept continuall watch and ward againſt the one, might ſleepe while the ſeedes of the other were a ſowing; yea, peradventure might at unnawares themſelves have ſome hand in bringing in of this Trojan horſe, commended thus unto them under the name of Religion, and ſemblance of devotion. Thirdly, that the originall of errors is oftentimes ſo obſcure, and their breede ſo baſe, that howſoever it might bee eaſily obſerved by ſuch as lived in the ſame age, yet no wiſe man will mervaile, if in tract of time the beginnings of manie of them ſhould be forgotten, and no regiſter of the time of their birth found extant. We[a] read that the Sadducees taught, there were no Angels: is anie man able to declare unto us, under what high Prieſt they firſt broached this errour? The *Grecians*, *Circaſſians*, *Georgians*, *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Habaſsines*, *Muſcovites*, and *Ruſſians*, diſſent at this day from the Church of Rome in manie particulars: will you take upon you to ſhew in what Biſhops dayes theſe ſeverall differences did firſt ariſe?

II.

III.

a *Act.* 23,8.

rise? When the point hath beene well skanned, it will be found, that manie errours have crept into their profession, the time of the entrance whereof you are not able to designe: and some things also are maintained by you against them, which have not beene delivered for Catholick doctrine in the primitive times, but brought in afterwards, your selves know not when.

Such, for example, is that sacriledge of yours, wherby you withhold from the people the use of the Cuppe in the Lords Supper; as also your doctrine of Indulgences and Purgatorie: which they reject, and you defend. For touching the first, [b] *Gregorius de Valentia*, one of your principall Champions, confesseth, that the use of receiving the Sacrament in one kinde, began first in some Churches, and grew to bee a generall custome in the Latin Church not much before the Councell of Constance, in which at last (to wit, 200 yeers agoe) this custome was made a law. But if you put the question to him as you doe to us, What Bishop of Rome did first bring in this custome? he giveth you this answer, that it *began to bee used, not by the decree of anie Bishop, but by the verie use of the Churches, and the consent of the faithfull.* If you further question with him, *quando primùm vigere cœpit ea consuetudo in aliquibus Ecclesiis? When first did that custome get footing in some Churches?* hee returneth you for answer, *Minimè constat*: it is more than he can tell.

[b] *Valent. de Legit. usu Euchar. cap. 10.*

The like doth [c] *Fisher* Bishop of Rochester, and [d] Cardinal *Cajetan* give us to understand of *Indulgences*; that no certaintie can bee had, what their originall was, or by whom they were first brought in. *Fisher* also further addeth concerning *Purgaterie*: that in the ancient Fathers, there is either none at all, or verie rare mention

[c] *Roffen. Assert. Lutheran. confutat. artic. 18.*

[d] *Caiet. Epitom. tom. 1. tract. 15. de Indulgent. cap. 1.*

of it; that by the Grecians it is not beleeved, even to this day; that the Latins also, *not all at once*, but *by little and little*, received it: and that, Purgatorie beeing so lately knowne, it is not to be marvailed, that in the first times of the Church there was no use of Indulgences; seeing these had their beginning, after that men for a while had been affrighted with the torments of Purgatorie. Out of which confession of the adverse part, you may observe: 1. What little reason these men have, to require us to set down the precise time wherein all their *prophane novelties* were first brought in: seeing that this is more than they themselves are able to doe. 2. That some of them may come in *pedetentim* (as *Fisher* acknowledgeth *Purgatorie* did) by little and little, and by verie slow steps, which are not so easie to be discerned, as fooles bee borne in hand they are. 3. That it is a fond imagination, to suppose that all such changes must be made by some Bishop, or anie one certaine author: whereas it is confessed, that some may come in by the tacite consent of manie, and grow after into a generall custome, the beginning whereof is past mans memorie.

1. 2. 3.

So saith *Bonfrerius* the Iesuite of the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. *Pedetentim usu ipso & tacitâ Doctorum approbatione cæpit esse in pretio, hâc æstimatione sensim sine sensu crescente. Præloqu. in Scriptur. ca. 15. sect. 2.*

And as some superstitious usages may draw their originall from the undiscreet devotion of the multitude: so some also may be derived from want of devotion in the people; and some alterations likewise must bee attributed to the verie change of time it selfe. Of the one we cannot give a fitter instance, than in your private Masse, wherein the Priest receiveth the Sacrament alone: which [c] *Harding* fetcheth from no other ground, than *lacke of devotion of the peoples part*. When you therefore can tell us, in what Popes dayes the people fell from their devotion; wee may chance tell you, in what

c *Hard.* answer to the first Article of *Iuels* challenge. *fol.* 26. b. *Edit. Antuerp. Ann.* 1565.

what Popes daies your private Maſſe began. An experiment of the other wee may ſee in the uſe of the Latin Service in the Churches of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*. For if wee be queſtioned, When that uſe firſt beganne there? and further demanded, [f] Whether the language formerly uſed in their Liturgie, was changed upon a ſuddain? our anſwer muſt be, That Latin Service was uſed in thoſe countries from the beginning: but that the Latin tongue at that time was commonly underſtood of all, which afterward by little and little degenerated into thoſe vulgar languages which now are uſed. When you therefore ſhall bee pleaſed to certifie us, in what Popes dayes the Latin tongue was changed into the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* (which we pray you doe for our learning:) wee will then give you to underſtand, that from that time forward the language, not of the Service, but of the people, was altered. *Nec enim lingua vulgaris populo ſubtracta eſt, ſed populus ab eâ receſſit* (ſaith [g] *Eraſmus*:) *The vulgar tongue was not taken away from the people; but the people departed from it.*

[f] *Allen. artic. 11. demand. 9.*

[g] *Eraſm. in declarationib. ad cenſuras Pariſienſ. tit. 12. ſect. 41.*

If this which I have ſaid will not ſatisfie you; I would wiſh you call unto your remembrance the anſwer which *Arnobius* ſometimes gave to a fooliſh queſtion, propounded by the enemies of the Chriſtian faith: [h] *Nec ſi nequivero cauſas vobis exponere, cur aliquid fiat illo, vel hoc modo, continuò ſequitur, ut infecta fiant quæ facta ſunt.* And conſider whether I may not returne the like anſwer unto you. *If I be not able to declare unto you*, by what Biſhop of Rome, and in what Popes dayes, the ſimplicity of the ancient faith was firſt corrupted; *it will not preſently follow, that what was done muſt needes be undone.* Or rather, if you pleaſe, call to mind the parable in the Goſpel, where [i] *the kingdome*

[h] *Arnob. lib. 2. contra Gentes.*

[i] *Matth. 13. 24. 25.*

of

of heaven is likened vnto a man, which sowed good seede in his field; but while men slept, his enemie came and sowed Tares among the Wheat, and went his way. These that slept, tooke no notice, when or by whom the Tares were scattered among the Wheat; neither at the first rising, did they discerne betwixt the one and the other, though they were awake. But [k] *when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the Tares:* and then they put the question unto their Master; *Sir, didst not thou sowe good seede in thy field? from whence then hath it tares?* Their Master indeede telleth them, it was *the enemies* doing: but you could tell them otherwise, and come upon them thus. You your selves
» graunt, that the seede which was first sown in this field,
» was good seede, and such as was put there by your Ma-
» ster himselfe. If this which you call Tares, be no good
» graine, and hath sprung from some other seed than that
» which was sowne here at first: I would faine knowe
» that mans name, who was the sower of it; and likewise
» the time in which it was sowne. Now you beeing not
» able to shew either the one, or the other; it must needes
» be, that your eyes here deceive you: or if these be tares,
» they are of no enemies, but of your Masters owne
» sowing.

k *Ib. v. 26, 27.*

To let passe the slumbrings of former times, wee could tell you of an age, wherein men not only slept, but also snorted: it was (if you know it not) the tenth from Christ, the next neighbour to that wherein [l] Hell broke loose. That [m] *unhappie age* (as *Genebrard*, and other of your owne Writers terme it) *exhausted both of men of account for witt and learning, and of worthie*

l *Apoc. 20. 7.*

m Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hommibus ingenio & doctrinâ claris, sive etiam claris principibus & pontificibus. *Genebrard. chronic. libr. 4.*

Princes

Princes and Bishops. In which there were [n] *no famous Writers, nor Councels*; than which (if wee will credite *Bellarmine*) there was never age [o] *more unlearned and unhappie.* If I bee not able to discover what feats the Divell wrought in that time of darkenesse, wherein men were not so vigilant in marking his conveyances; and such as might see somewhat, were not so forward in writing bookes of their Observations: must the infelicitie of that age, wherein there was little learning, and lesse writing, yea, which *for want of Writers* (as Cardinal [p] *Baronius* acknowledgeth) *hath beene usually named the Obscure age*; must this (I say) inforce mee to yeeld, that the Divell brought in no tares all that while, but let slip the opportunitie of so darke a night, and slept himselfe for companie? There are other meanes left unto us, whereby we may discerne the Tares brought in by the instruments of Sathan, from the good seede which was sowne by the Apostles of Christ; beside this observation of times and seasons, which will often faile us. *Ipsa doctrina eorum* (saith [q] *Tertullian*) *cum Apostolicâ comparata, ex diversitate & contrarietate suâ pronuntiabit, neque Apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neq; Apostolici. Their verie doctrine it selfe, beeing compared with the Apostolick, by the diversitie and contrarietie thereof, will pronounce, that it had for author neither anie Apostle nor anie man Apostolicall.* For there cannot be a better prescription against Hereticall novelties, than that which our Saviour Christ useth against the Pharisees; [r] *From the beginning it was not so*: nor a better preservative against the infection of seducers that are *crept in unawares*, than that which is prescribed by the Apostle [s] *Iude*; *earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the Saints.*

[n] *Bellarmin. in Chronol. an. 970*

[o] *Id. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

[p] *Baron. Annal. tom. 10 ann. 900. sect. 1.*

[q] *Tertul. Præscript. adverſ. Hæret. cap. 32.*

[r] *Matth. 19. 8.*

[s] *Iude v. 3, 4.*

Now

Now to the end wee [t] might know the certaintie of thoſe things, wherein the Saints were at the firſt inſtructed; God hath provided, that the memoriall thereof ſhould be recorded in his owne Booke, that it might remain [u] *for the time to come, for ever and ever.* Hee then who out of that Booke is able to demonſtrate, that the doctrine and practiſe now prevailing, ſwarveth from that which was at firſt eſtabliſhed in the Church by the Apoſtles of Chriſt; doth as ſtrongly prove, that a change hath beene made in the middle times, as if hee were able to nominate the place where, the time when, and the perſon by whom any ſuch corruption was firſt brought in. In the Apoſtles dayes, when a man had examined himſelfe, hee was admitted vnto the Lords Table, there to *eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup*: as appeareth plainly, 1.*Cor.* 11.28. In the Church of Rome at this day, the people are indeede permitted to eate of the bread (if bread they may call it) but not allowed to drinke of the cup. Muſt all of us now ſhut our eies, and ſing, * *Sicut erat in principio, & nunc*: unleſſe we bee able to tell by whom, and when this firſt inſtitution was altered? By S. *Pauls* order, who would have all things done to *edification*, Chriſtians ſhould pray with *underſtanding*, and not in an unknowne language: as may be ſeene in the fourteenth chapter of the ſame Epiſtle to the Corinthians. The caſe is now ſo altered, that the bringing in of a tongue not underſtood (which hindred the edifying of *Babel* it ſelfe, and ſcattered the builders thereof) is accounted a good meanes to further the edifying of your *Babel*, and to [x] hold her followers together. Is not this then a good ground to reſolve a mans judgement, that things are not now kept in that order, wherin they were ſet at firſt by

[t] *Luke* 1.4.

[u] *Eſai.* 30.8.

* As it was in the beginning, ſo now.

[x] *Ledeſm. de Scriptur. quâ-vis linguâ non legendis, cap.* 17. *Bellar. lib.* 2. *de verbo Dei. ca.* 15

by the Apostles: although he be not able to point unto the first author of the disorder?

And as wee may thus discover innovations, by having recourse unto the first and best times: so may we doe the like by comparing the state of things present with the middle times of the Church. Thus I finde by the constant and approved practice of the ancient Church; that all sorts of people, men, women, and children, had free liberty to reade the holy Scriptures. I finde now the contrary among the Papists: and shall I say for all this, that they have not removed the bounds which were set by the Fathers, because perhaps I cannot name the Pope, that ventured to make the first inclosure of these commons of Gods people? I heare S. [y] *Hierome* say: *Iudith, & Tobiæ, & Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit. The Church doth reade indeed the books of Iudith, and Toby, and the Macchabees; but doth not receive them for Canonicall Scripture.* I see that at this day, the Church of Rome receiveth them for such. May not I then conclude, that betwixt S. *Hieromes* time and ours, there hath beene a change; and that the Church of Rome now, is not of the same iudgement with the Church of God then: howsoeuer I cannot precisely lay downe the time, wherein she first thought her selfe to be wiser herein than her Forefathers.

[y] *Hieronym. Prefat. in libros Salomon. Epist.* 115.

But here our Adversary closeth with us, and layeth downe a number of points, held by them, and denied by us: which he undertaketh to make good, as well by the *expresse testimonies of the Fathers* of the Primitive Church of Rome, as also by *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures, if the Fathers authority will not suffice.* Where if hee would change his order, and

give

give the *sacred Scriptures* the precedency; hee should therein do more right to God the author of them, who well deserueth to haue audience in the first place: and withall ease both himselfe and us of a needlesse labour, in seeking any further authority to compose our differences. For if he can *produce* (as he beareth us in hand he can) *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures* for the points in controversie, the matter is at an end: he that will not rest satisfied with such evidences as these, may (if he please) travaile further, and speede worse. Therefore as St. [z] *Augustine* heretofore prouoked the Donatists, so prouoke I him: *Auferantur chartæ humanæ: sonent voces diuinæ: ede mihi unam Scripturæ vocem pro parte Donati. Let humane writings be removed: let Gods voice sound: bring mee one voice of the Scripture for the part of Donatus.* Produce but one cleare testimony of the sacred Scripture for the Popes part, and it shall suffice: alledge what authority you list without Scripture, and it cannot suffice. We reverence indeed the ancient Fathers, as it is fit we should, and hold it our duety to *rise up before the hoare head, and to honour the person of the aged:* but still with reservation of the respect we owe to their Father and ours, that *Ancient of dayes, the hayre of whose head is like the pure wooll.* Wee may not forget the lesson, which our great Master hath taught us: [a] *Call no man your Father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven.* Him therefore alone doe wee acknowledge for the Father of our Faith: no other Father doe we know, upon whose bare credit wee may ground our consciences in things that are to be beleeved.

z *Aug. de Pastorib. cap.* 14.

Leuit. 19. 32.

Dan. 7. 6.

a *Matth.* 23. 9.

And this wee say, not as if wee feared that these men were able to produce better proofes out of the writings of

of the Fathers for the part of the Pope, than we can do for the Catholick cauſe (when we come to joine in the particulars, they ſhall finde it otherwiſe:) but partly to bring the matter unto a ſhorter triall, partly to give the word of God his due, and to declare what that rock is, upon which alone we build our faith, even *the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets*; from which no ſleight that they can deviſe, ſhall ever draw vs.

The ſame courſe did St. *Auguſtine* take with the Pelagians: againſt whom he wanted not the authority of the Fathers of the Church. [b] *which if I would collect* (ſaith hee) *and uſe their teſtimonies, it would be too long a worke, and I might peraduenture ſeeme to haue leſſe confidence than I ought in the Canonicall authorities, from which wee ought not to be withdrawne.* Yet was the Pelagian Hereſie then but newly budded: which is the time wherein the preſſing of the Fathers teſtimonies is thought to be beſt in ſeaſon. With how much better warrant may we follow this preſident, having to deale with ſuch as have had time and leaſure enough to falſifie the Fathers writings, and to *teach them the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans?* The method of confuting hereſies by the conſent of holy Fathers, is by none commended more than by *Vincentius Lirinenſis*: who is carefull notwithſtanding, herein to give us this caveat. [c] *But neyther alwayes, nor all kindes of hereſies are to bee impugned after this manner, but ſuch onely as are new, and lately ſprung: namely, when they doe firſt ariſe, while by the ſtraitneſſe of the time it ſelfe they be hindred from falſifying the rules of the ancient faith; and before*

Epheſ. 2. 20.

b Quos ſi colligere, & eorum teſtimoniis uti velim, & nimis longum erit, & de Canonicis authoritatibus, à quibus non debemus auerti, minùs fortaſſe videbor præſumpſiſſe quàm debui. *Aug. de nupt. & concupiſcent. lib.* 2 *cap.* 29.

c Sed neque ſemper, neque omnes hæreſes hoc modo impugnandæ ſunt, ſed novitiæ recenteſq; tantummodo, cùm primùm ſcilicet exoriuntur; antequàm infalſare vetuſtæ fidei regulas, ipſius temporis vetantur anguſtiis, ac priuſquàm manante latiùs

veneno majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Cæterùm dilatatæ & inveteratæ hæreſes nequaquam hâc viâ aggrediendæ ſunt, eò quòd prolixo temporum tractu longa his furandæ ver[illegible] [illegible]. *Vincent. de Hæreſ. cap.* 39.

the time that their poiſon ſpreading farther, they attempt to corrupt the writings of the ancient. But farre ſpreade and inveterate hereſies are not to bee dealt withall this way, for as much as by long continuance of time, a long occaſion hath lyen open unto them to ſteale away the truth.

The hereſies with which we have to deale, have ſpred ſo farre, and continned ſo long, that the defenders of them are bold to make Vniverſalitie and Duration the ſpeciall markes of their Church: they had opportunity enough of time & place, to put in ure all deceiueableneſſe of unrighteouſneſſe; neyther will they have it to ſay, that in coyning and clipping, and waſhing the monuments of Antiquity, they have been wanting to themſelves.

Continued

Before the Councell of Nice (as hath beene obſerved by [d] one, who ſometime was Pope himſelfe) little reſpect, to ſpeake of, was had to the Church of Rome. If this may be thought to prejudice the dignity of that Church, which would be held, to have ſate as Queene among the Nations, from the very beginning of Chriſtianity: you ſhall have a crafty Merchant (*Iſidorus Mercator*, I trow, they call him) that wil help the matter, by counterfeiting Decretal Epiſtles in the name of the primitive Biſhops of Rome, and bringing in thirty of them in a row, as ſo many knights of the Poſte, to beare witneſſe of that great authoritie, which the Church of Rome enioyed before the Nicene Fathers were aſſembled. If the Nicene Fathers have not amplified the bounds of her juriſdiction, in ſo large a maner as ſhe deſired: ſhee hath had her well-willers, that have ſupplied the Councels negligence in that behalf, and made Canons for the purpoſe, in the name of the good Fathers, that neuer dreamed of ſuch a buſineſſe.

[d] *Aeneas Sylvius, Epiſt. 288.*

If

If the power of judging all others wil not content the Pope, unleſſe he himſelf may be exempted from being judged by any other: another [e] Councell, as ancient at leaſt as that of Nice, ſhall be ſuborned; wherin it ſhall be concluded, by the conſent of 284 imaginarie Biſhops, that *No man may judge the firſt ſeat.* and for failing, in an elder [f] Councell than that, conſiſting of 300 buckram Biſhops of the verie ſelfe ſame making, the like note ſhal be ſung: *Quoniam prima ſedes non judicabitur à quoquam; The firſt ſeat muſt not be judged by any man.* Laſtly, if the Pope doe not think that the fulneſſe of ſpiritual power is ſufficient for his greatneſſe, unleſs he may be alſo Lord paramount *in temporalibus*: hee hath his followers ready at hand, to frame a fair donation, in the name of *Conſtantine* the Emperour, whereby his Holineſs ſhal be eſtated, not only in the City of Rome, but alſo in the ſeigniorie of the whole Weſt. It would require a Volume, to rehearſe the names of thoſe ſeverall Tractates, which have been baſely bred in the former daies of darkenes, and fathered upon the ancient Doctors of the Church, who, if they were now alive, would be depoſed that they were never privie to their begetting.

[e] *Concil. Rom. ſub Sylveſt. cap.* 20. Nemo enim judicabit primã ſedem.
[f] *Concil. Sinueſſ. ſan. circa fin.*

Neither hath this corrupting humour ſtaied it ſelfe in forging of whole Councels, and intire Treatiſes of the ancient writers; but hath, like a canker, fretted away divers of their ſound parts, and ſo altered their complexions, that they appear not to be the ſame men they were. To inſtance in the great queſtion of *Tranſubſtantiation*: we were wont to read in the books attributed unto S. *Ambroſe*, *De Sacramentis*, *libr.* 4. *cap.* 4. *Si ergo tanta vis eſt in ſermone Domini Ieſu, vt inciperent eſſe quæ non erant: quanto magis operatorius eſt, ut ſint*

quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur? If therefore there be so great force in the speech of our Lord Iesus, that the things which were not, begun to bee (namely, at the first creation:) *how much more is the same powerfull to make, that* things may still *be that which they were, and* yet *be changed into another thing?* It is not unknowne, how much those words, *ut sint quæ erant,* have troubled their braines, who maintaine, that after the words of consecration, the elements of bread and wine *bee not that thing which they were*: and what devices they have found, to make the bread and wine in the Sacrament to be like unto the Beast in the Revelation, § *that was, and is not, and yet is.* But that Gordian knot, which they with their skil could not so readily untie, their masters at Rome (*Alexander*-like) have now cut asunder; paring cleane away in their Roman Edition (which is also followed in that set out at Paris, *Anno* 1603) those words that so much troubled them, and letting the rest run smoothly after this maner: *quanto magis operatorius est, ut quæ erant, in aliud cõmutentur? how much more is* the speech of our Lord *powerfull to make, that those things which were, should be changed into another thing?*

§ *Apoc.* 17. 8.

The author of the imperfect work upon *Matthew, homil.* 11. writeth thus: *Si ergo hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur: quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in eis quod vult? If therefore it bee so dangerous a matter, to transferre unto private uses those holy vessels, in which the true bodie of Christ is not, but the mystery of his bodie is contained: how much more for the vessels of our bodie which God hath prepared for himselfe to dwell in,*

ought

ought not we to give way unto the Divell, to doe in them what he pleaſeth? Thoſe words *(in quibus non eſt verum corpus Chriſti, ſed myſterium corporis ejus continetur: in which the true bodie of Chriſt is not, but the myſterie of his bodie is contained)* did threaten to cut the very throat of the Papiſts *reall preſence*; and therfore in good policy they thought it fit to cut their throat firſt, for doing any further hurt. Whereupon, in the Editions of this Worke printed at Antwerpe, *apud Ioannem Steelſium, anno* 1537: at Paris, *apud Ioannem Roigny, anno* 1543. and at Paris againe, *apud Audoenum Parvum, anno* 1557. not one ſyllable of them is to be ſeene; though extant in the ancienter editions, one whereof is as old as the year 1487. And to the ſame purpoſe, in the 19 Homily, inſtead of *Sacrificium panis & vini, the ſacrifice of bread & wine*, (which we finde in the old impreſſions) theſe latter editions have chopt in, *Sacrificiũ corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, the ſacrifice of the body & blood of Chriſt.*

In the year 1608 there were publiſhed at Paris certaine workes of *Fulbertus* Biſhop of Chartres,* *pertaining as well to the refuting of the hereſies of this time*, (for ſo ſaith the inſcription) *as to the clearing of the Hiſtorie of the French.* Among thoſe things that appertaine to the confutation of the Hereſies of this time, there is one eſpecially, *fol.* 168. laid downe in theſe words. *Niſi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filij hominis, & ſanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo eſt, dicet hæreticus, præcipiens Paſſioni Domini eſſe cõmunicandum tantùm, & ſuaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoriâ, quòd pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa & vulnerata ſit. Vnleſſe* (ſaith Chriſt) *ye eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blond, yee ſhall not have life in yon. He ſeemeth*

* Quæ tam ad refutandas hæreſes hujus temporis, quàm ad Gallorũ Hiſt. pertinent.

meth to command an outrage or wickednesse. It is therefore a figure, will the hereticke say, requiring us onely to communicate with the Lords Passion, and sweetly and profitably to lay up in our memorie, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. He that put in those words (*dicet hæreticus*) thought hee had notably met with the heretickes of this time: but was not aware, that thereby he made S. *Augustine* an Hereticke for companie. For the Hereticke that speaketh thus, is even S. *Augustine* himselfe: whose verie words these are, in his third book *de Doctrinâ Christianâ*, the 16. chapter. Which some belike having put the publisher in minde of: he was glad to put this among his *Errata*, and to confesse that these two words were not to be found in the Manuscript copie which hee had from *Petavius*; but telleth us not what we are to thinke of him, that for the countenancing of the Popish cause, ventured so shamefully to abuse S. *Augustine*.

Vide Tom. 11. Bibliotheca Patrum, edit. Col. pag. 44. b.

In the yeare 1616. a Tome of ancient Writers, that never saw the light before, was set forth at Ingolstad by *Petrus Steuartius*: where, among other Tractates, a certaine *Penitentiall*, written by *Rabanus* that famous Archbishop of Mentz, is to be seene. In the 33 chapter of that Booke, *Rabanus* making answer unto a idle question moved by Bishop *Heribaldus* concerning the Eucharist, (what should become of it, *after it was consumed, and sent into the draught, after the manner of other meats:*) hath these words. (*initio pag. 669.*) *Nam quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis & sanguinis Domini non ritè sentientes dixerunt: hoc ipsum corpus & sanguinem Domini, quod de Mariâ Virgine natum est, &, in quo ipse Dominus passus est in cruce, & resurrexit de sepulcro* *——*cui errori quantum potuimus, ad Egilum Abbatem

Abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quid verè credendum sit aperuimus. For some of late, not holding rightly of the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, have said, that the verie bodie and bloud of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himselfe suffered on the Crosse, and rose again from the grave —— Against which error, writing unto Abbat Egilus, according to our ability, we have declared, what is truly to be beleeved cõcerning* Christs *bodie.* You see *Rabanus* tongue is clipt here for telling tales: but how this came to passe, were worth the learning. *Steuartius* freeth himselfe from the fact, telling us in his margent,* that *here there was a blank in the manuscript copy*; and we doe easily beleeve him: for *Possevine* the Iesuite hath given us to understand, that [h] Manuscript bookes also are to be purged, as well as Printed. But whence was this *Manuscript* fetcht, thinke you? Out of [i] *the famous Monasterie of Weingart*; saith *Steuartius.* The Monkes of Weingart then belike must answer the matter: and they (I dare say) upon examination will take their oathes, that it was no part of their intention to give any furtherance unto the cause of the Protestants hereby. If hereunto we adde, that *Heribaldus* and *Rabanus* both are [k] ranked among hereticks, by *Thomas Walden*, [l] for holding the Eucharist to be subject to digestion and voidance, like other meates; the suspicion will be more vehement: whereunto yet I will adjoine one evidence more, that shall leave the matter past suspicion.

* Lacuna hîc est in M S. exemplari.

h Ad istos enim quoque purgatio, pertinet. *Possevin. lib. 1. Bibliotheca select. cap. 12.*

i Ex M S. Codd. celeberrimi Monesterii Weingartensis.

k *Wald. tom. 1. Doctrinal in Proœm. ad Martinum V*

l *Id tom. 2. cap. 19. & 61.*

In the Libraries of my worthy friends, S[r]. *Rob. Cotton* (that noble Baronet, so renowned for his great care in collecting & preserving all antiquities) & D[r]. *Ward*, the learned M[r] of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge; I met with an ancient Treatise of the Sacrament (beginning

thus; *Sicut ante nos quidam sapiens dixit, cujus sententiam probamus, licèt nomen ignoremus.*) which is the same with that in the Iesuites Colledge at Lovaine, blindly* fathered upon *Berengarius*. The author of this Treatise, having first twited *Heribaldus* for propounding, & *Rabanus* for resolving this question of the voidance of the Eucharist; laieth downe afterward the opinion of *Paschasius Radbertus* (whose writing is yet extant) *quòd non alia planè sit caro quæ sumitur de altari, quàm quæ nata est de Mariâ Virgine, & passa in cruce, & quæ resurrexit de sepulchro, quæque & pro mundi vitâ adhuc hodie offertur. That the flesh which is received at the altar, is no other than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered on the Crosse, rose again from the grave, and as yet is daily offered for the life of the world. Contra quem* (saith he) *satis argumentatur, & Rabanus in Epistolâ ad* Egilonem *Abbatem, & Ratrannus quidam libro composito ad Karolum regem; dicentes aliam esse. Against whom both Rabanus in his Epistle to Abbat Egilo, and one Ratrannus in a booke which he made to King Charles, argue largely; saying that it is another kind of flesh.* Whereby, what *Rabanus* his opinion was of this point in his Epistle to Abbat *Egilo* or *Egilus*, & consequently what that was which the Monkes of Weingart could not indure in his Penitentiall, I trust is plaine enough.

* *Ant. Possevin. Apparat. sac. in* Berengario Turon.

* *al.* Elgionem, &, Helgimonem, malè. Neque enim alius hic intelligendus, quàm Ægil. ille, cui in Fuldensis abbatiæ regimine proximè successit ipse Rabanus.

I omit other corruptions of antiquitie in this same question, which I have touched [m] elsewhere: only that of *Bertram* I may not passe over; wherin the dishonestie of these men, in handling the writings of the ancient, is laid open, even by the confession of their owne mouthes. Thus the case standeth. That *Ratrannus*, who joined with *Rabanus* in refuting the errour of the carnall presence, at the first bringing in thereof by *Paschasius*

m *De Christian. Eccl. succeſſ. & ſtatu, edit. ann* 1613. *pag.* 45. *&* 198.

chasius Radbertus, is he who commonly is knowne by the name of *Bertramus*. The booke which he wrote of this Argument to *Carolus Calvus* the Emperour, was forbidden to be read, by order from the Roman Inquisition, confirmed afterwards by the Councel of Trent. The Divines of Doway, perceiving that the forbidding of the book did not keep men from reading it, but gave them rather occasion to seek more earnestly after it; thought it better policy, that *Bertram* should be permitted to go abroad, but handled in such sort, as other ancient writers, that made against them, were wont to be. *Seeing therefore* (say [n] they) *we beare with very manie errors in other of the old Catholicke writers, and extenuate them, excuse them, by inventing some device oftentimes denie them, and faine some commodious sense for them when they are objected in disputations or conflicts with our adversaries: wee doe not see, why Bertram may not deserve the same equitie, and diligent revisall. Lest the hereticks cry out, that we burne and forbid such antiquitie as maketh for them.* Marke this dealing well. The world must be born in hand, that all the Fathers make for the Church of Rome against us, in all our controversies. When we bring forth expresse testimonies of the Fathers to the contrary; what must then be done? A good face must be put upon the matter, one device or other must be invented to elude the testimonies objected, and still it must be denied that the Fathers make against the doctrine of the Papists. *Bertram* for example writeth thus. [o] *The things which differ one from another, are not the same. The bodie of Christ which was dead, and rose again, and being made immortall now dieth not, &c.*

n Quum igitur in Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, & extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato cõmẽto periæpe negemus, & commodũ iis sensũ affingamus, cũ opponuntur in disputationibus, aut inconflictionibus cũ adversariis: non videmus, cur non eandẽ æquitatem & diligentem recognitionem mereatur Bertramus. ne hæretici ogganniant, nos antiquitatem pro ipsis facientem exurere & prohibere. *Index Expurg. Belgic. pag. 5. edit. Antuerp. ann. 1571.*

o Quæ à se differunt, idem non sunt. Corpus Christi quod mortuum est, & resurrexit, & immortale factum jam non moritur, & mors illi ultrà nõ dominabitur, æternum est, nec jã passibile. Hoc autẽ quod in Ecclesiã celebratur, temporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptum. *Bertram. de corp. & sang. Dom.*

not, (death no more having dominion over it) is everlasting, and now not subject to suffering. But this which is celebrated in the Church, is temporall, not everlasting; it is corruptible, not free from corruption. What device must they finde out here? They must say this is meant of the accidents or [p] *formes of the Sacrament, which are corruptible; or of the use of the Sacrament, which continueth only in this present world.* But how will this shift serve the turn, when as the whole drift of the discourse tendeth to prove, that that which is received by the mouth of the faithfull in the Sacrament, is not that very body of Christ which died upon the Crosse, and rose againe from death? *Non malè aut inconsultè omittantur igitur omnia hæc; It were not amisse therefore* (say our Popish Censurers) *nor unadvisedly done, that all these things should be left out.*

p Secundùm species Sacramenti corruptibiles: aut de re ipsâ & usu sacramenti, qui non contingit, nisi præsenti in seculo. *Index expurg. pag. 7.*

If this be your maner of dealing with antiquitie, let all men judge whether it be not high time for us to listen unto the advice of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and not be so forward to commit the triall of our controversies to the writings of the Fathers, who have had the ill hap to fall into such huckſters handling. Yet that you may see how confident we are in the goodnes of our cause: wee will not now stand upon our right, nor refuse to enter with you into this field; but give you leave for this time both to be the Challenger, and the appointer of your owne weapons. Let us then heare your challenge, wherein you would so fain be answered. *I would faine know* (say you) *how can your Religion be true, which disalloweth of manie chiefe articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to be true? For they of your side, that have read the Fathers of that unspotted Church, can well testifie* (and if

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any deny it, it shall be presently shewne) that the Doctors, Pastors, and Fathers of that Church doe allow of Traditions, &c. And againe: *Now would I faine know, whether of both have the true Religion; they that hold all these aboveſaid points with the primitive Church, or they that do most vehemently contradict and gainsay them? they that doe not disagree with that holy Church in any point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?* And the third time too, for failing: *Now would I willingly see what reasonable answer may be made to this. For the Protestants grant, that the Church of Rome, for 400 or 500 yeares, held the true Religion of Christ: yet do they exclaime against the aboveſaid articles which the same Church did maintaine and uphold; as may be shewen by the expresse testimonies of the Fathers of the same Church, and shall be largely laid down, if any learned Protestant will denie it.*

If *Albertus Pighius* had now beene alive, as great a Scholar as he was, he might have learned that he never knew before. *Who did ever yet* (saith [q] he) *by the Church of Rome understand the Vniversall Church?* That doth this man (say I) who styleth all the ancient Doctors and Martyrs of the Church Universal, with the name of *the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church of Rome.* But it seemeth a small matter unto him, for the magnifying of that Church, to confound *Vrbem* & *Orbem:* unlesse he mingle also *Heaven* and *Earth* together, by giving the title of *that unspotted Church*, which is the speciall priviledge of the Church triumphant in heaven, unto the Church of Rome here militant upon earth. S. *Augustine* surely would not have himselfe otherwise understood, whensoever he speaketh of the *unspotted Church*: and therefore, to prevent all mistaking,

q Quis per Romanam Ecclesiam unquã intellexit aut universalem Ecclesiam, aut generale Concilium? *Pigh. Eccles. Hie ar. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

king, he thus expoundeth himselfe in his Retractations. [r] *Whereſoever in theſe bookes I have made mention of the Church not having ſpot or wrinkle; it is not ſo to bee taken, as if ſhe were ſo now, but that ſhe is prepared to be ſo, when ſhe ſhall appeare glorious. For now, by reaſon of certain ignorances and infirmities of her members, the whole Church hath cauſe to ſay every day: Forgive us our treſpaſſes.* Now as long as the Church is ſubject to theſe *ignorances and infirmities*, it cannot be otherwiſe, but there muſt be differences betwixt the members therof: one part may underſtand that whereof another is ignorant; and ignorance being the mother of error, one particular Church may wrongly conceive of ſome points, wherein others may be rightly informed. Neither will it follow thereupon, that theſe Churches muſt be of different Religions, becauſe they fully agree not in all things: or that therefore the Reformed Churches in our daies muſt diſclaime all kindred with thoſe in ancient times, becauſe they haue waſhed away ſome ſpots from themſelves, which they diſcerned to have been in them.

It is not every ſpot that taketh away the beauty of a Church, nor every ſickneſſe that taketh away the life thereof: and therefore though wee ſhould admit that the ancient Church of Rome was ſomewhat impaired both in beauty and in health too, (wherein we have no reaſon to be ſory, that we are unlike unto her) there is no neceſſity, that hereupon preſently ſhe muſt ceaſe to be our ſiſter. S. *Cyprian* and the reſt of the African Biſhops that joined with him, held that ſuch as were baptized by hereticks, ſhould be rebaptized: the African Biſhops in the time of *Aurelius* were of another mind. Doth the diverſitie of their judgements in this point, make

[r] Vbicunque in his libris cõmemoravi Eccleſiam non habentem maculam aut rugam; non ſic accipiendum eſt quaſi jam ſit, ſed quæ præparatur ut ſit, quando apparebit etiam glorioſa. Nunc enim propter quaſdam ignorantias & infirmitates membrorum ſuorũ habet unde quotidie tota dicat: Dimitte nobis debita noſtra. *Auguſt. Retract. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

make them to have been of a diverſe Religion? It was the uſe of the ancient Church to miniſter the Communion unto Infants: which is yet alſo practiſed by the Chriſtians in Egypt and Ethiopia. The Church of Rome, upon better conſideration, hath thought fit to doe otherwiſe: and yet for all that will not yeeld, that either ſhe her ſelfe hath forſaken the Religion of her anceſtors, becauſe ſhe followeth them not in this; or that they were of the ſame religion with the Cophtites and Habaſſines, becauſe they agree together in this particular. So put caſe the Church of Rome now did uſe praier for the dead in the ſame manner that the ancient Church did: (which we wil ſhew to be otherwiſe:) the reformed Churches, that upon better advice have altered that uſage, need not therefore grant, that either themſelves hold a different Religion from that of the Fathers, becauſe they doe not preciſely follow them in this; nor yet that the Fathers were therefore Papiſts, becauſe in this point they thus concurred. For as two may be diſcerned to be ſiſters by the likeneſs of their faces, although the one have ſome ſpots or blemiſhes which the other hath not: ſo a third may bee brought in which may ſhew like ſpots and blemiſhes, and yet have no ſuch likeneſſe of viſage as may bewray her to be the others ſiſter.

But our Challenger having firſt conceited in his minde an *Idea* of an unſpotted Church upon earth; then being far in love with the painted face of the preſent Church of Rome, and out of love with us, becauſe we like not as hee liketh: taketh a view of both our faces in the falſe glaſſe of affection, and findeth her on whom he doteth, to anſwer his *unſpotted* Church in all points, but us to agree with it in almoſt nothing. And

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thereupon *he would faine know, whether of both have the true Religion? they that doe not disagree with that holy Church in anie point of Religion; or they that agree with it but in verie few, and disagree in almost all?* Indeede, if that which he assumeth for granted, could as easily be proved as it is boldly avouched; the question would quickly be resolved, *whether of us both have the true Religion?* But he is to understand, that strong conceits are but weake proofes: and that the Iesuites have not been the first, from whom such bragges as these have beene heard. *Dioscorus* the hereticke was as peart, when hee uttered these speeches in the Councel of Chalcedon:

ἐγὼ μὴ σὺν πατέρων ἐκβάλλομαι. ἐγὼ σωίζομαι τοῖς σὺν πατέρων δόγμασιν. ὑπερβαίνω ἐν τινι. οὐ τούτων τὰς χρήσεις, οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν βιβλίοις ἔχω. *Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. pag. 97. edit. Rom.*

[1] *I am cast out with the Fathers. I defend the doctrines of the Fathers. I transgresse them not in anie point: and I have their testimonies, not barely, but in their verie books.* Neither need we wonder, that he should bear us down, that the Church of Rome at this day doth not *disagree* from the primitive Church *in anie point of Religion*; who sticketh not so confidently to affirme, that wee *agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all.* For those *few* points, wherein he confesseth we doe agree with the ancient Church, must either be meant of such articles onely, wherein wee disagree from the now Church of Rome; or else of the whole bodie of that Religion which we professe. If in the Former he yeeld that we doe agree with the primitive Church: what credit doth he leave unto himselfe, who with the same breath hath giv̄e out, that the present Church of Rome *doth not disagree with that holy Church in anie point?* If he meane the latter: with what face can he say, that we *agree* with that holy Church *but in verie few* points of religion, and disagree *in almost all? Irenæus*, who was the Disciple of those which heard S. *Iohn* the Apostle, laieth

t layeth downe the Articles of that faith, in the unitie whereof the Churches that were founded in *Germany*, *Spaine*, *France*, the *East*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and all the world, did sweetely accord: as if they had all dwelt in one house, all had but one soule, and one heart, and one mouth. Is he able to shew one point, wherein we have broken that harmonie, which *Irenæus* commendeth in the Catholique Church of his time? But that *Rule of faith* so much commended by him and *Tertullian*, and the rest of the Fathers; and all the articles of the severall Creedes, that were ever received in the ancient Church as badges of the Catholique profession (to which we willingly subscribe) is with this man almost nothing: none must now be counted a Catholique, but hee that can conforme his beliefe unto the u Creed of the new fashion, compiled by Pope *Pius* the *fourth* some foure and fiftie yeares ago.

t *Irenæ. lib. 1. cap. 2. & Epiph. hæres 31.*

u *Forma professionis fidei, in Bullâ Pij IV edit. ann. 1564.*

As for the particular differences, wherein he thinketh he hath the advantage of us; when we come unto the sifting of them, it shall appeare how far he was deceived in his imagination. In the meane time, having as yet not strucken one stroake, but threatned onely to doe wonders, if anie would bee so hardie to accept his Challenge; he might have done verie well, to have deferred his triumph, untill such time as he had obtained the victorie. For as if he had borne us downe with the weight of the authoritie of the Fathers, and so astonished us therwith, that we could not tell what to say for our selves; he thus bestirreth himselfe, in a most ridiculous manner, fighting with his own shadow. *Will you say that these Fathers* (saith he, who hath not hitherto laid downe so much as the name of anie one Father) *maintained these opinions contrary to the word of God? Why*

Why you know that they were the pillars of Christianitie, the champions of Christ his Church, and of the true Catholicke Religion, which they most learnedly defended against diverse hereſies, and therefore ſpent all their time in a moſt ſerious ſtudie of the holy Scripture. Or will you ſay, that Knew *although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought in the aforeſaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why your ſelues cannot denie, but that they lived moſt holy and vertuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting or perverting of Gods holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthie to raigne with God in his glorie. Inſomuch as their admirable learning may ſufficiently croſſe out all ſuſpicion of ignorant error; and their innocent ſanctitie freeth us from all miſtruſt of malicious corruption.*

But by his leave, hee is a little too haſtie. He were beſt to bethink himſelfe more adviſedly of that which he hath undertaken to performe: and to remember the ſaying of the King of Iſrael vnto *Benhadad*; [x] *Let not him that girdeth on his harneſſe, boaſt himſelfe, as he that putteth it off.* He hath taken upon him to prove, that our Religion cannot be true, becauſe it *diſalloweth of many chiefe articles, which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church of Rome did generally hold to bee true.* For performance hereof, it wil not be ſufficient for him to ſhew, that *ſome of theſe Fathers maintained ſome of theſe opinions*: hee muſt prove (if he will be as good as his word, and deale any thing to the purpoſe) that they held them *generally*, and held them too, not as *opinions*, but *tanquam de fide*, as appertaining to the ſubſtance of faith and religion. For (as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* well obſerveth) [y] *the ancient conſent of the holy Fathers is with great care to be ſought & followed by us, not in every*

x 1. Kin. 20. 11.

y Antiqua ſanctorum patrum conſenſio non in omnibus divinæ legis quæſtiunculis, ſed ſolùm, certè præcipuè, in fidei regulâ magno nobis ſtudio & inveſtiganda eſt, & ſequenda. *Vincent. contra hæreſ. cap. 39.*

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Petty question belonging to the Law of God, but onely, or at least principally, in the Rule of Faith. But all the points propounded by our Challenger, be not *chiefe articles*: and therefore if in some of them the Fathers have held some opinions, that will not beare waight in the ballance of the Sanctuarie (as some conceits they had herein, which the Papists themselves must confesse to be erroneous) their defects in that kinde doe abate nothing of that reverend estimation which we have them in, for their great paines taken in the *defence of the true Catholicke Religion*, and the *serious study of the holy Scripture*. Neither doe I thinke, that he who thus commendeth them for *the pillars of Christianitie*, and *the champions of Christs Church*; will therefore hold himselfe tyed to stand unto every thing that they have said: sure he will not, if hee follow the steps of the great ones of his owne Societie.

For what doth he thinke of *Iustine Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius*? Doth hee not account them among those *pillars* and *champions* hee speaketh of? Yet, saith Cardinall *Bellarmine*, [z] *I doe not see, how we may defend their opinion from error.* When others object, that they have two or three hundred testimonies of the Doctors to prove that the Virgin *Mary* was conceived in sinne: [a] *Salmeron* the Iesuite steps forth, and answereth them, first, out of *the doctrine of Austin and Thomas*, that *the argument drawne from authoritie is weake*: then, out of *the word of God*, Exod. 23. *In judicio, plurimorum non acquiesces sententiæ, ut à vero devies. In judgement, thou shalt not be ledde with the sentence of the most, to decline*

z Iustini, Irenæi, Epiphanii, atque Oecumenii sententiã non video, quo pacto ab errore possimus defendere. *Bellarmin. lib. 1. de Sanctor. Beatit. cap. 6.*

a Primò quidẽ agunt multitudine Doctorũ, quos errare in re tanti momenti non est facilè admittendum. Respondemus tamen ex Augustini libro 1. de Morib. Eccles. c. 2. tùm ex B. Thomæ doctrinâ, locum ab authoritate esse infirmum. *Salmer. in Epist. ad Rom. tib. 2. disput. 51.*

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from the truth. And laſtly telleth them,[b] *that when the Donatiſts gloried in the multitude of authors,* S. *Auguſtine did anſwer them, that it was a ſigne their cauſe was deſtitute of the ſtrength of truth, which was onely ſupported by the authoritie of many, who were ſubject to error.* And when his adverſaries preſſe him, not onely with the *multitude,* but alſo with the[c] *antiquitie* of the Doctors alledged, *unto which more honour alwaies hath been given, than unto novelties:* he anſwereth, that indeed *every age hath alwaies attributed much unto antiquitie; and every old man, as the Poet ſeith, is a commender of the time paſt: but this* (ſaith he) *wee averre, that the younger the Doctors are, the more ſharp-ſighted they be.* And therefore for his part he yeeldeth rather to the judgement of the yonger Doctors of Paris:[d] among whom *none is held worthie of the title of a Maſter in Divinity, who hath not firſt bound himſelfe with a religious oath, to defend and maintaine the priviledge of the B. Virgin.* Onely he forgot to tell, how they which take that oath, might diſpenſe with another oath which the Pope requireth them to take; that[e] they *will never underſtand and interprete the holy Scripture, but according to the uniforme conſent of the Fathers.*

Pererius, in his diſputations upon the Epiſtle to the Romans, confeſſeth, that[f] *the Greeke Fathers, and not a few of the Latin Doctors too, have thought, and delivered*

b Cùm Donatiſtæ in autorũ multitudine gloriarentur; reſpondit Auguſtinus, ſignũ eſſe cauſæ à veritatis nervo deſtitutæ, quæ ſoli multorum autoritati.qui errare poſſunt, innititur. *Ibid.*

c Tertiò argumenta petunt à Doctorum antiquitate, cui ſemper major honor eſt habitus, quàm novitatibus. Reſpondetur, quamlibet ætatem antiquitati ſemper detuliſſe: & quilibet ſenex, ut quidam Poëta dixit, laudator temporis acti. Sed illud aſſerimus: quo juniores, eo perſpicaciores eſſe Doctores. *Ibid.*

d Nam in celeberrimâ Pariſiorum Academiâ nullus Magiſtri in Theologiâ titulo dignus habetur, qui priùs etiam juris jurandi religione non ſe adſtrinxerit ad hoc Virginis privilegium tuendum & propugnandum. *Ibid. Vid. & Laur. Sur. commentar. rer. in orbe geſtar. ann.* 1501.

e Nec eam unquam niſi juxta unanimem conſenſum Patrum accipiam, & interpretabor. *Bulla Pii IV. pag.* 478. *Bullarii à Petro Matthæo edit. Lugdun. ann.* 1588.

f Græci Patres, nec pauci etiam Latinorũ Doctorum arbitrati ſunt, idque in ſcriptis ſuis prodiderunt; cauſam prædeſtinationis hominum ad vitam æternam, eſſe præſcientiam quã Deus ab æterno habuit, vel bonorum operum quæ facturi erant cooperando ipſius gratiæ, vel fidei quâ credituti erant verbo Dei, & obedituri vocationi ejus. *Perer. in Rom. 8. ſect.* 105.

alſo

alſo in their writings, that the cauſe of the predeſtination of men unto everlaſting life, is the foreknowledge which God had from eternity, either of the good works which they were to do by cooperating with his grace, or of the faith wherby they were to beleeve the word of God, & to obey his calling. And yet he for his part notwithſtanding thinketh, that g *this is contrarie to the holy Scripture, but eſpecially to the doctrine of* S. *Paul.* If our Queſtioniſt had bin by him, he would have pluckt his fellow by the ſleeve, and taken him up in this maner. *Will you ſay that theſe Fathers maintained this opinion contrary to the word of God? Why you know that they were the pillars of Chriſtianity, the Champions of Chriſt his Church, and of the true Catholique religion, which they moſt learnedly defended againſt divers hereſies, and therfore ſpent all their time in a moſt ſerious ſtudy of the holy Scripture.* He would alſo perhaps further challenge him, as he doth us: *Will you ſay, that although they knew the Scriptures to repugne, yet they brought in the aforeſaid opinion by malice and corrupt intentions.* For ſure he might have asked this wiſe queſtion of anie of his owne fellowes, as well as of us, who doe *allow and eſteeme ſo much* of theſe bleſſed Doctors and Martyrs of the ancient Church (as he himſelfe in the end of his challenge doth acknowledge): which verily we ſhould have little reaſon to doe, if we did imagine, that they brought in opinions which they knew to be repugnant to the Scriptures, for anie *malice* or *corrupt intentions*. Indeede *men* they were, compaſſed with the common infirmities of our nature, and therefore ſubject unto *error*: but *godly men*, and therefore free from all *malicious error*.

g Sed hoc videtur contrarium divinæ Scripturæ, præcipué autem doctrinæ B. Pauli. *Id. ibid. ſect.* 111. At enimverò præſcientã fidei non eſſe rationẽ prædeſtinationis hominum, nullius eſt negotij multis & apertis Scripturæ teſtimoniis oſtendere. *Ibid. ſect.* 109.

Howſoever then we yeeld unto you, that *their innocent ſanctitie freeth us from all miſtruſt of malicious cor-*

ruption: yet you must pardon us if we make question, whether *their admirable learning may sufficiently crosse out all suspicion of error*, which may arise either of *affection*, or *want of due consideration*, or such *ignorance* as the verie best are subject unto in this life. For it is not admirable learning that is sufficient to crosse out that suspicion: but such an immediate guidance of the holy Ghost, as the Prophets and Apostles were led by, who were the penners of the Canonicall Scripture. But this is your old wont, to blinde the eyes of the simple with setting forth the *sanctitie* and the *learning* of the Fathers: much after the manner of your grandfather *Pelagius*; who in the third of his bookes which hee writ in defence of *Free-will*, thought he had struck all dead by his commending of S. *Ambrose*. *Blessed Ambrose the Bishop* (saith [h] he) *in whose bookes the Romane faith doth especially appear, who like a beautiful flower shined among the Latin writers, whose faith and most pure understanding in the Scriptures the enemy himself durst not reprehend.* Vnto whom S. *Augustine*: [i] *Behold with what and how great praises he extolleth a man, though holy and learned, yet not to be compared unto the authoritie of the Canonicall Scripture.* And therefore advance the learning & holinesse of these worthy men, as much as you list: other answer you are not like to have from us, than that which the same S. *Augustine* maketh unto S. *Hierome*. [k] *This reverence and honour have I learned to give to those books of Scripture only, which now are called Canonical, that I most firmely beleeve none of their authors could any whit erre in writing. But others I so reade, that*

h Beatus Ambrosius Episcopus, in cujus præcipuè libris Romana elucet fides, qui scriptorum inter Latinos flos quidam speciosus enituit, cujus fidem & puritissimum in Scripturis sensum, ne inimicus quidem ausus est reprehendere.

i Ecce qualibus & quantis prædicat laudibus, quamlibet sanctum & doctum virum, nequaquam tamē authoritati Scripturæ canonicæ comparandum. *August. de gratiâ Christi, cont. Pelag. lib. 1. cap. 43.*

k Solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorē honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum authorem scribēdo aliquid errâsse firmissimè credam, &c. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaq; præpolleant, nō ideō veru putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt: sed quia mihi vel per illos authores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quòd à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. *Aug. ep. 19.*

with

with how great sanctitie aud learning soever they doe excell, I therefore think not any thing to be true, because they so thought it: but because they were able to perswade mee, either by those Canonicall authors, or by some probable reason, that it did not swarve from truth.

Yet even to this field also doe our challengers provoke us; and *if the Fathers authority will not suffice*, they offer to *produce good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures*, for confirmation of all the points of their religion which they have mentioned: yea, further, they challenge *any Protestant to alledge any one text out of the said Scripture, which condemneth any of the above written points*. At which boldnesse of theirs wee should much wonder, but that we consider that Bankrupts commonly doe then most brag of their abilitie, when their estate is at the lowest: perhaps also, that *Ignorance* might be it, that did beget in them this *Boldnesse*. For if they had been pleased to take the advice of their learned Councell: their Canonists would have told them touching *Confession*, (which is one of their points;) that [l] *it were better to hold, that it was ordained by a certaine tradition of the universall Church, than by the authoritie of the New or Old Testament*. *Melchior Canus* [m] could have put them in minde, that it is no where expressed in Scripture, that *Christ descended into Hell, to deliver the soules of Adam, and the rest of the Fathers which were detained there*. And *Dominicus Bannes*, [n] that the holy Scriptures teach, neither *expresse*, nor yet *impresse & involute*, that *praiers are to be made unto Saints*, or that *their Images are to be worshipped*. Or, if the testimonie of a Iesuite will more prevayle with them: *that Images should bee worshipped; Saints prayed unto, Auricular Confession frequented, Sacrifices celebrated*

l *Gloss. in Gratian. de Pœnit. dist. 5. cap. 1.* In pœnitentiâ.

m *Can. lib. 3. loc. Theolog. cap. 4.*

n *Bann. in 2. qu. 1. artic. 10. col. 302.*

both for the quicke and the dead, and other things of this kind; o Fr. *Coster* would have to bee reckoned among divine Traditions, which bee not laid downe in the Scriptures.

o *Coster. in compendiosâ orthodoxæ fidei Demonst. propos. 5. cap. 2. pag. 162. edit. Colon. ann. 1607.*

How soever yet the matter standeth, we have no reason but willingly to accept of their challenge; and to require them to bring forth those *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures*, for confirmation of all the articles by them propounded: as also to let them see, whether we *be able to alledge any Text of Scripture, which condemneth any of those points*. although I must confesse it will be a hard matter, to make them see any thing, which before hand have resolved to close their eyes; having their mindes so preoccupied with prejudice, that they professe before ever we begin, they *hold for certaine, that* we *shall never be able* to produce anie such Text. And why, thinke you? because, forsooth, we *are neither more learned, more pious, nor more holy than the blessed Doctors and Martyrs of that first Church of Rome*. as who should say, we yeelded at the first word, that all those *blessed Doctors and Martyrs* expounded the Scriptures everie where to our disaduantage: or were so wel perswaded of the tenderneſse of a Iesuites conscience, that because he hath taken an oath *never to interpret the Scripture, but according to the uniforme consent of the Fathers*, he could not therfore have the forehead to say. p *I do not denie, that I have no author of this interpretation: yet doe I so much the rather approve it, than that other of Augustines, though the most probable of all the rest; because it is more contrarie to the sense of the Calvinists: which to mee is a great argument of probability*. or as if lastly a man might not dissent from the ancient Doctors, so much as in an exposition of a

p Non nego me hujus interpretationis authorē neminē habere: sed hanc eò magis probo quàm illam alteram Augustini, cæterarum alioqui probabilissimam; quòd hæc cum Calvinistarū sensu magis pugnet: quod mihi magnum est probabilitatis argumentum. *Maldonat. in Iohan. 6. 62.*

Text

Text of Scripture, but hee muſt preſently make himſelf *more learned, more pious*, and *more holy*, than they were.

Yet their great *Toſtatus* might have taught them, [q] that this argument holdeth not: *Such a one knoweth ſome concluſion, that Auguſtine did not know; therefore he is wiſer than Auguſtine.* becauſe, *as a certaine skilfull Phyſitian ſaid, the men of our time beeing compared with the ancient, are like unto a little man ſet upon a Giants necke, compared with the Giant himſelfe. For as that little man placed there, ſeeth whatſoever the Giant ſeeth, and ſomewhat more; and yet if he be taken down from the Giants neck, would ſee little or nothing in compariſon of the Giant: even ſo we being ſettled upon the wits and workes of the ancient, it were not to be wondred, nay it ſhould bee verie agreeable unto reaſon, that we ſhould ſee whatſoever they ſaw, and ſomewhat more. Though yet* (ſaith he) *wee doe not profeſſe ſo much.* And even to the ſame effect ſpeaketh Friar *Stella*: that though it be farre from him to condemne the common expoſition given by the ancient holy Doctors; [r] *yet he knoweth full well, that Pygmeis being put upon Giants ſhoulders, doe ſee further than the Giants themſelves. Salmeron* addeth, [ſ] that *by the increaſe of time, divine myſteries have beene made knowne, which before were hid from manie: ſo that to know them now, is to be attributed unto the benefit of the time, not that we are better than our Fathers were.* Biſhop *Fiſher*,

q Sed nec iſta argumentatio valet, ſc. Iſte homo ſcit aliquam concluſionem, quam neſcivit Aug. ergo eſt ſapientior Aug.—Et ſicut quidam peritus medicus dixit, homines noſtri temporis ad antiquos comparantur, ſicut puſillus homo poſitus collo Gigantis ad ipſum Gigantē. Nam puſillus ibi poſitus videt quicquid vidit Gigas, & inſuper plus; & tamen ſi deponatur de collo Gigantis, parùm aut nihil videbit ad Gigantem collatus. Ita & nos

firmati ſuper ingenia antiquorum & opera eorum, non eſſet admirandum, immo foret valde rationabile, ſi videremus quidquid illi viderunt, & inſuper plus: licèt hoc adhuc non profitemur. *Abulenſ. 2. part. Defenſor. cap. 18.* r Bene tamen ſcimus, Pygmæos Gigantum humeris impoſitos, pluſquam ipſos Gigantes videre. *Stella, enarrat. in Luc. cap. 10.* ſ Per incrementa temporum nota facta ſunt divina myſteria, quæ tamen anteà multos latuerunt: ita ut hoc loco nôſſe, beneficium ſit temporis, non quòd nos meliores ſimus, quàm Patres noſtri. *Salmeron, in epiſt. ad Roman. lib. 2. diſput. 51.*

[t] that *it cannot be obscure unto anie, that many things, as well in the Gospels as in the rest of the Scriptures, are now more exquisitely discussed by latter wits, and more clearely understood, than they have beene heretofore, either by reason that the yce was not as yet broken unto the ancient, neither did their age suffice to weigh exactly that whole sea of the Scriptures: or becaus in this most large field of the Scriptures, even after the most diligent reapers, some eares will remaine to be gathered, as yet untouched.* Hereupon Cardinall *Cajetan*, in the beginning of his Commentaries upon *Moses*, adviseth his Reader, [u] *not to loath the new sense of the holy Scripture for this, that it dissenteth from the ancient Doctors: but to search more exactly the text and context of the Scripture; and if he finde it agree, to praise God, that hath not tied the exposition of the Scriptures to the senses of the ancient Doctors.*

But leaving comparisons, which you know are odious (the envie whereof notwithstanding your owne *Doctors and Masters*, you see, helpe us to beare off, and teach us how to decline:) I now come to the examination of the particular points by you propounded. It should indeed be your part by right, to be the *Assailant*, who first did make the Challenge: and I, who sustaine the person of the *Defendãt*, might here wel stay, accepting only your challenge, & expecting your encounter. Yet do not I meane at this time to answer your Bill of Challenge, as Bills are usually answered in the Chancerie, with *saving all advantages to the Defendant*: I am content in this also to abbridge my selfe of the liberty wch I might lawfully take, & make a further demõstration of my forwardnes in undertaking the maintenãce of so good a cause, by giving the first onset my selfe.

t Neq; cuiquã obscurum est, quin posterioribus ingeniis multa sint, tam ex euangeliis, quàm ex scripturis cæteris, nunc excussa luculentiùs, & intellecta perspicaciùs, quàm fuerant olim. Nimirum, aut quia veteribus adhuc non erat perfracta glacies, neque sufficiebat illorum ætas totũ illud scripturarum pelagus ad amussim expẽdere: aut quia semper in amplissimo scripturarum cãpo, post messores quantumvis exquisitissimos, spicas adhuc intactas licebit colligere. *Roffens. confut Assert. Luther. Artic.* 18.

u Nullus itaq; detestetur novum sacræ scripturæ sensum ex hoc quod dissonat à priscis Doctoribus; sed scrutetur perspicaciùs textum ac contextum scripturæ: & si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum, qui non alligavit expositionẽ scripturarum sacrarum priscorum Doctorum sensibus. *Cajet. in Genes.* 1.

OF *TRADITIONS.*

TO begin therefore with *Traditions*, which is your forlorne Hope that in the first place we are to set upon: this must I needes tell you before we begin, that you much mistake the matter, if you thinke that Traditions of all sorts promiscuously are strucke at by our Religion. We willingly acknowledge, that the Word of God, which by some of the Apostles was set downe in writing, was both by themselves & others of their fellow-labourers delivered by word of mouth: and that the Church in succeeding ages was bound not only to preserve those sacred writings committed to her trust, but also to deliver unto her children *vivâ voce* the forme of wholesome words contained therein. Traditions therefore, of this nature, come not within the compasse of our controversie: the question being betwixt us *de ipsâ doctrinâ traditâ*, not *de tradendi modo*; touching the substance of the doctrine delivered, not of the manner of delivering it. Againe, it must bee remembred, that here we speak of the doctrine delivered as *the word of God*, that is, of points of religion revealed unto the Prophets and Apostles, for the perpetuall information of Gods people: not of rites and ceremonies, and other ordinances which are left to the disposition of the Church, and consequently be not of *divine* but of *positive* and *humane* right. Traditions therefore of this kinde likewise are not properly brought within the circuit of this question.

But that Traditions of men should be obtruded unto us for Articles of Religion, & admitted for parts of Gods worship; or that anie Traditions should be accepted

cepted for parcels of Gods word, beſide the holy Scriptures, & ſuch doctrines as are either expreſſely therein contained, or by ſound inference may bee deduced from thence: I think we have reaſon to gainſay. as long as for the firſt we haue this direct ſentence from God himſelfe; *Matth.* 15. *In vaine do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines, the Commandements of men.* and for the ſecond, the expreſſe warrant of the Apoſtle, 2. *Tim.* 3. teſtifying of the holy Scriptures, not onely that they *are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation* (which they ſhould not be able to doe, if they did not containe all things neceſſarie to ſalvation) but alſo that by them *the man of God* (that is, [x] the miniſter of Gods word, unto whom it appertaineth [y] *to declare all the counſell of God*) may be *perfectly inſtructed to every good worke*: which could not bee, if the Scriptures did not contain all the counſel of God which was fit for him to learn, or if there were any other word of God which he were bound to teach, that ſhould not bee contained within the limits of the Booke of God.

x 1. *Tim.* 6. 11.

y *Act.* 20. 27.

Now whether herein we diſagree from the doctrine generally received by the *Fathers*: we referre our ſelves to their owne ſayings. For Rituall Traditions unwritten, and for doctrinall Traditions written indeed, but preſerved alſo by the continuall preaching of the Paſtors of the Church ſucceſſively; we finde no man a more earneſt advocate than *Tertullian*. Yet he having to deale with *Hermogenes* the heretick in a queſtion concerning the faith, (whether all things at the beginning were made of nothing?) preſſeth him in this manner, with the argument *ab authoritate negativè*; for avoiding whereof, the Papiſts are driven to flie for ſuccour to their unwritten verities. [a] *Whether all things were made*

a An autem de aliquâ ſubjacenti materiâ facta ſint omnia, nuſquam adhuc legi. Scriptum eſſe doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non eſt ſcriptum, timeat Væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus deſtinatum. *Tertul. adverſ. Hermog. cap.* 22.

made of anie ſubject matter, I have as yet read no where. Let thoſe of Hermogenes his ſhop ſhew that it is written. If it be not written, let them feare that Wo which is allotted to ſuch as adde or take away.

In the two Teſtaments, ſaith *Origen*, [b] *every word that appertaineth to God may bee required and diſcuſſed; and all knowledge of things out of them may be underſtood. But if anie thing doe remaine, which the holy Scripture doth not determine; no other third Scripture ought to bee received for to authorize anie knowledge: but that which remaineth we muſt commit to the fire, that is, we muſt reſerve it to God. For in this preſent world God would not have us to know all things.*

Hippolytus the Martyr, in his Homily againſt the Hereſie of *Noëtus*. [c] *There is one God, whom wee doe not otherwiſe acknowledge (brethren) but out of the holy Scriptures. For as he that would profeſſe the wiſedome of this world, cannot otherwiſe attaine hereunto, unleſſe hee reade the doctrine of the Philoſophers: ſo whoſoever of us will exerciſe pietie toward God, cannot learne this elſewhere, but out of the holy Scriptures. Whatſoever therefore the holy Scriptures doe preach, that let us know; and whatſoever they teach, that let us underſtand.*

Athanaſius, in his Oration againſt the Gentiles, toward the beginning: [d] *The holy Scriptures given by inſpiration of God, are of themſelves ſufficient to the diſcoverie of truth.*

S. *Ambroſe*: [e] *The things which wee finde not in the*

b In quibus liceat omne verbum quod ad Deum pertinet requiri & diſcuti; atque ex ipſis omnẽ rerum ſcientiam capi. Si quid autem ſuperfuerit quod non divina Scriptura decernat, nullam aliam debere tertiam Scripturam ad authoritatem ſcientiæ ſuſcipi: ſed igni tradamus quod ſupereſt, id eſt, Deo reſervemus. Neque enim in præſenti vitâ Deus ſcire nos omnia voluit *Orig. in Levit. hom.* 5.

c Vnus Deus eſt, quem non aliunde, fratres, agnoſcimus, quàm ex ſanctis ſcripturis. Quemadmodum enim ſi quis vellet ſapientiam

hujus ſæculi exercere, non aliter hoc cõſequi poterit, niſi dogmata Philoſophorum legat: ſic quicunque volumus pietatẽ in Deũ exercere, non aliunde diſcemus, quàm ex Scripturis divinis. Quæcunque ergo ſanctæ ſcripturæ prædicant, ſciamus; & quæcunque docent, cognoſcamus. *Hippol. tom.* 2. *Bibliotb. pat. p.* 20. 21. *edit. Colon.* d Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἁγίαι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Athanaſ. e Quæ in Scripturis ſanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum uſurpare poſſumus? *Ambroſ. Offic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 23.

Scrip-

Scriptures, how can we use them? And againe: [f] *I reade that he is the first, I reade that hee is not the second; they who say he is the second, let them shew it by reading.*

It is well, [g] saith S. *Hilary, that thou art content with those things which bee written.* And in another place, [h] he commendeth *Constantius the* Emperour, for *desiring the faith to be ordered onely according to those things that be written.*

S. *Basil:* [i] *Beleeve those things which are written; the things which are not written, seeke not.* [k] *It is a manifest falling from the faith, and an argument of arrogancie, either to reject any point of those things that are written, or to bring in anie of those things that are not written.* He teacheth further, [l] *that everie word and action ought to be confirmed by the testimony of the holy Scripture, for confirmation of the faith of the good, and the confusion of the evill.* and *that it is the propertie of a faithfull man, to bee fully perswaded of the truth of those things that are delivered in the holy Scripture,* [m] *and not to dare eyther to reject, or to adde anie thing thereunto. For if whatsoever is not of faith be sinne, as the Apostle saith, and faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: then whatsoever is without the holy Scripture, being not of faith, must needs be sinne.* Thus farre S. *Basil.*

In like maner *Gregorie Nyssen,* S. *Basils* brother, layeth this for a ground, [n] *which no man should contradict,* that *in that onely the truth must be acknowledged,*

f Lego quia primus est, lego quia non est secundus: illi qui secundum aiunt, doceant lectione. *Id. in Virginis instit. cap.* 11.

g Bene habet, ut iis quæ sunt scripta contentus sis. *Hil. l.* 3. *de Trinit.*

h In quantum ego nunc beatæ religiosæq; voluntatis verè te Domine Constanti Imperator admiror, fidem tantùm secundùm ea quæ scripta sunt desiderantem. *Id. ib.* 2. *ad Constantium Aug.*

i Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πίσευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ζήτει. *Basil. hom.* 29. *advers. calumniantes S. Trinitat.*

k φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. *Id. de Fide.*

l ὅτι δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα, καὶ πρᾶγμα πιστῶς τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἰς πληροφορίαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἔνδοξον δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν. *Id. in Ethicis, Regul.* 26.

m Καὶ μηδὲν τολμᾶν ἀθετεῖν, ἢ ὑπεξαίρεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἡ δὲ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ· πᾶν τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ὄν, ἁμαρτία ἔσται. *Id. ibid. reg.* 80 *cap.* 22.

n Κἂν τις ἀντείπῃ, μὴ ἄχρι τούτου μόνου δεῖν ἀληθεύειν πιστεύων, ᾧ σφραγὶς ἐπέστη τῆς γραφικῆς μαρτυρίας. *Greg. Nyss. dialog. de Animâ & resurrect. tom.* 1. *edit. Græcolat. pag.* 639.

wherein

wherein the ſeale of the Scripture teſtimonie is to be ſeene. And accordingly in another booke (attributed alſo unto him) we finde this concluſion made: [o] *Foraſmuch as this is upholden with no teſtimonie of the Scripture, as falſe we will reject it.*

Thus alſo S. *Hierome* diſputeth againſt *Helvidius*. [p] *As wee denie not thoſe things that are written; ſo wee refuſe thoſe things that are not written. That God was borne of a Virgin we beleeve, becauſe we reade it: that Marie did marry after ſhee was delivered, we beleeve not, becauſe we reade it not.*

In thoſe things, [q] ſaith S. *Auguſtine, which are layd downe plainely in the Scriptures, all thoſe things are found which appertaine to faith and direction of life.* And againe: [r] *Whatſoever ye heare* from the holy Scriptures, *let that ſavour well unto you; whatſoever is without them, refuſe, leſt you wander in a cloud.* And in another place: [s] *All thoſe things which in times paſt our anceſtors have mentioned to be done toward mankinde, and have delivered unto us; all thoſe things alſo which we ſee, and doe deliver unto our poſteritie, ſo farre as they appertain to the ſeeking and maintaining of true Religion, the holy Scripture hath not paſſed in ſilence.*

The holy Scripture, [t] ſaith S. *Cyrill* of Alexandria, *is ſufficient to make them which are brought up in it wiſe, and moſt approved, and furniſhed with moſt ſufficient underſtanding.* And againe: [u] *That which the holy Scrip-*

o Cùm id nullo Scripturæ teſtimonio ſuffultum ſit, ut falſum improbabimus. *lib. de Cog. ur. Dei, cit. ab Euthymio in Panoplia, tit. 3.*

p Vt hæc quæ ſcripta ſunt non negamus; ita ea quæ non ſunt ſcripta renuimus. Natum Deum eſſe de Virgine credimus, quia legimus: Mariam nupſiſſe poſt partum non credimus, quia non legimus. *Hieron. Adverſ. Helvid.*

q In iis quæ apertè in Scripturâ poſita ſunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moreſq; vivendi. *Aug. de doctrinâ Chriſt. lib. 2. c. 9.*

r Quicquid inde addideritis, hoc vobis bene

ſapiat: quicquid extra eſt reſpuite, ne erretis in nebulâ. *Id. in lib. de Paſtor. cap. 1.*

s Omnia quæ præteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores noſtri geſta eſſe meminerunt, nobiſq; tradiderunt; omnia etiam quæ nos videmus, & poſteris tradimus, quæ tamen pertinent ad ad verâ religione quærendam, & tenendâ, divina ſcriptura non tacuit. *Epiſt. 42.*

t Sufficit divina Scriptura ad faciendum eos qui in illâ educati ſunt ſapientes, & probatiſſimos, & ſufficientiſſimam habentes intelligentiam. *Cyrill. l. 7. cont. Iul.*

u ὁ γὰρ ἁγιος ἐρμηνεὺς ἡμῖν θεία χαρὶς, τίνα ἢ τρόπον παραδεξόμεθα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἔχωσι καταλογισόμεθα; Cyril. Glapyrorum, in Gen. lib. 2.

ture

ture hath not ſaid, by what meanes ſhould we receive, and account it among thoſe things that be true?

Laſtly, in the writings of *Theodoret* wee meete with theſe kinde of ſpeeches. [x] *By the holy Scripture alone am I perſwaded.* [y] *I am not ſo bold, as to affirme any thing which the ſacred Scripure paſſeth in ſilence.* [z] *It is an idle and a ſenſeleſſe thing, to ſeeke thoſe things that are paſſed in ſilence.* [a] *We ought not to ſeeke thoſe things which are paſſed in ſilence; but reſt in the things that are written.*

By the verdict of theſe twelve men, you may judge, what opinion was held in thoſe ancient times of ſuch Traditions as did croſs, either the *verity* or the *perfection* of the ſacred Scripture: which are the Traditions we ſet our ſelves againſt. Whereunto you may adde, if you pleaſe, that remarkable ſentence delivered by *Euſebius Pamphili* in the name of the CCCXVIII. Fathers of the firſt generall Councell of Nice. * *Beleeve the things that are written: the things that are not written, neither thinke upon, nor enquire after.*

If now it bee demanded, in what Popes daies the contrarie doctrine was brought in among Chriſtians: I anſwer, that if S. *Peter* were ever Pope; in his daies it was, that ſome ſeducers firſt laboured to bring in *Will-worſhip* into the Church; againſt whom S. *Paul* oppoſing himſelfe, *Coloſſ.* 2. counteth it a ſufficient argument to condemne all ſuch inventions, that they were *the commandements and doctrines of men.* Shortly after them, ſtarted up other Hereticks, who taught, that [b] *the truth could not be found out of the Scriptures by thoſe to whom Tradition was unknowne. foraſmuch as it*

x Ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνῃ πείθομαι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. Theod. dial. 1. Ατρεπ.

y Οὐ γὰρ ὅτως εἰμὶ θρασύς, ὥστε φάναι τι στεγνωθὲν παρὰ τὴν θείαν γραφήν. Id. dial. 2. Ασύγχ.

z Περιττὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀνόητον τὸ τὰ στεγνωθέντα ζητεῖν. Id. in Exod. quæſt. 26. quod in Græcorum Catenâ in Pentateuchum, à Franc. Zephyro editâ, ita expoſitũ legimus: Impudentis eſt, quod à Scripturâ reticetur, velle inquirere.

a Οὐ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὰ στεγνωθέντα, ἀλλ' ἐργεῖν ὃ προστέτακε τὰ γεγραμμένα. Theod. in Gen qu. 45.

* Τοῖς γεγραμμένοις πάσδε· τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ἐννόει, μηδὲ ζήτει. Gelaſ. Cyzicen. Act. Concil. Nicæn. part. 2. cap. 19.

b Quia non poſſit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui neſciant Traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, ſed per vivam vocem: ob quam cauſam & Paulum dixiſſe; Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos. *Iren. cont. hæreſ. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

was

was not delivered by writing, but by word of mouth: for which cauſe S. *Paul alſo ſhould ſay; We ſpeake wiſedome among them that be perfect.*

The verie ſame Text doe the [c] Ieſuites alledge, to prove the dignity of manie myſteries to be ſuch, that they require ſilence; and that it is unmeet they ſhould bee opened in the Scriptures, which are read to the whole world, and therefore can onely bee learned by unwritten Traditions. Wherein they conſider not, how they make ſo neare an approach unto the confines of ſome of the ancienteſt Heretickes, that they may well ſhake hands together. For howſoever ſome of them were ſo madde as to [d] ſay, that they were wiſer than the Apoſtles themſelves; and therefore made light account of the doctrine which they delivered unto the Church, eyther by writing or by word of mouth: yet all of them broke not forth into that open impietie; the ſame myſterie of iniquitie wrought in ſome of Antichriſts fore-runners then, which is diſcovered in his miniſters now. [e] *They confeſſed indeed* (as witneſſeth *Tertullian*) *that the Apoſtles were ignorant of nothing, and differed not among themſelves in their preaching; but they ſay, they revealed not all things unto all men: ſome things they delivered openly and to all, ſome things ſecretly and to a few. becauſe that Paul uſeth this ſpeech unto Timothy: O Timothy, keepe that which is committed to thy truſt. And againe; That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep.* Which very Texts the [f] Ieſuites likewiſe bring in, to prove, that there are ſome Traditions, which are not contained in the Scripture.

c *Bellarm. l. 4. de verbo Dei. cap. 8.*

d Dicentes, ſe non ſolùm Presbyteris, ſed etiam Apoſtolis exiſtentes ſapientiores, ſinceram invenîſſe veritatem. &c. Evenitita-que neque Scripturis jam neque Traditioni conſentire eos. *Iren. ut ſup.*

e Confitentur quidem nihil Apoſtolos ignorâſſe, nec diverſa inter ſe prædicâſſe, ſed non omnia illos volunt omnibus revelâſſe: quædã enim palàm & univerſis, quædam ſecretò & paucis demãdâſſe. quia & hoc verbo uſus eſt Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timothee, depoſitum cuſtodi. Et rurſùm: Bonum depoſitum cuſtodi, *Tertul. de præſcrip. adverſ. hæret. cap. 25.*

f *Bellar. lib. 4. de Verbo Dei. cap. 5.*

In

In the dayes of S. *Hierome* alſo, this was wont to be the ſaying of Hereticks: [g] *Wee are the ſonnes of the wiſe men, which from the beginning have delivered the doctrine of the Apoſtles unto us.* But [h] thoſe things (ſaith that Father) *which they of themſelves finde out and faine to have received as it were by Tradition from the Apoſtles, without the authoritie and teſtimonies of the Scriptures, the ſword of God doth ſmite.* S. [i] *Chryſoſtome* in like maner giveth this for a marke of *Antichriſt*, and of all ſpirituall theeves: that they come not in by the doore of the Scriptures. For the Scripture (ſaith hee) [k] *like unto a ſure doore, doth barre an entrance unto Hereticks, ſafeguarding us in all things that we will, and not ſuffering us to be deceived.* Whereupon he concludeth, that [l] *who ſo uſeth not the Scriptures, but commeth in otherwiſe, that is, betaketh himſelfe to another and an unlawfull way, he is a theefe.*

How this myſterie of iniquitie wrought when *Antichriſt* came unto his full growth, and what experiments his followers gave of their theeviſh entrie in this kind, was well obſerved by the author of the book *De unitate Eccleſiæ* (thought by ſome to bee *Waltram* Biſhop of Naumburg:) who ſpeaking of the [m] *Monks*, that for the upholding of Pope *Hilderbrands* faction, brought in *ſchiſmes and hereſies* into the Church, noteth this ſpecially of them; that *deſpiſing the tradition of God, they deſired other doctrines, and brought in maiſteries of humane inſtitution.* Againſt whom he alled-

g Filii ſumus ſapientum, qui ab initio doctrinam nobis Apoſtolicam tradiderũt. *Hieron. lib. 7. in Eſa. cap. 19.*

h Sed & alia, quæ abſq; auctoritate & teſtimoniis ſcripturarum, quaſi traditione Apoſtolicâ ſponte reperiunt atq; confingunt, percutit gladius Dei. *Id in Agge. Cap. 1.*

i *Chryſoſt in Iohan. 10. hom. 59. tom. 2. edit. Savil. pag. 799.*

k Καθάπερ γὰρ τὴς θύρας ἀσφαλὴς, οὕτως ἀποκλείει τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καθιστῶσα ἡμᾶς πρὸς ὧν ἂν θελήσωμεν πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσα πλανᾶσθαι. Ibid.

l ὁ γὰρ μὴ τοῖς γράφαις χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀλλαχόθεν, τουτέστιν, ἑτέραν ἔχων τὴν καὶ μὴ νενομισμένην τέμνων ὁδὸν, οὗτος κλέπτης ἐστίν. Ib.

m Quale myſterium iniquitatis prætendunt plures Monachi in veſte ſuâ, per quos fiunt, & facta ſunt ſchiſmata atque hæreſes in Eccleſiâ: qui etiam à matre filios ſegregant, oves à paſtore ſollicitant, Dei ſacramenta diſturbant: qui etiam Dei traditione contemptâ, alienas doctrinas appetunt, & magiſteria humanæ inſtitutionis inducunt. *Lib. de unitat. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. Script. Germanic. à M. Freher. edit. pag. 233.*

geth

geth the authoritie of their own S. *Benedict*, the father of the Monkes in the West; writing thus: [n] *The Abbat ought to teach, or ordaine, or command nothing, which is without the precept of the Lord: but his commandement or instruction should be spred as the leven of divine righteousnesse in the minds of his Disciples.* Whereunto also hee might have added the testimonie of the two famous Fathers of Monasticall discipline in the East: S. *Antonie* I mean, who taught his Schollers, that [o] *the Scriptures were sufficient for doctrine*; and S. *Basil*, who unto the question, *Whether it were expedient that novices should presently learne those things that are in the Scripture?* returneth this answer: [p] *It is fit and necessarie, that everie one should learne out of the holy Scripture that which is for his use; both for his full settlement in godlinesse, and that he may not bee accustomed unto humane traditions.*

n Ideoque nihil debet Abbas extra præceptum Domini quod sit (*or rather, as it is in the Manuscript which I use*, quod absit) aut docere, aut constituere, vel jubere: sed jussio ejus vel doctrina, ut fermentum divinæ justitiæ, in discipulorum mentibus conspergatur. *Benedict. in Regul.*

o τὰς γραφὰς ἱκανὰς εἰς πρὸς διδασκαλίαν. *Athanas. in vitâ Antonii quod Evagrius Antiochenus presbyter reddidit*: Ad omnem mandatorum disciplinam Scripturas posse sufficere.

Marke here the difference betwixt the Monkes of *Saint Basil*, and *Pope Hildebrands* breeding. The Novices of the former were trained in the Scriptures, to the end *they might not be accustomed unto humane traditions*: those of the latter, to the cleane contrary intent, were kept back from the studie of the Scriptures, that *they might be accustomed unto humane traditions*. For this, by the foresaid author, is expresly noted of those Hildebrandine Monkes, that they [q] *permitted not young men in their Monasteries to study this saving knowledge: to the end that their rude wit might be nourished with the huskes of divels, which are the customes of humane traditions*;

p Τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἕκαστον σημαίνειν ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἀκόλουθον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μὴ προσεθίζεσθαι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν. *Basilius Regul. brevior. ob.* 95. q Qui ne pueros quidem vel adolescentes permittunt in monasteriis habere studium salutaris scientiæ: ut scilicet rude ingenium nutriatur siliquis demoniorum, quæ sunt consuetudines humanarum traditionum: ut ejusmodi spurcitiis assuefacti, non possunt gustare quàm suavis est Dominus. *Lib. de Unitat. Eccles. pag.* 228.

tions;

tions; that being accuſtomed to ſuch filth, they might not taſte how ſweet the Lord was. And even thus in the times following, from Monkes to Friars, and from them to ſecular Prieſts & Prelates, as it were by tradition from hand to hand, the like ungodly policie was continued, of keeping the common people from the knowledge of the Scriptures; as for other reaſons, ſo likewiſe that by this meanes they might be drawne to *humane traditions*. Which was not onely obſerved by [r] *Eraſmus*, before ever *Luther* ſtirred againſt the Pope: but openly in a maner confeſſed afterwards by a bitter adverſarie of his, *Petrus Sutor*, a Carthuſian Monke; who among other inconveniences for which he would have the people debarred from reading the Scripture, alledgeth this alſo for one. [ſ] *Whereas manie things are openly taught to be obſerved, which are not to bee expreſſely had in the holy Scriptures: will not the ſimple people, obſerving theſe things, quickly murmure, and complaine that ſo great burdens ſhould be impoſed upon them, whereby the liberty of the Goſpel is ſo greatly impaired? Will not they alſo eaſily be drawne away from the obſervation of the ordinances of the Church, when they ſhall obſerve that they are not contained in the Law of Chriſt?*

Having thus therefore diſcovered unto theſe *Deuterotæ* (for ſo S. [t] *Hierome* uſeth to ſtyle ſuch Tradition-mongers) both their great grandfathers, and their

r Verùm enim verò vereor, ne iſti qui velint populum nihil attingere, non tam periculo commoveantur illorum quàm ſui reſpectu: videlicèt ut ab iſtis ſolis, velut ab oraculis, petantur omnia. Quid hâc de re ſcriptũ eſt? hoc ſcriptum eſt. Quem habet ſenſum, quod ſcriptum eſt? Sic intellige, ſic ſenti, ſic loquere. Atqui iſtuc eſt bubalum eſſe, non hominem. Fortaſsis movet & nonnullos,

quoniam animadvertunt divinam ſcripturam parùm quadrare ad vitam ſuam, malunt eam antiquari, aut certé neſciri; ne quid hinc jaciatur in os. Et ad humanas traditiunculas populum avocant, quas ipſi ad ſuam commoditatem probè commenti ſunt. *Eraſm. in enarrat. 1. Pſalmi, edit. ann* 1515. ſ Cùm multa palàm tradantur obſervanda, quæ ſacris in literis expreſſè non habentur: nonne idiotæ hæc animadvertentes facilè murmurabunt, conquerentes cur tantæ ſibi imponantur ſarcinæ, quibus & libertas Evangelica ita graviter elevatur? Nonne & facilè retrahentur ab obſervantiâ inſtitutionum Eccleſiaſticarum, quando eas in lege Chriſti animadverterint non contineri? *Sutor de tralatione Bibliæ, cap.* 22. *fol.* 96. *edit. Pariſian* 1525. t *Hieronym. lib.* 2. *Comment. in Eſai. cap.* 3. *& lib.* 9. *in Eſai. cap.* 29.

more

more immediate progenitors : I paſſe now forward unto the ſecond point.

OF THE *REAL PRESENCE.*

HOw farre *the reall preſence* of the bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament, is allowed or diſallowed by us, I have at large declared in an [a]other place. The ſumme is this : That in the receiuing of the bleſſed Sacrament, we are to diſtinguiſh betweene the outward and the inward action of the Communicant. In the *outward*, with our bodily mouth we receive really the viſible elements of Bread and Wine : in the *inward*, we doe by faith really receive the bodie and bloud of our Lord, that is to ſay, wee are truely and indeede made partakers of Chriſt crucified, to the ſpiritual ſtrengthning of our inward man. They of the adverſe part have made ſuch a confuſion of theſe things, that for the *firſt*, they do utterly denie, that after the words of conſecration there remaineth any Bread or Wine at all to be received : and for the *ſecond*, do affirme, that the bodie and bloud of Chriſt is in ſuch a manner preſent, under the outward ſhewes of bread & wine, that whoſoever receiveth the one (be he good or bad, beleever or unbeleever) doth therewith really receive the other. We are therfore here put to prove, that Bread is bread, and Wine is wine : a matter (one would thinke) that eaſily might be determined by common ſenſe. *That which you ſee* (ſaith [b] S. *Auguſtine*) *is the Bread and the Cup : which your verie eyes do declare unto you.* But becauſe we have to deale with men, that wil needs herein bee ſenſeleſſe ; wee will for this time referre them to [c] *Tertullians* diſcourſe *of the five ſenſes*, (wiſhing they may

a *Serm. at Weſtminſt. before the houſe of Comm. an.* 1620.

b Quod ergo vidiſtis, Panis eſt & Calix: quod vobis etiam oculi veſtri renunciant. *Aug. in Serm. de Sacram. apud Bedam, in* 1. *Cor.* 10. *& Ratrannum de corp. & ſang. Dom. vel in Serm. de Nat. Dom. ut citatur ab Algero, lib.* 1 *de Sacr. cap.* 5.

c *Tert. in lib. de animâ, cap.* 17. *cui Titulus:* De quinque ſenſibus.

may be reſtored to the uſe of their five witts againe :) and ponder the teſtimonies of our Saviour Chriſt, in the ſixt of *Iohn*, and in the words of the Inſtitution, which they oppoſe againſt all ſenſe, but in the end ſhal finde to be as oppoſite to this phantaſticall conceit of theirs, as anie thing can be.

Touching our Saviours ſpeech, of the *eating of his fleſh*, and the *drinking of his bloud*, in the ſixt of *Iohn*; theſe five things ſpecially may be obſerved. *Firſt*, that the queſtion betwixt our Adverſaries & us, being not, Whether Chriſts body be turned into bread, but, whether bread be turned into Chriſts bodie; the words in S. *Iohn*, if they be preſſed literally, ſerve more ſtrongly to prōve the former, than the latter. *Secondly*, that this Sermon was uttered by our Saviour, above a yeare before the celebration of his laſt Supper, wherein the Sacrament of his bodie and bloud was inſtituted: at which time none of his hearers could poſſibly have underſtood him to have ſpoken of the externall eating of him in the Sacrament. *Thirdly*, that by the eating of the fleſh of Chriſt, and the drinking of his bloud, there is not here meant an externall eating or drinking with the mouth and throate of the bodie, (as the [d] Iewes then, and the Romaniſts farre more groſſely than they, have ſince imagined :) but an internall and a ſpirituall, effected by a lively faith and the quickening ſpirit of Chriſt in the ſoule of the beleever. For [e] *there is a ſpirituall mouth of the inner man*, (as S. *Baſil* noteth) *wherewith hee is nouriſhed that is made partaker of the Word of life, which is the bread that commeth downe from heaven*. *Fourthly*, that this ſpirituall feeding upon the bodie and bloud of Chriſt, is not to bee found in the Sacrament only, but alſo out of the Sacrament. *Fiftly*, that

d *Iohn* 6.52.

e Ἔστι μὲν τι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τῆς ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. *Baſil in Pſalme* 33.

that the eating of the fleſh, and the drinking of the bloud here mentioned, is of ſuch excellent vertue, that the receiver is thereby made to remaine in Chriſt, and Chriſt in him, and by that means certainly freed from death, and aſſured of everlaſting life. Which ſeeing it cannot bee verified of the eating of the Sacrament (whereof both the godly & the wicked are partakers:) it proveth, not onely that our Saviour did not here ſpeak of the Sacramental eating; but further alſo, that the thing which is delivered in the externall part of the Sacrament, cannot be conceived to be really, but ſacramentally only, the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt,

The *firſt* of theſe may be plainly ſeen in the Text: where our Saviour doth not only ſay, *I am the bread of life*, verſ. 48. and, *I am the living bread that came downe from heaven*, verſ. 51. but addeth alſo in the 55. verſ. *For my fleſh is meate indeede, and my bloud is drinke indeede.* Which words being the moſt forcible of all the reſt, & thoſe wherwith the ſimpler ſort are cõmonly moſt deluded, might carrie ſome ſhew of proofe, that Chriſts fleſh & bloud ſhould be turned into bread & wine; but have no maner of colour to prove, that bread & wine are turned into the fleſh and bloud of Chriſt. The truth of the *ſecond*, appeareth by the fourth verſe: in which we finde, that this fell out not long before the *Paſſeover*; and conſequently, a yeare at leaſt before that laſt Paſſeover, wherein our Saviour inſtituted the Sacrament of his Supper. We willingly indeede doe acknowledge, that that which is inwardly preſented in the Lords Supper, & ſpiritually received by the ſoule of the faithfull, is that verie thing which is treated of in the ſixt of *Iohn*: but wee denie that it was our Saviours intention in this place, to ſpeak of that which is

externally delivered in the Sacrament, and orally received by the Communicant. And for our warrant herein, we neede looke no further than to that earneſt aſſeveration of our Saviour in the 53. verſe: *Verily, verily I ſay vnto you; Except yee eate the fleſh of the Son of man, and drinke his bloud, ye haue no life in you.* Wherein there is not onely an obligation laid upon them for doing of this, (which in no likelihood could be intended of the externall eating of the Sacrament, that was not as yet in being:) but alſo an abſolute neceſſitie impoſed, *non præcepti ſolùm ratione, ſed etiam medij.* Now to hold, that all they are excluded from life, which have not had the meanes to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: is as untrue, as it is uncharitable. And therfore many of the Papiſts themſelves, as *Biel, Cuſanus, Cajetan, Tapper, Heſſels, Ianſenius*, and others, confeſſe, that our Saviour in the ſixt of *Iohn* did not properly treat of the Sacrament.

The *third* of the points propoſed, may be collected out of the firſt part of Chriſts ſpeech, in the 35. and 36. verſes. *I am the bread of life: he that commeth to me, ſhall never hunger; and he that beleeveth on me, ſhal never thirſt. But I ſaid unto you, that yee alſo have ſeene me, and beleeve not.* But eſpecially, out of the laſt, from the 61. verſe forward. *When Ieſus knew in himſelfe, that his Diſciples murmured at it, hee ſaid unto them; Doeth this offend you? What then if you ſhould ſee the Sonne of man aſcend up where he was before? It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing: the words that I ſpeake unto you, are ſpirit and life. But there are ſome of you that beleeve not.* Which words *Athanaſius* (or whoſoever was the Author of the Tractate upon that place; *Quicunque dixerit verbum in filium hominis*) noteth

teth our Saviour to have uſed; that his hearers might learne, f *that thoſe things which he ſpake, were not carnal but ſpirituall. For how many could his body have ſufficed for meat, that it ſhould be made the foode of the whole world? But therefore it was that he made mention of the Sonne of mans aſcenſion into heaven, that he might draw them from this corporall conceit; and that hereafter they might learne, that the fleſh which he ſpake of, was celeſtiall meat from above, and ſpiritual nouriſhment to be given by him. For the words which I have ſpoken unto you (ſaith he) are ſpirit and life.* So likewiſe *Tertullian:* g *Although he ſaith that the fleſh profiteth nothing, the meaning of the ſpeech muſt bee directed according to the intent of the matter in hand. For, becauſe they thought it to be a hard and an intolerable ſpeech, as if he had determined that his fleſh ſhould be truly eaten by them: that he might diſpoſe the ſtate of ſalvation by the ſpirit, he premiſed; It is the ſpirit that quickneth. and ſo ſubjoyned; The fleſh profiteth nothing, namely to quicken, &c.* h *And becauſe the Word was made fleſh, it therefore was to be deſired for cauſing of life, and to bee devoured by hearing, and to be chewed by underſtanding, and to be digeſted by faith. For a little before he had alſo affirmed that his fleſh was heavenly bread: urging ſtill by the Allegory of neceſſary food the remembrance of the fathers, who preferred the bread and the fleſh of the Egyptians before Gods calling.* Add hereunto the

f ὅτι ἃ λέγει, οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικά, ἀλλὰ πνευματικά· πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ παῦλαν τοῦτο ἐφόδιον γένηται; Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάβασιν ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τὴν σωματικὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτοὺ ἀφελκύσῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰσηκόλουθον σάρκα βρῶσιν ἀναγκαίαν ἐργάσιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν ζῶσιν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν. ἃ γὰρ ἔλαλήκει (φησὶν) ὑμῖν, πνεῦμα ἐστι καὶ ζωή. Athanal.

g Etſi carnem ait nihil prodeſſe, ex materiâ dicti dirigendus eſt ſenſus. Nam quia durum & intolerabilem exiſtimaverunt ſermonem eius, quaſi verè carnem ſuam illis edendam determinâſſet: ut in ſpiritu diſponeret ſtatum ſalutis, præmiſit; Spiritus eſt qui vivificat. atque ita ſubiunxit: caro nihil prodeſt, ad vivificandum ſcilicèt. *Tertull: de Reſurrect. carnis, cap* 37.

h Quia & ſermo caro erat factus, proinde in cauſam vitæ appetendus, & devorandus auditu, & ruminandus intellectu, & fide digerendus. Nam & paulò antè carnem ſuam panem quoque cœleſtem pronuntiârat; urgens uſquoquaque per allegoriam neceſſariorum pabulorum, memoriam patrum, qui panes & carnes Ægyptiorum præverterant divinæ vocationi. *Idem ibid.*

ſentence of *Origen*: [i] *There is in the New Teſtament alſo a letter which killeth him that doth not ſpiritually conceive the things that bee ſpoken. For if according to the letter you doe follow this ſame which is ſaid; Except yee eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his bloud: this letter killeth.* And thoſe ſayings which everie where occurre in S. *Auguſtines* Tractates upon *Iohn*: [k] *How ſhall I ſend up my hand unto heaven, to take hold on* Chriſt *ſitting there? Send thy faith, and thou haſt hold of him.* [l] *Why prepareſt thou thy teeth and thy belly? Beleeve, and thou haſt eaten.* [m] *For this is to eate the living bread, to beleeve in him. He that beleeveth in him, eateth. He is inviſibly fed, becauſe he is inviſibly regenerated. He is inwardly a babe, inwardly renewed: where he is renewed, there is he nouriſhed.*

The *fourth* propoſition doth neceſſarily follow upon the third. For if the eating and drinking here ſpoken of, be not an externall eating and drinking, but an inward participation of Chriſt, by the communion of his quickning ſpirit: it is evident, that this bleſſing is to be found in the ſoule, not onely in the uſe of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, but at other times alſo. *It is no waies to be doubted by any one* (ſaith S. [n] *Auguſtine*) *that every one of the faithfull is made partaker of the body and bloud of our Lord, when he is made a member*

i Eſt & in novo Teſtamento litera quæ occidit eum, qui non ſpiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim ſecundùm literam ſequaris hoc ipſum quod dictũ eſt; Niſi manducaveritis carnem meam, & biberitis ſanguinem meum, occîdit hæc litera. *Orig in Leuit. cap. 10 hom. 7.*

k Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi ſedentem téneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuiſti. *Aug. in Evang. Iohan. Tract. 50.*

l Vt quid paras dentes & ventrem? Crede, & manducâſti. *Id. ibid. Tract. 25.*

m Credere enim in eum, hoc eſt manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat. Inviſibiliter ſaginatur, quia inviſibiliter renaſcitur. Infans intus eſt, novus intus eſt: ubi novellatur, ibi ſatiatur. *Id ibid. Tract 26.*

Fulgentius

n Nulli eſt aliquatenùs ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis ſanguinisque Dominici participem fieri, quando in Baptiſmate membrum Chriſti efficitur; nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque conſortio, etiamſi antequàm panem illum comedat, & calicem bibat, de hoc ſeculo in unitate corporis Chriſti conſtitutus abſcedat. Sacramenti quippè illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipſe hoc quod illud Sacramentum ſignificat, invenit. *Auguſt. in Serm. ad Infantes, de Sacram. apud Bedam, in 1. Corinth. 10.*

of

of Chriſt in Baptiſme: and that hee is not eſtranged from the communion of that bread and cup, although before hee eate that bread, and drinke that cup, hee depart out of this world, being ſettled in the unitie of the bodie of Chriſt. For he is not deprived of the participation and the benefite of that Sacrament, when he hath found that which this Sacrament doth ſignifie. And hereupon wee ſee, that diverſe of the Fathers doe apply the ſixt of *Iohn* to the hearing of the Word alſo: as, ° *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ᵖ *Origen*, *Euſebius Cæſareenſis*, and others. *We are ſaid to drinke the bloud of Chriſt* (ſaith ᵠ *Origen*) *not onely by way of the Sacraments, but alſo when we receive his word, wherein conſiſteth life. even as he himſelfe ſaith: The words which I have ſpoken, are ſpirit and life.* Upon which words of Chriſt, *Euſebius* paraphraſeth after this maner: ʳ *Doe not thinke that I ſpeake of that fleſh wherewith I am compaſſed, as if you muſt eate of that; neither imagine that I command you to drinke my ſenſible and bodily bloud: but underſtand well, that the words, which I have ſpoken unto you, are ſpirit and life. So that thoſe very words and ſpeeches of his, are his fleſh and bloud; whereof who is partaker, being alwaies therwith nouriſhed as it were with heavenly bread, ſhall likewiſe be made partaker of heavenly life. Therefore let not that offend you, ſaith he, which I have ſpoken of the eating of my fleſh, and of the drinking of my bloud; neither let the ſuperficiall hearing of thoſe things which were ſaid by me of fleſh and*

° *Clem. Alexan. Padagog. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

ᵖ *Orig in Levit. cap. 13. hom. 7.*

ᵠ Bibere autem dicimur ſanguinem Chriſti, non ſolùm ſacramentorum ritu, ſed & cùm ſermones eius recipimus, in quibus vita conſiſtit ſicut & ipſe dicit: Verba quæ locutus ſum, ſpiritus & vita eſt. *Origen in Num. cap 24 hom. 6.*

ʳ Μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα ἣν περίκειμαι νομίσητέ με λέγειν ὡς δεῖν αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἷμα πίνειν ἀπλανῶς βάνατέ με παρεστάλθειν. ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὰ ῥήματα ἃ

λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή. ὥστε αὐτὰ ἐστὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἡ σάρξ καὶ τὸ αἷμα. ὧν ὁ μετέχων ἀεὶ ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ ἐφανίως τρεφόμενος, καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν μεθέξει ζωῆς. Μηδὲν οὖν φρονῶν, σκανδαλιζέτω ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ὁ περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐρώσεως τῆς ἐμῆς σαρκὸς καὶ περὶ πόσεως τοῦ ἐμοῦ αἵματος εἰρηκώς, μηδὲ ταραττέτω ὑμᾶς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκοὴ τῶν περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος εἰρημένων μυστικῶν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ αἰσθητῶς ἀκούσαντα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιοῦν τοὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκούειν δυναμένους. *Euſeb. lib. 3. Eccleſiaſt. Theologiæ, cont. Marcell. Aſyran. MS. in publicâ Oxonienſis Academiæ Bibliothecâ: & in privatis virorum doctiſſimorum, D. Richardi Montaculij & M. Patricij Iunij.*

bloud, trouble you. For theſe things ſenſibly heard, profite nothing: but the ſpirit is it, which quickneth them that are able to heare ſpiritually, Thus farre *Euſebius*: whoſe words I have laid down the more largely, becauſe they are not vulgar.

There remaineth the *fift* and laſt point: which is oftentimes repeated by our Saviour in this Sermon. as in the 50. verſe: *This is the bread which commeth downe from heaven, that a man may eate therof, and not dye.* and in the 51: *If anie man eate of this bread, he ſhall live for ever.* and in the 54: *Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath eternal life.* and in the 56: *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, dwelleth in mee, and I in him.* and in the 58: *This is that bread which came downe from heaven: not as your Fathers did eate Manna, and are dead: hee that eateth of this bread, ſhall live for ever.*

Whereupon *Origen* rightly obſerveth the difference that is betwixt the eating of the *typicall* or *ſymbolicall* (for ſo he calleth the Sacrament) and the *true* bodie of Chriſt. Of the former, thus he writeth: [f] *That which is ſanctified by the word of God and by prayer, doth not of it owne nature ſanctifie him that uſeth it. For if that were ſo, it would ſanctifie him alſo* w^ch *doth eat unworthie of the Lord: neither ſhould anie one for this eating be weake, or ſick or dead. For ſuch a thing doth Paul ſhew, when he ſaith: For this cauſe many are weak & ſickly among you, and many ſleep.* Of the latter, thus: [t] *Many things may be ſpoken of the Word it ſelf, which was made fleſh, and true meat;* w^ch

f Quod ſanctificatur per verbum Dei & per obſecrationem, non ſuâpte naturâ ſanctificaturentem. Nam id ſi eſſet, ſanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indignè Domino: neq; quiſquam ob hunc eſum infirmus aut ægrotus fuiſſet, aut obdormiſſet. Nam tale quiddam Paulus demonſtrat, quum ait: Propter hoc inter vos infirmi, & malè habentes, & dormiunt multi. *Origen in Mat.* 15.

t Multa porrò & de ipſo Verbo dici poſſent, quod factum eſt caro, veruſque cibus, quem qui comederit, omnino vivet in æternum; quem nullus malus poteſt edere. Etenim ſi fieri poſſit, ut qui malus adhuc perſeveret, edat Verbum factum carnem, quum ſit verbum & panis vivus, nequaquam ſcriptum fuiſſet: Quiſquis ederit panem hunc, vivet in æternum. *Id. ibid.*

whoſoever

whoſoever eateth ſhall certainly live for ever: which no evill perſon can eat. For if it could be, that he who cõtinueth evil, might eat the word made fleſh (ſeeing he is the word & the bread of life) it ſhould not have been written: Whoſoever eateth this bread, ſhall live for ever. The like differẽce doth S. *Auguſtine* alſo, upon the ſame ground make betwixt the eating of Chriſts body *ſacramẽtally* & *really*. For having affirmed, that wicked men [u] *may not be ſaid to eat the body of Chriſt, becauſe they are not to be counted among the members of Chriſt*: hee afterward addeth. [x] Chriſt *himſelfe ſaying, He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, remaineth in mee; and I in him, ſheweth what it is, not ſacramentally but indeede, to eate the fleſh of Chriſt, and drinke his bloud: for this is, to remaine in Chriſt, that Chriſt likewiſe may remaine in him. For he ſaid this, as if he ſhould have ſaid: He that remaineth not in me, and in whom I doe not remaine; let not him ſay, or thinke, that he eateth my fleſh, or drinketh my bloud.* And in another place, expounding thoſe words of Chriſt here alledged; he thereupon inferreth thus: [y] *This is therefore to eate that meate, and drinke that drink; to remaine in Chriſt, and to have Chriſt remaining in him. And by this, he that remaineth not in Chriſt, and in whom Chriſt abideth not, without doubt doth neither ſpiritually eate his fleſh, nor drinke his bloud: although he do carnally and viſibly preſſe with his teeth the Sacrament of the*

u Nec iſti dicendi ſunt manducare corpus Chriſti, quoniam nec in membris computandi ſunt Chriſti. *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 21. cap. 25.*

x Denique ipſe dicens, Qui manducat carnem meam, & bibit ſanguinem meum, in me manet, & ego in eo; oſtendit quid ſit non ſacramento tenus, ſed reverà manducare corpus Chriſti, & ejus ſanguinem bibere: hoc eſt enim in Chriſto manere, ut in illo maneat & Chriſtus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret: Qui non in me manet, & in quo ego non maneo, non ſe dicat aut exiſtimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere ſanguinem meum. *Id. ibid.*

y Hoc eſt ergo manducare illam eſcam, & illum bibere potum; in Chriſto manere, & illum manentem in ſe habere. Ac per hoc, qui non manet in Chriſto, & in quo non manet Chriſtus, procul dubio nec manducat ſpiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus ſanguinem, licet carnaliter & viſibiliter premat dentibus ſacramentum corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti: ſed magis tantæ rei ſacramentum ad judicium ſibi manducat & bibit, quia immundus præſumpſit ad Chriſti accedere ſacramenta. *Id. in Evangel. Ioban. Tract. 26.*

bodie

bodie and bloud of Christ; and so rather eateth and drinketh the Sacrament of so great a thing for judgement to himselfe, because that becing uncleane hee did presume to come unto the Sacraments of Christ.

Hence it is that wee finde so often in him, and in other of the Fathers, that the body and bloud of Christ is communicated onely unto those that shall live, and not unto those that shall die for ever. [z] *He is the bread of life. He therefore that eateth life, cannot die. For how should he die whose meate is life? how should he faile who hath a vitall substance?* saith S. *Ambrose.* And it is a good note of *Macarius*: that, as men use to give one kinde of meate to their servants, and another to their children; so Christ, who [a] *created all things, nourisheth indeed evill and ungratefull persons: but the sonnes which he begate of his own seed, and whom he made partakers of his grace, in whom the Lord is formed, he nourisheth with a peculiar refection and food, and meat and drink, beyond other men; giving himselfe unto them, that have their conversation with his Father. as the Lord himselfe saith: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my bloud, remaineth in me, and I in him, and shall not see death.* Among the sentences collected by *Prosper* out of S. *Augustine*, this also is one. [b] *He receiveth the meat of life, and drinketh the cup of eternitie, who remaineth in Christ, and whose inhabiter is Christ. For he that is at discord with Christ, doth neither eate his flesh, nor drink his bloud: although to*

z Hic est panis vitæ. Qui ergo vitam manducat, mori non potest. Quomodo enim morietur, cui cibus vita est? Quomodo deficiet, qui habuerit vitalem substantiam? *Ambros. in Psal. 118. octonar. 18*

a Παντὰ αὐτὸς ἔκτισε, καὶ τρέφει τοὺ πονηρὸς καὶ ἀχαρίστους, τὰ δὲ τέκνα ἃ ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἷς μεμέδωκεν ἐκ τῆ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐμορφώθη ὁ Κύριος, ἰδίαν ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ τροφὴν, καὶ βρῶσιν, καὶ πόσιν, καὶ τοὺ λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέχει, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφομένοις μετὰ τῆ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὡς φησιν ὁ Κύριος, Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσει. Macar. Ægypt. homil. 14.

b Escam vitæ accipit, & æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, & cuius Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem eius manducat, nec sanguinem bibit: etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad iudicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferentur accipiat. *Prosp. sentent. 339.*

the

the judgement of his preſumption, he indifferently doth receive every day the ſacrament of ſo great a thing. Which diſtinction betweene the *Sacrament* and the *thing* whereof it is a Sacrament, (and conſequently between the *ſacramentall* and the *reall* eating of the body of Chriſt,) is thus briefly and moſt excellently expreſſed by S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe, in his expoſition upon the ſixt of *Iohn*. c *The ſacrament of this thing is taken from the Lords Table; by ſome unto life, by ſome unto deſtruction: but the thing it ſelfe wherof it is a ſacrament, is received by everie man unto life, and by none unto deſtruction, that is made partaker therof.* Our concluſion therfore is this:

The body and bloud of Chriſt is received by all unto life, and by none unto condemnation.

But that ſubſtance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not received by all unto life, but by manie unto condemnation.

Therfore that ſubſtance which is outwardly delivered in the Sacrament, is not really the bodie and bloud of Chriſt.

c Huius rei ſacramentū &c. de mensâ Dominicâ ſumitur; quibuſdam ad vitam, quibuſdam ad exitium. Res verò ipſa, cuius ſacramentū eſt, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque eius particeps fuerit. *Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 26.*

The firſt propoſition is plainely proved by the Texts which have beene alledged out of the ſixt of *Iohn*. The ſecond is manifeſt, both by common experience, and by the teſtimony of the Apoſtle, 1. *Cor.* 11. *verſ.* 17, 27, 29. We may therefore well conclude, that the ſixt of *Iohn* is ſo farre from giving anie furtherance to the doctrine of the Romaniſts in this point, that it utterly overthroweth their fond opinió, who imagine the bodie and bloud of Chriſt to be in ſuch a ſort preſent under the viſible formes of bread and wine, that whoſoever receiveth the one, muſt of force alſo really be made partaker of the other.

The like are we now to ſhew in the words of the *Inſtitution*.

stitution. For the better clearing whereof, the Reader may be pleased to consider, *first*, that the words are not; *This shall be my bodie:* nor, *This is made*, or, *shal be changed into my bodie*: but, *This* Is *my bodie. Secondly*, that the word THIS can have relation to no other substance, but that which was then present, when our Saviour spake that word; which (as wee shall make it plainely appeare) was *Bread. Thirdly*, that it being proved that the word *This*, doth demonstrate the Bread; it must of necessitie follow, that Christ affirming that to be his BODY, cannot be conceived to have meant it so to be properly, but relatively and sacramentally.

The first of these is by both sides yeelded unto: so likewise is the third. For *this is impossible*, saith the Glosse [d] upon *Gratian, that bread should bee the bodie of Christ.* And *it cannot be*, saith Cardinall [e] *Bellarmine, that that proposition should be true, the former part whereof designeth Bread, the latter the Body of Christ: forasmuch as Bread and the Lords Body bee things most diverse.* And therefore hee confidently affirmeth, [f] that if the words, *This is my body*, did make this sense, *This bread is my bodie:* this sentence *must either be taken tropically, that bread may be the body of Christ significatively; or else it is plainly absurd and impossible. for it cannot be*, saith he, *that bread should be the bodie of Christ.* For * it is *the nature* of this verb substantive *Est*, or, Is, (saith *Salmeron* his fellow Iesuite) *that as often as it joineth*

d Hoc tamen est impossibile, quòd panis sit corpus Christi. *De consecrat. dist. 2. cap. 55.* Panis est in altari. *Gloss.*

e Non igitur potest fieri, ut vera sit propositio, in quâ subiectum supponit pro pane, prædicatum autem pro corpore Christi. Panis enim & corpus Domini res diversissimæ sunt. *Bellarmin. de Eucharist. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

f Ibidem scripsit *Lutherus*, verba Evangelistæ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, hunc facere sensum, *Hic panis est corpus meum*: quæ sententia aut accipi debet tropicè, ut panis sit corpus Christi significativè; aut est planè absurda & impossibilis. nec enim fieri potest, ut panis sit corpus Christi. *Id. lib. 1. de Eucharist. cap. 1.* * Quarto ducimus argumentum à verbo illo substantivo EST: cuius ingenium & natura est, ut quoties res diversarum naturarum, quæ Latinis dicuntur disparata, unit & copulat, ibi necessariò ad figuram & tropum accurramus. *Alphons. Salmeron. Tom. 2. tract. 20.*

joineth and coupleth together things of diverse natures, which by the Latins are tearmed Disparata; there we must of necessitie runne to a figure and trope. and therefore *I should we have beene constrained to fly to a trope, if he had said; This bread is my bodie, This wine is my bloud: because this had beene a predication of disparates, as they call it,* Lastly, Doctor [g] *Kellison* also in like maner doth freely acknowledge, that *If Christ had said, This bread is my bodie; we must have understood him figuratively and metaphorically.* So that the whole matter of difference resteth now upon the second point: whether our Saviour, when he said *This is my body*, meant any thing to be his Bodie, but that Bread which was before him. A matter which easily might bee determined, in any indifferent mans judgement, by the words immediately going before. *He tooke bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave it unto them, saying: This is my bodie which is given for you; this doe in remembrance of me.* (Luk. 22. 19.) For what did he demonstrate here, and said was his Bodie, but that which he gave unto his Disciples? What did he give unto them, but what he brake? What brake he, but what he tooke? and doth not the Text expressely say, that *he tooke bread?* Was it not therfore of the Bread, hee said; *This is my bodie?* And could Bread possibly be otherwise understood to have been his Bodie, but as a Sacrament, and (as he himselfe with the same breath declared his owne meaning) a *memoriall* thereof?

If these words be not of themselves cleare enough, but have need of further exposition: can we looke for a better, than that which S. *Paul* giveth of them, 1. Cor. 10. 16. *The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of the bodie of Christ?* Did not S. *Paul* therefore so under-

y Cogeremur ad tropum confugere, si aliter dixisset, nempe; Hic panis est corpus meum, Hoc vinum est sanguis meus: quia esset prædicatio disparatorum, ut vocant. *Id. ib.*

g *Matth. Kellison, Survey of the new Religion, lib. 8. cap. 7. sect. 7.*

underſtand Chriſt, as if he had ſaid, *This bread is my body?* And if Chriſt had ſaid ſo; doth not *Kelliſon* confeſſe, and right reaſon evince, that he muſt have beene underſtood figuratively? conſidering that it is ſimply impoſſible, that Bread ſhould really bee the bodie of Chriſt. If it be ſaid, that S. *Paul* by *Bread*, doth not here underſtand that which is properly Bread, but that which lately was bread (but now is become the bodie of Chriſt:) we muſt remember, that S. *Paul* doth not onely ſay *The bread*, but, *The bread which wee breake*, which *breaking*, being an accident properly belonging to the bread it ſelfe, and not to the bodie of Chriſt (which being in glorie cannot be ſubject to anie more breaking) doth evidently ſhew, that the Apoſtle by *Bread* underſtandeth Bread indeede. Neither can the Romaniſts wel deny this, unleſſe they will deny themſelves, and confeſſe that they did but dreame all this while they have imagined that the change of the bread into the bodie of Chriſt, is made by vertue of the ſacramentall words alone, which have not their effect untill they have all beene fully uttered. For the Pronoune THIS, which is the firſt of theſe words, doth point to ſome thing which was then preſent. But no ſubſtance was then preſent but bread: ſeeing by their owne grounds, the bodie of Chriſt commeth not in, until the laſt word of that ſentence, yea and the laſt ſyllable of that word, be compleately pronounced. What other ſubſtance therefore can they make *this* to ſignifie, but *this bread* onely?

In the inſtitution of the other part of the Sacrament the words are yet more plaine, Matth. 26. verſ. 27, 28. *He tooke the cup, and gave thankes, and gave it to them, ſaying, Drinke ye all of it. For this is my bloud of the new*

Teſtament: or, (as S. *Paul* and S. *Luke* relate it) *This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud.* That which hee bid them all drinke of, is that which hee ſaid was his bloud. But our Saviour could meane nothing but the *Wine*, when he ſaid, *Drinke yee all of it:* becauſe this ſentence was uttered by him before the words of conſecration; at which time our Adverſaries themſelves doe confeſſe, that there was nothing in the cup but wine, or wine and water at the moſt. It was *wine* therefore which he ſaid was his *bloud:* even *the fruit of the Vine*, as he himſelfe termeth it. For as in the deliverie of the other cup before the inſtitution of the Sacrament, S. *Luke* (who alone maketh mention of that part of the hiſtorie) telleth us, that hee ſaid unto his Diſciples; [h] *I wil not drinke of the fruit of the Vine, untill the kingdome of God ſhall come:* ſo doth S. *Matthew* and S. *Marke* likewiſe teſtifie, that at the deliverie of the ſacramentall cup, when he had ſaid, *This is my bloud of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for manie for the remiſſion of ſinnes*; he alſo added: [i] *But I ſay unto you, I will not drinke henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, untill that day that I drinke it new with you in my Fathers kingdome.* Now ſeeing it is contrarie both to ſenſe & faith, that *Wine*, or the *fruit of the Vine*, ſhould really be the *bloud* of Chriſt; there being that formall difference in the nature of the things, that there is an utter impoſsibilitie that in true proprietie of ſpeech the one ſhould be the other: nothing in this world is more plaine, than when our Saviour ſaid it was his *bloud*, he could not meane it to be ſo ſubſtantially, but ſacramentally.

h *Luke* 22.18.

i *Mat.* 26.29. *Mar.* 14.25.

And what other interpretation can the Romaniſts themſelves give of thoſe words of the inſtitution in S. *Paul?*

Paul? [k] *This cup is the new Teſtament in my bloud.* How is *the cup*, or the thing contained in the cup *the new Teſtament*, otherwiſe than as a *Sacrament* of it? Marke how in the like caſe the Lord himſelfe, at the inſtitution of the firſt Sacrament of the old Teſtament, uſeth the ſame manner of ſpeech, Geneſ. 17.10. [l] *This is my Covenant* or *Teſtament* (for the Greeke word in both places is the ſame:) and in the words preſently following, thus expoundeth his owne meaning. [m] *It ſhall be a* SIGNE *of the Covenant betwixt me and you.* And generally for all Sacraments, the rule is thus laid downe by S. *Auguſtine*, in his Epiſtle to *Bonifacius*: [n] *If Sacraments did not ſome manner of way reſemble the things wherof they are Sacraments, they ſhould not be Sacraments at all. And for this reſemblance they doe oftentimes alſo beare the names of the things themſelves. As therefore the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is after a certaine maner the bodie of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of Chriſts bloud is the bloud of Chriſt; ſo likewiſe the ſacrament of faith, is faith.* By the Sacrament of faith hee underſtandeth Baptiſme; of which he afterward alledgeth that ſaying of the Apoſtle, Rom. 6.4. *We are buried with* Chriſt *by baptiſme into death*: and then addeth. [o] *He ſaith not, We ſignifie his burialb; but he plainly ſaith, Wee are buried. Therefore the Sacrament of ſo great a thing hee would not otherwiſe call but by the name of the thing it ſelfe.* And in his Queſtions upon Leviticus: [p] *The thing that ſignifi-*

k Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι. 1.Cor.11.25.

l Καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διατηρήσεις ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. Gen. 17.10

m Καὶ ἔσται εἰς σημεῖον (vel, εἰς σημεῖον) διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. Gen. 17.11.

n Si enim Sacramẽta quandam ſimilitudinem earũ rerũ quarũ ſacramẽta ſunt non haberent, omninò ſacramẽta non eſſent. Ex hâc autem ſimilitudine plerumq; etiam ipſarum rerum nomina accipiũt Sicut ergo ſecũdùm quendam modum ſacramentum corporis Chriſti corpus Chriſti eſt, ſacramentũ ſanguinis Chriſti ſanguis Chriſti eſt; ita ſacramentum fidei fides eſt. *Aug. ep.* 23. o Non ait, Sepulturã ſignificamus: ſed prorſus ait, Cõſepulti ſumus. Sacramentũ ergo tantæ rei non niſi ejuſdẽ rei vocabulo nũcupavit. *Id. ibid.* p Solet autẽ res quæ ſignificat, ejus rei nomine quam ſignificat nuncupari ſicut ſcriptũ eſt: Septem ſpicæ ſeptem anni ſunt (non enim dixit, Septem annos ſignificant), & ſeptem boves ſeptem anni ſunt: & multa huiuſmodi. Hinc eſt quod dictũ eſt: Petra erat Chriſtus. Non enim dixit, Petra ſignificat Chriſtũ; ſed tanquam hoc eſſet, quod utiq; per ſubſtantiã non hoc erat, ſed per ſignificationẽ. Sic & ſanguis, quoniam propter vitalẽ quandam corpulentiam animam ſignificat, in ſacramentis anima dictus eſt. *Aug. in Lev. qu.* 57.

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eth (ſaith he) *uſeth to bee called by the name of that thing which it ſignifieth. as it is written: the ſeven eares of corne, are ſeven yeares; (for he ſaid not; they ſignifie ſeven yeares:) and the ſeven Kine are ſeven yeares: and manie ſuch like. Hence was that ſaying: The Rocke was Chriſt. For he ſaid not, The Rocke did ſignifie Chriſt; but as if it had been that verie thing, which doubtleſſe by ſubſtance it was not, but by ſignification. So alſo the bloud, becauſe for a certaine vitall corpulencie which it hath, it ſignifieth the ſoule; after the maner of Sacraments it is called the ſoule.* Our argument therefore out of the words of the inſtitution, ſtandeth thus:

If it be true, that Chriſt called Bread his bodie, and Wine his bloud: then muſt it be true alſo, that the things which hee honoured with thoſe names, cannot be really his body & bloud, but figuratively and ſacramentally.

But the former is true. Therefore alſo the latter. The firſt propoſition hath bin proved by the undoubted principles of right reaſon, and the clear confeſſion of the adverſe part: the ſecond by the circumſtances, of the Text of the Evangeliſts, by the expoſition of S. *Paul*, and by the received grounds of the Romaniſts themſelves. The concluſion therefore reſteth firme: and ſo wee have made it cleare, that the words of the Inſtitution doe not onely not uphold, but directly alſo overthrow the whole frame of that which the Church of Rome teacheth, touching the corporall preſence of Chriſt under the formes of Bread and Wine.

If I ſhould now lay down here all the ſentences of the Fathers, which teach that that which Chriſt called his Body, is bread in ſubſtance, and the Bodie of the

Lord in ſignification and ſacramentall relation: I ſhould never make an end. *Iuſtin Martyr*, in his Apologie to *Antonius* the Emperour, telleth us, that the bread & the wine, even that [q] *ſanctified food wherewithour bloud and fleſh by converſion are nouriſhed*, is that w^ch *we are taught to be the fleſh and bloud of Ieſus incarnate*. *Irenæus* in his 4th. booke againſt hereſies, ſaith, that our Lord [r] *taking bread of that condition which is uſuall among us, confeſſed it to be his body*: & [ſ] *the cup* likewiſe containing *that creature which is uſuall among us, his bloud*. And in his fift book he addeth: [t] *That cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his bloud which was ſhed, wherby he increaſeth our bloud; & that bread wch is of the creature, to be his body, whereby he increaſeth our bodies. Therefore when the mixed cup and the broken bread doth receive the word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the bloud and body of Chriſt, whereby the ſubſtance of our fleſh is increaſed and doth conſiſt*. Our Lord, ſaith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [u] *did bleſſe wine, when hee ſaid; Take, drink, This is my bloud, the bloud of the Vine*. Tertullian: [x] Chriſt *taking bread, and diſtributing it to his Diſciples, made it his body, ſaying, This is my body, that is the figure of my body*. Origen: [y] *That meate which is ſanctified by*

q Εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατ' μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνης τῆς σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. Iuſt. Apolog. 2.

r Quomodo autem juſtè Dominus, ſi alterius patris exiſtit, hujus conditionis, quæ eſt ſecundùm nos, accipiens panem, ſuum corpus eſſe confitebatur; & temperamentum calicis ſuum ſanguinẽ confirmavit *Iren. l. 4. cap. 57.*

ſ Calicem, qui eſt ex eâ creaturâ quæ eſt ſecundùm nos, ſuum ſanguinem confeſſus eſt. *Id. l. 4. cap. 32.* t Eum calicem qui eſt creatura, ſuum ſanguinem qui effuſus eſt, ex quo auget noſtrum ſanguinem; & eum panem qui eſt à creaturâ, ſuum corpus confirmavit, ex quo noſtra auget corpora. Quando ergo & mixtus calix & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Euchariſtia ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit carnis noſtræ ſubſtantia. *Id. l. 5. cap. 2. edit. Colon. an. 1596.* u Εὐλόγησεν γὰρ τὸν οἶνον, εἰπών, Λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀμπέλου. Cle. Alex. Pædag. l. 2. c. 2. x Acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illum fecit, Hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. *Tertul. adverſ. Marcion. lib. 4. cap. 40.* y Ille cibus qui ſanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obſecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum ejicitur: cæterùm iuxta præcationem quæ illi acceſſit proportione fidei fit utilis, efficiens ut perſpicax fiat animus, ſpectans ad id quod utile eſt. Nec materia panis, ſed ſuper illum dictus ſermo eſt, qui prodeſt non indignè Domino comedenti illum. Et hæc quidem de typico ſymbolicóque corpore. *Origen. in Matth. cap. 15.*

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the word of God, and by prayer, as touching the materiall part thereof, goeth into the belly, and is voided into the draught: but as touching the praier which is added, according to the portion of faith it is made profitable; enlightning the minde, and making it to behold that which is profitable. Neither is it the matter of bread, but the word spoken over it, which profiteth him that doth not unworthily eate thereof. And these things I speake of the typicall and symbolicall bodie, saith *Origen*. In the Dialogues against the Marcionites, collected for the most part out of the writings of *Maximus* (who lived in the time of the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*) *Origen*, who is made the chiefe speaker therein, is brought in thus disputing against the Heretickes: [z] *If* Christ, *as these men say, were without bodie and bloud: of what kinde of flesh, or of what body, or of what kinde of bloud did he give the bread and the cup to be Images of, when he commanded his Disciples by them to make a commemoration of him?* S. *Cyprian* also noteth, [a] that it was *Wine*, even the fruite of the Vine, which the Lord said was his *bloud*: and that [b] *floure alone, or water alone, cannot be the bodie of our Lord, unlesse both be united and coupled together, and kneaded into the lumpe of one bread.* And againe; that [c] *the Lord calleth bread his bodie, which is made up by the uniting of manie cornes:* and *wine his bloud, which is pressed out of many clusters of grapes, & gathered into one* liquor. Which I find also word for word in a

z Εἰ δ' ὡς ἔστιν φασὶν, ἄσαρκος καὶ ἀναιμόων, ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ ποίου σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας ἔδιδες ἄρτου τε καὶ ποτηρίου ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων ἢ ἀνάμνησιν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι; Orig. Dial. 3.

a Quâ in parte invenimus calicem mixtũ fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, & vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit. *Cypri. epist. 63. sect. 6.*

b Nec corpus Domini potest esse farina sola, aut aqua sola; nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit & copulatũ, & panis unius compage solidatum. *Id. ibid. sect. 10.*

c Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum, quem portabat, indicat adunatum: & quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat, commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. *Id epist. 76. sect. 4.*

maner, tranſcribed in the Commentaries upon the Goſpels, attributed unto [d] *Theophilus* Biſhop of Antioch. Whereby it appeareth, that in thoſe elder times the words of the Inſtitution were no otherwiſe conceived, than as if Chriſt had plainely ſaid; *This bread is my body*, and, *This wine is my bloud*: which is the maine thing that we ſtrive for with our Adverſaries; and for which the words themſelves are plaine enough. the ſubſtance whereof we finde thus laid downe in the Harmonie of the Goſpels gathered, as ſome ſay, by *Tatianus*, as others, by *Ammonius*, within the ſecond or the third age of Chriſt. [e] *Having taken the bread, then afterward the cup of wine, and teſtified it to be his bodie and bloud, he commanded them to eate and drinke thereof; foraſmuch as it was the memoriall of his future paſsion and death.*

d *Theoph. Antioch. in evang. lib. 1. pag. 152. tom. 2. Biblioth. Patr. edit. Colon.*

e Mox accepto pane, deinde vini calice, corpus eſſe ſuum ac ſanguinem teſtatus, manducare illos iuſſit & bibere; quòd ea ſit futuræ calamitatis ſuæ mortiſque memoria. *Ammon. harmon. Evang. tom. 3. Biblioth. Patr. pag. 28.*

To the Fathers of the firſt three hundred yeares, wee will now adjoyne the teſtimonies of thoſe that flouriſhed in the ages following. The firſt whereof ſhal be *Euſebius*: who faith that our Saviour [f] *delivered to his Diſciples the ſymboles of his divine diſpenſation, commanding them to make the Image of his owne body*; and [g] *appointing them to uſe Bread for the ſymbole of his bodie.* and that wee ſtill [h] *celebrate upon the Lords table, the memorie of his ſacrifice, by the ſymboles of his bodie and bloud, according to the ordinances of the New Teſtament.* *Acacius*, who ſucceeded him in his Biſhopricke, ſaith that

f Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς ἰδίοις παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παραγγελεύσας. Euſeb. lib. 8 Demonſt. Evang. in fine, cap. 1.

g Ἄρτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου. Id. ibid.

h Τοῦτο δοκεῖ τοῦ σώματος τὴν μνήμην ὅπερ γεγένηται ἐκτελεῖν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος, κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παραδεδομένους. Id. lib. 1. demonſtr. cap. vii.

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i *the bread and wine sanctifieth them that feed upon that matter*: acknowledging thereby, that the materiall part of those outward elements do still remain. *In the Church*, saith k *Macarius*, *is offered bread and wine, the type of his flesh and bloud: and they which are partakers of the visible bread, doe spiritually eate the flesh of the Lord.* Christ, saith S. l *Hierome, did not offer water, but wine, for the type of his bloud.* S. *Augustine* bringeth in our Saviour thus speaking of this matter. m *You shall not eate this body which you see, nor drinke that bloud which they shall shed that will crucifie mee. I have commended a certain Sacrament unto you: that being spiritually understood will quicken you.* The same Father in another place writeth, that n Christ admitted *Iudas* to *that banquet, wherin he commended and delivered unto his Disciples the figure of his bodie and bloud:* but (as he elsewhere o addeth) *they did eat that bread which was the Lord himselfe; hee the bread of the Lord against the Lord.* Lastly: *the Lord* (saith p he) *did not doubt to say, This is my bodie; when hee gave the signe of his bodie.*

So the Author of the Homily upon the 22 Psalme, (among the workes of *Chrysostome*:) q *This table hee hath prepared for his seruants and hand-maides in their sight: that hee might every day, for a similitude of the body and bloud of Christ, shew unto us in a sacrament*

i Panis vinumque ex hâc materiâ vescentes sanctificat. *Acac. in Gen. 2. Græc. edit. in Pentateuch. Zephyro interp.*

k Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος· αἵτινες τύπος εἰσὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου, πνευματικὰς τὰς σάρκας τοῦ Κυρίου ἐδέξαντο. Macar. Aegypt. homil. 27.

l In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum. *Hieronym. lib. 2. adversus Iovinian.*

m Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, & bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui: spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos. *Augustin. in Psal. 98.*

n Adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit & tradidit. *Id. in Psal. 3.*

o Illi manducabant panem Dominum: ille panem Domini contra Dominum. *Id. in Euang. Iohan. tract. 59.*

p Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum; cùm signum daret corporis sui. *Aug. contr. Adimant. cap. 12.*

q Istam mensam præparavit servis & ancillis in conspectu eorum, ut quotidie in similitudinem corporis & sanguinis Christi, panem & vinum secundùm ordinẽ Melchisedec, nobis ostenderet in sacramento. *In Psal. 22. Chrysost. tom. 1.*

bread and wine after the order of Melchisedec. And S. *Chrysostome* himselfe, in his Epistle written to *Cæsarius*, against the heresie of *Apolinarius*. [r] *As before the bread be sanctified, wee call it bread; but when Gods grace hath sanctified it by the meanes of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is reputed worthy the name of the Lords body, although the nature of the bread remaine still in it; and it is not called two bodies, but one body of Gods Sonne: so likewise here, the divine nature residing in the body of Christ, these two make one sonne, and one person.* In the selfe same manner also doe *Theodoret*, *Gelasius*, and *Ephræmius* proceed against the Eutychian heretickes. *Theodoret*, for his part, layeth downe these grounds. That our Saviour, [s] *in the delivery of the mysteries, called bread his body, and that which was mixt* (in the cupp) *his bloud.* That [t] hee *changed the names; and gaue to the body the name of the symbol* or signe, *and to the symbol the name of the body.* That hee [u] *honoured the visible symboles with the name of his body and bloud; not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.* And that [x] *this most holy food is a symbol and type of those things whose names it beareth*, to wit, *of the body and bloud of Christ.* Gelasius writeth thus: [y] *The sacraments which*

r Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus; divinâ illum sanctificante gratiâ, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permanfit: & non duo corpora, sed unum Filii corpus prædicatur, sic & hîc divinâ inundante corporis naturâ (*vel potius*, divinâ naturâ in corpore insidente: *Grace.* ἐνιδρυομένης *hîc legitur, in MS. Bibliotheca Florentina exemplari, unde illa transtulit Petrus Martyr*) unum filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt. *Chrysost. ad Cæsarium monachum.* [s] Ἐν ᾧ γε τῷ μυστηρίῳ παραδίδοσι, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κράμα. *Theod. dialog.* 1 Ἀπρεπῶς, *fol.* 8. *edit. Rom. an.* 1547. [t] Ὁ δὲ γε σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνήλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι, τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. *Ib.* [u] Τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῆς τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος θεσπρεπείᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προσεθεικώς. *Ibid.* [x] σύμβολόν τε καὶ τύπον ἐκείνων, ὧν καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐδέξατο. *Ibid.* [y] Certa sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis & sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod, & per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ; & tamen esse non desinit substantia, vel natura panis & vini. Et certé imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi, in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostendi-

wee

wee receive, of the body and bloud of Christ, are a divine thing, by meanes whereof wee are made partakers of the divine nature: and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not cease to be. And indeed the image and the similitude of the body and bloud of Christ, are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It appeareth therefore evidently enough unto us, that wee are to hold the same opinion of the Lord Christ himselfe, which we professe, celebrate, and are, in his image. that as (those Sacraments) *by the operation of the holy Spirit, passe into this, that is, into the divine substance, and yet remaine in the propriety of their owne nature: so that principall mystery it selfe, whose force and vertue they truly represent,* should be conceived to be. namely, to consist of two natures, divine and humane; the one not abolishing the truth of the other. Lastly, *Ephræmius* the Patriarch of Antioch, having spoken of the distinction of these two natures in Christ, and said, that * *no man having understanding, could say, that there was the same nature of that which could be handled, and of that which could not be handled, of that which was visible, and of that which was invisible;* addeth. *And even thus, the body of Christ which is received by the faithfull,* (the Sacrament hee meaneth) *doth neither depart from his sensible substance, and yet remaineth undivided from intelligible grace. and Baptisme, being wholly made spirituall, and remaining one, doth both retaine the property of his sensible*

tur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in eius imagine profitemur, celebramus, & sumus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicèt in divinam transeant, sancto spiritu perficiente, substantiam, permanentes tamẽ in suæ proprietate naturæ; sic illud ipsum mysteriũ principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, &c. *Gelas. de duab. natur. in Christo, contra Eut. chen.*

* Ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἀνεύπειν δύναται τὸν ἔχων, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητῆ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτῳ, καὶ ὁρατῆ καὶ ἀοράτῳ. οὕτως καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀϊδιοῦς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίστα. (Schottus the Iesuite translateth this, & sensibilis essentiæ non cognoscitur: which is a strange interpretation, if you marke it) καὶ ἀνοήτῳ ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτι· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὅλον πνευματικὸν ὅλον γινόμενον καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας, τῷ ὕδατι· λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ ἔχομεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν. *Ephræmius de sacris Antiochiæ legib. lib. 1. in Photii Bibliotheca, cod. 229.*

substance, (of water, I meane) and yet looseth not that which it is made.

Thus have wee produced evidences of all sorts, for confirmation of the doctrine by us professed touching the blessed Sacrament: which cannot but give sufficient satisfaction to all that with any indifferency will take the matter into their consideration. But the men with whom wee have to deale, are so farre fallen out with the truth; that neither sense nor reason, neither authority of Scriptures or of Fathers, can perswade them to be friends againe with it: unlesse wee shew unto them, in what Popes daies the contrary falshood was first devised. If nothing else will give them content: wee must put them in minde, that about the time wherein *Soter* was Bishop of Rome, there lived a cousening companion, called *Marcus*; whose qualities are thus set out by an ancient Christian, [a] who was famous in those daies, though now his name be unknowne unto us.

[a] *Vet. author. citatus ab Irenæo, lib. 1. cap. 12.*

Εἰδώλοποιὲ Μάρκε, κὴ πεφατσκόπε,
Ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε κὴ μαγικῆς τέχνης,
Δι' ὧν κεκτύνεις τ' πλάνης τὰ δισάγματα,
Σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ἐπὶ σὺ πλανωμένοις,
Ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐγχειρήματα,
Ἃ σοὶ χορηγεῖ σὸς πατὴρ Σατὰν ἀεὶ
Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζὴλ ποιεῖν·
Ἔχων σὲ ὡσόδρομον εἰ πηδὲν παιρείας.

Where first hee chargeth him to have beene an *Idolmaker*; then hee obiecteth unto him his skill in Astrologie and Magicke, by meanes whereof, and by

by the assistance of Satan, hee laboured, with a shew of miracles, to winne credit unto his false doctrines, amongst his seduced disciples: and lastly hee concludeth, that his father the Divell had imployed him as a forerunner of his *antithean craft*, or his antichristian deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse, if you will haue it in the Apostles language. For hee was indeed the Divels forerunner, both for the [b] idolatries and sorceries which afterward were brought into the East; and for those [c] Romish fornications and inchantments wherewith the whole West was corrupted by that man of sinne, [d] *whose comming* was foretold to be *after the working of Satan, with all power, and signes, and lying wonders*. And that wee may keepe our selves within the compasse of that particular, which now wee have in hand: we finde in *Irenæus*, that this Arch-hereticke made speciall use of his juggling feates, to breed a perswasion in the mindes of those whom hee had perverted; that in the cup of his pretended Eucharist, hee really delivered them bloud to drinke. For [e] *fayning himselfe to consecrate the cups filled with wine, and extending the words of Invocation to a great length, hee made them to appeare of a purple and red colour: to the end it might be thought, that the Grace which is aboue all things, did distill the bloud thereof into that cup by his invocation.* And even according to this precedent wee finde it fell out afterwards, that the principall and most powerfull meanes whereby the like grosse conceit (of the gutturall eating and drinking of the body and bloud of Christ) was at the first fastened upon the multitude, and in processe of time more deeply

b *Apoc.* 9. 20. 21.

c *Apoc.* 18. 3, 23.

d 2 *Thes.* 2. 9.

e Ποτήρια ὄινῳ κεκραμένα προσαιτούμενον δὲ χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς τὰ ὅλα χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῴζειν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ. *Irenæus lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.

deeply rooted in them, were ſuch deluſions and fained apparitions as theſe: which yet that great Schooleman himſelfe, *Alexander* of Hales, confeſſeth to happen ſometimes, either by [f] *the procurement of man*, or by *the operation of the divel*. *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, who was one of the firſt ſetters forward of this doctrine in the Weſt, ſpendeth a large chapter upon this point: wherein hee telleth us, [g] that Chriſt in the ſacrament did ſhew himſelfe *oftentimes in a viſible ſhape, either in the forme of a Lamb, or in the colour of fleſh and bloud, ſo that while the hoſte was a breaking or an offering, a Lambe in the Prieſts hands, and bloud in the Chalice ſhould be ſeene as it were flowing from the ſacrifice, that what lay hid in a myſtery, might to them that yet doubted be made manifeſt in a miracle.* And ſpecially in that place hee inſiſteth upon a narration, which hee found *in geſtis Anglorum*, (but deſerved well to have beene put into *geſta Romanorum* for the goodneſſe of it) of one *Plecgils* or *Plegilus* a Prieſt; how an Angell ſhewed Chriſt unto him in the forme of a childe upon the Altar, whom firſt hee tooke into his armes, and kiſſed, but ate him up afterwards, when hee was returned to his former ſhape againe. Whereof aroſe that jeaſt which *Berengarius* was wont to uſe: [h] *This was a proper peace of the knave indeed, that whom hee had kiſſed with his mouth, hee would devoure with his teeth.*

But there are three other tales of ſingular note;

f Humanâ procuratione, vel fortè diabolicâ operatione. *Alex. Halenſ. Summ. Theolog. part. 4 quæſt. 11. memb. 2. artic. 4. ſect 3.*

g Nemo qui Sanctorum vitas & exempla legerit, poteſt ignorare, quòd ſæpè hæc myſtica corporis & ſanguinis ſacramenta, aut propter dubios, aut certé propter ardentiùs amantes Chriſtum, viſibili ſpecie in agni formâ, aut in carnis & ſanguinis colore monſtrata ſint; quatenùs de ſe Chriſtus clementer adhuc non credentibus fidem faceret: ita ut dum oblata frangitur, vel offertur hoſtia, videretur agnus in manibus, & cruor in calice, quaſi ex immolatione profluere ut quod latebat in myſterio, pateſceret adhuc dubitantibus in miraculo. *Paſchaſ. de corp. & ſangu. Dom. cap.* 14.

h Speciosa certé pax nebulonis; ut cui oris præbuerat baſium, dentium inferret exitium. *Guilielm. Malmesbur. de geſtis Reg. Anglor. lib.* 3.

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which though they may juſtly ſtrive for winning of the Whetſtone with any other, yet for their antiquity have gained credite above the reſt: being deviſed, as it ſeemeth, much about the ſame time with that other of *Plegilus*, but having relation unto higher times. The firſt was had out of the *Engliſh* Legends too, as [i] *Iohannes Diaconus* reporteth it in the life of *Gregory* the firſt: of a Romane Matron, who found a piece of the ſacramentall bread turned into the faſhion of a finger, all bloudie; which afterwards, upon the prayers of S. *Gregory*, was converted to his former ſhape againe. The other two were firſt coyned by the Grecian lyars, and from them conveyed unto the Latines, and regiſtred in the booke which they called *Vitas Patrum*: which being commonly beleeved to have beene collected by S. [k] *Hierome*, and accuſtomed to be read ordinarily in every Monaſterie; gave occaſion of further ſpred, and made much way for the progreſſe of this myſterie of iniquity. The former of theſe is not onely related [l] there, but alſo in the Legend of *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, (which is ſuch another author among the Grecians, as *Iacobus de Voragine* was among the Latines) in the [m] life of *Arſenius*: how that a little childe was ſeene upon the Altar, and an Angell cutting him into ſmall pieces with a knife, and receiving his bloud into the Chalice, as long as the Prieſt was breaking the bread into little parts. The latter, is of a certaine Iew, receiving the Sacrament at S. *Baſils* hands, converted viſibly into true fleſh and bloud: which is expreſſed by *Cyrus Theodorus Prodromus*, in this Tetraſtich.

i *Io. Diac. vit. Greg. ib. 2. cap.* 41.

k Sanctus Hieronymus preſbyter, ipſas Sanctorum Patrum Vitas Latino edidit. ſermone. *Paſchaſ. Radbert. in epiſt. ad Frudegard. Conſule libros Carolinos, de Imaginib. lib. 4. cap.* 11.

l *Inter ſententiæ Patrum, â Pelagio Romanæ eccleſiæ diacono Latinè verſas, libell.* 18. *cui titulus de* Providētiâ *vel* Prævidentiâ: *ſive, ut in Photii Bibliothecâ habetur. cod.* 98. *περὶ διοφημένων Tom. 4. Surii, pag. 257. edit. Colon. an.* 1573

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Inter ſententias Patrum, â Pelagio Romanæ Eccleſiæ diacono Latinè verſas, libell. 18. cui titulus de Proviſ. ſ. tiâ *vel* Præ-ſcientiâ: *ſive, ut in Photii* Bibliothecâ habetur. *cod. 98. Περὶ προγνώσεως Tom. 4. Surii, pag. 257. edit. Colon. an. 1573*

EGULAR NATION

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Χειρὶ

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i *Io. Diac. vit. Greg. ib. 2. cap. 41.*

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m *Tom. 4. Surii, pag. 257. edit. Colon. an. 1573*

Χειστὸς

Χερσιανῶν ποτε πάζε συμπολίτω Ἕβερ υἱὸς
Ἄρτον εἰσρόων, καὶ ἄιδοπα χαιῶ ἐπ᾽ οἶνον.
Τὸν δ᾽ ὡς ἓν ἐνόησε Βασιλείε χέαρ ἀγνὸν,
Πόρσωνεν ὁι φαγέειν, τὰ δ᾽ ὀπὶ χρέας αἷμα τ᾽ ἀμείρθη.

But the chiefe author of the fable was a cheating fellow, who, [n] that hee might lye with authority, tooke upon him the name of *Amphilochius*, S. *Basils* companion, and ſet out a booke of his life [o] fraught with leaſings: as Cardinall *Baronius* himſelfe acknowledgeth. S. *Auguſtines* concluſion therefore may here well take place. [p] *Let thoſe things be taken away, which are either fictions of lying men, or wonders wrought by evill ſpirits. For either there is no truth in theſe reports; or if there be any ſtrange things done by hereticks, wee ought the more to be ware of them: becauſe, when the Lord had ſaid, that certaine deceivers ſhould come, who by doing of ſome wonders ſhould ſeduce (if it were poſsible) the very elect, hee very earneſtly commended this unto our conſideration, and ſaid; Behold, I have told you before.* yea and added a further charge alſo, that if theſe impoſtors ſhould ſay unto us of him, [q] *Behold hee is in ſecret cloſets*, we ſhould not beleeve it: which whether it be appliable to them who tell us, that Chriſt is to be found in a Pixe, and thinke that they have him in ſafe cuſtodie under Locke and Key; I leave to the conſideration of others.

The thing which now I would have further obſerved, is onely this; that, as that wretched heretick who firſt went about to perſwade men by his lying wonders, that hee really delivered bloud unto them in

n Nomen Amphilochii ad mentiendũ accepit. *Baron. tom. 4. an.* 369. *ſect.* 43.

o Scatens mẽdaciis. *Id. ibid. an.* 363. *ſect.* 55.

p Removiantur iſta vel figmenta mendaciũ hominum, vel portenta fallacium ſpirituum. Aut enim non ſunt vera quæ dicuntur; aut ſi hæreticorum aliqua mira facta ſunt, magis cavere debemus: quòd cùm dixiſſet Dominus quoſdam futuros eſſe fallaces, qui nonnulla ſigna faciendo etiam electos ſi fieri poſſet fallerent; adjecit vehementer cõmendans, & ait, Ecce prædixi vobis, *Auguſt. de unitat. Eccleſ. cap.* 16.

q *Mat.* 24. 26.

in the cup of the Eucharist, was censured for being εἰδωλοποιὸς, an *Idol-maker*: so in after-ages, from the Idol-makers, and Image-worshippers of the East, it was, that this grosse opinion of the orall eating and drinking of Christ in the Sacrament, drew its first breath; [r] God having, for their Idolatrie, justly given them up unto *a reprobate minde*, that they might *receive that recompence of their errour which was meet*.

r Rom. 1. 27. 28

The Popes name, in whose dayes this fell out, was *Gregory* the *third*: the mans name, who was the principall setter of it abroach, was [s] *John Damascen*; one that laid the foundation of Schoole-divinitie among the Greeks, as *Peter Lombard* afterwards did among the Latines. On the contrary side, they who opposed the Idolatrie of those times, and more especially the CCCXXXVIII. Bishops assembled together at the Councell of Constantinople, in the yeere 754. maintained, that Christ [t] *chose no other shape or type under heauen to represent his incarnation by*, but the Sacrament; which [u] *hee delivered to his ministers for a type and a most effectuall commemoration* thereof; [x] *commanding the substance of bread to be offered, which did not any way resemble the forme of a man, that so no occasion might be given of bringing in Idolatry*. which bread they affirmed to be the body of Christ, not φύσει, but θέσει, that is, (as they themselves expound it) [y] *a holy* and [z] *a true Image of his naturall flesh*.

s Damascen. Orthodox. fid. lib. 4. cap. 14.

t ὡς ἐκ ἄλλω ἐδενὸς ἐπλεχθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ νομοθεσίᾳ τύπου εἰκονίσαι τὸ αὐτοῦ σαρκωθὲν δωρεμένου.

u εἰς τύπον καὶ ἀνάμνησιν ἐναργεστάτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ μυσταγωγοῖς παραδέδωκε.

x ἄρτου οὐσίαν προσετάξατο προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρείας παρεισαχθῇ.

y τὸ θέσει, ἤτοι ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἁγία.

z τὸ δὲ ἀχράντου ἄρτου, ὡς ἀψευδὴς εἰκὼν τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς, and ἀψευδὴς εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, &c. So a little after it is called ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, and ἀψευδὴς εἰκὼν τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας χριστοῦ. a Concil. gener. tom. 3. pag. 599. 600. edit. Rom.

These assertions of theirs are to be found in the [a] third Tome of the sixt Action of the second Coun-

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cell of Nice, assembled not long after for the reestablishing of Images in the Church. where a pratchant deacon, called *Epiphanius*, to crosse that which those former Bishops had delivered, confidently avoucheth, that none of the Apostles, nor of the Fathers, did ever call the Sacrament *an image* of the body of Christ. Hee confesseth indeed, that some of the Fathers (as *Eustathius* expounding the Proverbs of *Salomon*, and S. *Basil* in his Liturgie) doe call the bread and wine ἀντίτυπα, *correspondent types or figures*, before they were consecrated: [b] *but after the consecration* (saith hee) *they are called, and are, and beleeved to be the body and bloud of Christ properly*. where the Popes owne followers, who of late published the Acts of the generall Councels at Rome, were so farre ashamed of the ignorance of this blinde Bayard, that they correct his boldnesse with this marginall note. [c] *The holy gifts are oftentimes found to be called antitypes*, or figures correspondent, *after they be consecrated: as by Gregory Nazianz. in the funerall Oration upon his sister, and in his Apologie; by Cyrill of Ierusalem in his fift Cateches. Mystagogic. and by others*. And wee have alreadie heard, how the author of the Dialogues against the Marcionites, and after him *Eusebius* and *Gelasius*, expressely call the Sacrament *an image* of Christs bodie: howsoever this peremptorie Clerke denieth, that ever any did so. By all which it may easily appeare, that, not the oppugners, but the defenders of Images, were the men who first went about herein to alter the language used by their forefathers.

b μετὰ τὴν ἁγιασθῆναι ἐκλήθη ἀντίτυπα, καὶ ἐστὶ τὰ ἁγιασμὸν σώματα κυρίως καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ λεγόμενα, καὶ εἶναι, καὶ πιστεύονται. Ibid. pag. 601.

c Ἀντίτυπα μὲν τὰ ἁγιασθέντα πολλάκις δίδηται καλοῦμενα τὰ ἁγια δώρα· ὡς παρὰ Γρηγορ. τῷ Θεολ. ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιτ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπολογ. παρὰ Κυρίλλῳ Ἱεροσολ. κατηχ. μυστ. β. καὶ ἄλλοις. Ib. in margine.

Now as in the daies of *Gregory* the third, this matter

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chaſius

chasius in the end of his Epistle intreateth *Frudegardus* not to follow :) hee was censured in a [h] Synod held at *Carisiacum*: wherein it was declared by the Bishops of France, that [i] *the bread and wine are spiritually made the body of Christ; which being a meat of the mind, and not of the belly, is not corrupted, but remaineth unto everlasting life.*

These dotages of *Amalarius*, did not onely give occasion to that question propounded by *Heribaldus* to *Rabanus*, whereof wee haue spoken [k] heretofore; but also to that other of farre greater consequence: Whether that which was externally delivered and received in the sacrament, were the very same body which was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffered upon the Crosse, and rose againe from the Graue. *Paschasius Radbertus* (a Deacon of those times, but somewhat of a better and more modest temper than the Greeke Deacon shewed himselfe to be of) held that it was the very same; and to that purpose wrote his booke to *Placidus*, of the Body and Bloud of our Lord: wherein (saith a Iesuite) [l] *hee was the first that did so explicate the true sense of the Catholicke Church*, (his owne Romane hee meaneth) *that hee opened the way to those many others, who wrote afterwards of the same argument.* *Rabanus*, on the other side, in his answer to *Heribaldus*, and in a former writing directed to Abbat *Egilo*, maintayned the contrary doctrine: as hath before beene noted. Then one *Frudegardus*, reading the third booke of S. Augustine *de doctrinâ Christianâ*, and finding there, that the eating of the flesh, and drinking of the bloud of Christ, was a figurative manner of speech,

h *Florus in Actis Synod. Carisiac. MS. apud N. Ranchinum, in Senatu Tolosano Regium Consiliarium. Vid. Phil. Morn. de Miss. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

i Panis, & vinũ efficiter spiritualiter corpus Christi, &c. Mentis ergo est cibus iste, non ventris: nec corrumpitur, sed permanet in vitam æternam. *Ibid.*

k *Super. pag. 16*

l Genuinũ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sensum ita primus explicuit, ut viam cæteris aperuerit, qui de eodem argumento multi postea scripsere *Iac. Sirmond. in vitâ Radberti.* Hic auctor primus fuit, qui seriò & copiosè scripsit de veritate corporis & sanguinis Domini in Eucharistiâ. *Bellarm. de Script. Eccles.*

ſpeech, began ſomewhat to doubt of the truth of that which formerly hee had read in that foreſaid Treatiſe of *Paſchaſius*: which moved *Paſchaſius* to write againe of the ſame argument, as of a queſtion wherein hee confeſſeth [m] *many were then doubtfull.* But neither by his firſt, nor by his ſecond writing was hee able to take theſe doubts out of mens mindes: and therefore *Carolus Calvus* the Emperour, being deſirous to compoſe theſe differences, and to have unitie ſettled among his ſubiects, required *Ratrannus* (a learned man of that time, who lived in the Monaſterie of Corbey, whereof *Paſchaſius* had beene Abbat) to deliver his judgement touching theſe points. [n] *Whether the body and bloud of Chriſt, which in the Church is received by the mouth of the faithfull, be celebrated in a myſtery, or in the truth; and whether it be the ſame body which was borne of Mary, which did ſuffer, was dead and buried, and which riſing againe, and aſcending into heaven, ſitteth at the right hand of the Father?* Whereunto hee returneth this anſwer: that [o] *the bread and the wine are the body and bloud of Chriſt figuratively*; that [p] *for the ſubſtance of the creatures, that which they were before conſecration, the ſame are they alſo afterward*; that [q] *they are called the Lords bodie and the Lords bloud, becauſe they take the name of that thing, of which they are a ſacrament*; and that [r] *there is a great difference betwixt*

m Quæris enim de re ex quâ multi dubitant. *and again:* Quamvis multi ex hoc dubitent, quomodo ille integer manet, & hoc corpus Chriſti & ſanguis eſſe poſſit. *Paſch. epiſt. ad Frudegard.*

n Quod in Eccleſiâ ore fidelium ſumitur corpus & ſanguis Chriſti, quærit veſtræ magnitudinis excellentia, in myſterio fiat, an in veritate. &c. & utrùm ipſum corpus ſit, quod de Mariâ natum eſt, & paſſum, mortuum & ſepultum, quodq; reſurgens & cœlos aſcendens, ad dextrã Patris conſideat? *Ratrann. ſiue Bertram.*

in lib. de corp. & ſang. Dom. edit. Colon. ann. 1551. pag. 180. o Panis ille vinumque, figuratè Chriſti corpus & ſanguis exiſtit. *Ibid. pag. 183.* p Nam ſecundùm creaturarum ſubſtantiam, quod fuerunt ante conſecrationem, hoc & poſteà conſiſtunt. *Ib. pag. 205.* q Dominicum corpus & ſanguis Dominicus appellantur; quoniam eius ſumunt appellationem, cuius exiſtunt ſacramentum. *Ib. pag. 200.* r Videmus itaque multâ differentiâ ſeparari myſterum ſanguinis & corporis Chriſti, quod nunc à fidelibus ſumitur in Eccleſiâ, & illud quod natum eſt de Mariâ virgine, quod paſſum, quod ſepultum, quod reſurrexit, quod cœlos aſcendit, quod ad dextram Patris ſedet. *Ibid. pag. 222.*

the myſterie of the bloud and body of Chriſt, which is taken now by the faithfull in the Church, and that which was borne of the Virgin Mary, which ſuffered, which was buried, which roſe againe, which ſitteth at the right hand of the Father. All which hee proveth at large, both [r] by teſtimonies of the holy Scriptures, and by the ſayings of the ancient Fathers. Whereupon *Turrian* the Ieſuite is driven for pure need, to ſhift off the matter with this ſilly interrogation. [t] *To cite Bertram* (ſo *Ratrannus* is more uſually named) *what is it elſe, but to ſay, that the hereſie of Calvin is not new?* As if theſe things were alledged by us for any other end, then to ſhew, that this way which they call hereſie *is not new*, but hath beene troden in long ſince, by ſuch as in their times were accounted good and Catholicke teachers in the Church. That ſince they have beene eſteemed otherwiſe, is an argument of the alteration of the times, and of the converſion of the ſtate of things: which is the matter that now wee are inquiring of, and which our Aduerſaries (in an evill houre to them) doe ſo earneſtly preſſe us to diſcover.

The Emperour *Charles*, unto whom this anſwer of *Ratrannus* was directed, had then in his Court a famous countrey-man of ours, called *Iohannes Scotus*: who wrote a book of the ſame argument, and to the ſame effect that the other had done. This man, for his extraordinary learning, was in *England* (where he lived in great account with King *Alfred*) ſurnamed *Iohn the wiſe*: and had verie lately a roome in the [u] Martyrologe of the Church of Rome, though now he be ejected thence. Wee finde him indeede cenſured by the Church of *Lyons*, and others in that time,

[r] Animadvertat (clariſſime Princeps) ſapientia veſtra, quòd poſitis ſanctarũ Scripturarum teſtimoniis, & ſanctorum Patrũ dictis evidentiſſimé monſtratum eſt; quòd panis qui corpus Chriſti, & calix qui ſanguis Chriſti appellatur, figura ſit, quia myſterium: & quòd non parva differentia ſit inter corpus quod per myſterium exiſtit, & corpus quod paſſum eſt, & ſepultum, & reſurrexit. *Ibid. pag.* 228.

[t] Cæterùm, Bertramum citare, quid aliud eſt, quàm dicere, hæreſim Calvini non eſſe novam? *Fr. Turrian. de Euchariſt. contra Volanum, lib.* 1. *cap.* 22.

[u] *Martyrolog. Rom.* IV. Id. Novemb. *edit. Antuerp. ann.* 1586.

time, for certaine opinions which he delivered touching *Gods foreknowledge and predeſtination* before the beginning of the world, *Mans freewill* and the concurrence therof with *Grace* in this preſent world, and the *maner of the puniſhment of reprobate Men and Angels* in the world to come: but we finde not anie where, that his booke of the Sacrament was condemned before the dayes of [x] *Lanfranc*; who was the firſt that leavened the Church of England afterward with this corrupt doctrine of the carnall preſence. Till then, this queſtion of the reall preſence continued ſtill in debate: and it was as free for any man to follow the doctrine of *Ratrannus* or *Iohannes Scotus* therein, as that of *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, which ſince the time of Satans looſing, obtained the upper hand. *Men have often ſearched, and do yet often ſearch, how bread that is gathered of corne, and through fires heat baked, may be turned to Chriſts body; or how wine that is preſſed out of many grapes, is turned, through one bleſsing, to the Lords bloud:* ſaith *AElfrick* Abbat of Malmesburie, in his Saxon Homily, written about 605. yeares agoe. His reſolution is not onely the ſame with that of *Ratrannus*, but alſo in manie places directly tranſlated out of him: as may appear by theſe paſſages following, compared with his Latine laid downe in the margent.

[z] *The bread and the wine which by the Prieſts miniſterie is hallowed, ſhew one thing without to mens ſenſes, and another thing they call within to beleeving mindes. Without they be ſeene bread and wine both in figure and in taſte: and they be truly after their hallowing*

x *Lanfranc. lib. de Sacrament. Eucharift. contra Berengar.*

y *Homilia Paſchalis, Anglo-Saxonicè impreſſa Londini, per Io. Daium: & MS. in publicâ Cantabrigienſis Academiæ Bibliothecâ.*

z Ille panis qui per Sacerdotis miniſterium Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exteriùs humanis ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interiùs fidelium mentibus clamat. Exteriùs quidē panis, quod antè fuerat, forma prætenditur, color oſtenditur, ſapor accipitur: aſt interiùs Chriſti corpus oſtenditur. *Ratran. ſive Bertram. de corp. & ſangu. Dom. pag.* 182.

Chriſts body and his bloud by ſpirituall myſterie. [a] *So the holy font-water that is called the well-ſpring of life, is like in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubject to corruption: but the holy Ghoſts might commeth to the corruptible water through the Prieſts bleſsing; and it may after waſh the body and ſoule from all ſinne, by ſpirituall vertue. Behold now wee ſee two things in this one creature: in true nature that water is corruptible moiſture, and in ſpirituall myſterie hath healing vertue. So alſo if we behold that holy houſel after bodily ſenſe, then ſee wee that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If wee acknowledge therein ſpirituall vertue, then underſtand wee that life is therein, and that it giveth immortalitie to them that eate it with beleefe.* [b] *Much is betwixt the body Chriſt ſuffered in, and the body that is hallowed to houſel.* [c] *The body truely that Chriſt ſuffered in, was borne of the fleſh of Mary, with bloud and with bone, with skin and with ſinewes, in humane lims, with a reaſonable ſoule living: and his ſpirituall body, which wee call the houſel, is gathered of many cornes, without bloud and bone, without lim, without ſoule; and therefore*

a Conſideremus fontem ſacri baptiſmatis, qui fons vitæ non immeritò nuncupatur. &c. In eo ſi conſideretur ſolummodò quod corporeus aſpicit ſenſus, elementum fluidum conſpicitur, corruptioni ſubjectum, nec niſi corpora lavandi potentiam obtinere. Sed acceſſit ſancti Spiritus per Sacerdotis conſecrationem virtus; & efficax facta eſt non ſolùm corpora, verum etiam animas diluere, & ſpirituales ſordes ſpirituali potentiâ dimovere. Eccè in uno eodemque elemento, duo videmus ineſſe ſibi reſiſtentia: &c. Igitur in proprietate humor corruptiblis, in myſterio verò virtus ſanabilis. Sic itaque Chriſti corpus & ſanguis ſuperficie tenus conſiderata, creatura eſt, mutabilitati corruptelæque ſubjecta: ſi myſterij verò perpendis virtutem, vita eſt, participantibus ſe tribuens immortalitatem. *Ibid. pag.* 187. 188. b Multâ differentiâ ſeparantur, corpus in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus, & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidiè à fidelibus celebratur. *Ibid. pag.* 212. & 222. c Illa namque caro quæ crucifixa eſt, de Virginis carne facta eſt, oſſibus & nervis compacta, & humanorum membrorum lineamentis diſtincta, rationalis animæ ſpiritu vivificata in propriam vitam & congruentes motus. At verò caro ſpiritualis, quæ populum credentem ſpiritualiter paſcit, ſecundùm ſpeciem quam gerit exteriùs, frumenti granis manu artificis conſiſtit, nullis nervis oſſibuſq; compacta, nullâ membrorum varietate diſtincta, nullâ rationali ſubſtantiâ uegetata, nullos proprios potens motus exercere. Quicquid enim in eâ vitæ præbet ſubſtantiam, ſpiritualis eſt potentiæ, & inviſibilis efficientiæ, divinæque virtutis. *Ibid. pag.* 214.

therefore nothing is to be underſtood therein bodily, but ſpiritually. Whatſoever is in that houſel, which giveth ſubſtance of life, that is ſpirituall vertue, and inviſible doing. [d] *Certainly Chriſts body which ſuffered death, and roſe from death, ſhall never dye henceforth, but is eternall and unpaſsible. That houſell is temporall, not eternall, corruptible and dealed into ſundry parts, chewed betweene teeth, and ſent into the belly.* [e] *This myſterie is a pledge and a figure: Chriſts bodie is truth it ſelfe. This pledge wee doe keepe myſtically, untill that wee be come to the truth it ſelfe; and then is this pledge ended. Chriſt hallowed bread and wine to houſel before his ſuffering, and ſaid: This is my body and my bloud.* [f] *Yet hee had not then ſuffered: but ſo notwithſtanding, hee turned through inviſible vertue, the bread to his owne body, and that wine to his bloud; as hee before did in the wilderneſſe, before that hee was borne to men, when hee turned that heavenly meat to his fleſh, and the flowing water from that ſtone to his owne bloud.* [g] *Moſes and Aaron, and many other of that people which pleaſed God, did eate that heavenly bread, and they died not the everlaſting death, though they dyed the common. They ſaw that the heavenly meate was viſible and corruptible: and they ſpiritually underſtood by that viſible thing, and ſpiritually received it.*

d Corpus Chriſti quod mortuum eſt & reſurrexit, & immortale factū, iam non moritur, & mors illi ultrà non dominabitur, æternum eſt, nec iam paſſibile. Hoc autem quod in Eccleſiâ celebratur, temporale eſt, non æternum; corruptibile eſt, non incorruptum; *&c.* diſpartitur ad ſumendum, & dentibus commolitum in corpus trajicitur. *Ibid. pag.* 216. 217.

e Et hoc corpus, pignus eſt & ſpecies: illud verò ipſa veritas Hoc enim geritur, donec ad illud perveniatur. ubi verò ad illud perventum fuerit, hoc removebitur. *Ib. pag.* 222.

f Videmus nondum paſſum eſſe Chriſtum, *&c.* Sicut ergo paulò antequàm pateretur, panis ſubſtantiam & vini creaturam convertere potuit in proprium corpus quod paſſurum erat, & in ſuum ſanguinem qui pòſt fundendus extabat: ſic etiā in deſerto manna & aquam de petrâ in ſuam carnem & ſanguinem convertere prævaluit. *&c. Ib. pag.* 193.

g Manducavit & Moſes manna, manducavit & Aaron, manducavit & Phinees, manducaverunt ibi multi qui Deo placuerunt; & mortui non ſunt. Quare? Quia viſibilem cibum ſpiritualiter intellexerunt, ſpiritualiter ediderunt, ſpiritualiter guſtaverunt, ut ſpiritualiter ſatiarentur. *Ibid. pag.* 217. *ex Auguſtin. in Evang. Iohan. tract.* 26.

This Homily was appointed publikely to be read

to the *people* in England, on Eaſter day, before they did receive the communion. The like matter alſo was delivered to the *Clergie* by the Biſhops at their Synodes; out of two other writings of the ſame [h] *AElfrick*: in the one wherof, directed to *Wulfſine* Biſhop of Shyrburne, we reade thus. *That houſel is Chriſts bodie, not bodily but ſpiritually. Not the bodie which he ſuffered in, but the bodie of which hee ſpake, when he bleſſed bread and wine to houſel the night before his ſuffering; and ſaid by the bleſſed bread, This is my bodie: and againe by the holy wine, This is my bloud which is ſhed for many in forgiveneſſe of ſins.* In the other, written to *Wulfſtane* Archbiſhop of York, thus. *The Lord which hallowed houſel before his ſuffering, and ſaith that the bread was his own bodie, and that the wine was truely his bloud; halloweth daily by the hands of the Prieſt, bread to his bodie, and wine to his bloud in ſpirituall myſterie, as we reade in bookes. And yet notwithſtanding, that lively bread is not bodily ſo, nor the ſelfe-ſame bodie that Chriſt ſuffered in: nor that holy wine is the Saviours bloud which was ſhed for us, in bodily thing, but in ſpirituall underſtanding. Both bee truely, that bread his body, and that wine alſo his bloud, as was the heavenly bread, which wee call Manna, that fedde fortie yeares Gods people; and the cleare water, which did then runne from the ſtone in the wilderneſſe, was truely his bloud: as Paul wrote in one of his Epiſtles.*

[h] *Impreſſ. Londini cum Homiliâ Paſchali: & MS. in publicâ Oxonienſis Academiæ Bibliotheca, & Colled. S. Benedict. Cantabrig.*

Thus was Prieſt and people taught to beleeve, in the Church of England, toward the end of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh age after the Incarnation of our Sauiour Chriſt. And therefore it

is not to be wondred, that when *Berengarius* ſhortly after ſtood to maintaine this doctrine, [i] manie both by word and writing diſputed *for him*: and not only the *Engliſh*, but alſo all the *French* almoſt and the *Italians* (as [k] *Matthew* of Weſtminſter reporteth) were ſo readie to entertaine that which hee delivered. Who though they were ſo borne downe by the power of the Pope (who now was growne to his height) that they durſt not make open profeſſion of that which they beleeved: yet manie continued, even there where Satan had his throne, who privately employed both their tongues aud their penns in defence of the truth; as out of *Zacharias Chryſopolitanus*, *Rupertus Tuitienſis*, and others I have [l] elſewhere ſhewed. Vntill at length, in the yeare 1215. Pope *Innocent* the third, in the Councell of *Lateran*, publiſhed it to the Church for an oracle: that [m] *the bodie and bloud of* Ieſus Chriſt *are truely contained under the formes of bread and wine; the bread being tranſſubſtantiated into the bodie, and the wine into the bloud, by the power of God.* And ſo are we now come to the end of this controverſie: the originall and progreſſe whereof I have proſecuted the more at large, becauſe it is of greateſt importance; the verie life of the *Maſſe* & all *maſsing* Prieſts, depending therupon. There followeth the *third* point, which is

i *Sigebert. Gemblac & Guiliel. Nangiac. in Chronic. ann.* 1051. *Conrad. Bruwilerenſ. in vitâ Wolphelmi, apud Surium, April.* 22.

k *Flor. hiſtor. ann.* 1087.

l *De chriſtiana Eccleſ. ſucceſſ. & ſtat. edit. an.* 1613. *pag.* 190, 191, 192. *& 208.*

m Cuius corpus & ſanguis in ſacramento altaris ſub ſpeciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur; tranſſubſtãtiatis pane in corpus, & vino in ſanguinem poteſtate divinâ. *Concil. Lateran. cap.* 1.

OF *CONFESSION.*

OUr Challenger here telleth us, that the Doctors, Paſtors and Fathers of the primitive Church, *exhorted the people to confeſſe their ſinnes un-*

to their goſtly fathers. And we tell him again, that by the publike order preſcribed in our Church, before the adminiſtration of the holy communion, the Miniſter likewiſe doth exhort the people, that *if there bee anie of them, which cannot quiet his owne conſcience, but requireth further comfort or counſell:* hee ſhould *come to him, or ſome other diſcreete and learned Miniſter of Gods word, and open his griefe: that hee may receive ſuch Ghoſtly counſell, advice and comfort, as his conſcience may be relieved; and that by the miniſtery of Gods word he may receive comfort, and the benefite of abſolution, to the quieting of his conſcience, and avoiding of all ſcruple and doubtfulneſſe.* Whereby it appeareth, that the *exhorting* of the people to confeſſe their ſinnes unto their ghoſtly fathers, maketh no ſuch wall of ſeparation betwixt the ancient Doctors and us, but we may well for all this bee of the ſame religion that they were of: and conſequently, that this doughtie Champion hath more will than skill to manage controverſies, who could make no wiſer choiſe of points of differences to bee inſiſted upon.

Be it therefore knowne unto him, that no kinde of *Confeſsion*, either publike or private, is diſallowed by us, that is any way requiſite for the due execution of that ancient power of the Keyes which Chriſt beſtowed upon his Church: the thing which wee reject, is that new pick-locke of *Sacramentall Confeſsion*, obtruded upon mens conſciences, as a matter neceſſarie to ſaluation, by the Canons of the late Conventicle of *Trent*. where thoſe good Fathers put their *curſe* upon everie one, that either ſhall

deny,

[a] *deny, that Sacramental confeſsion was ordained by divine right, and is by the ſame right neceſſarie to ſaluation*: or ſhall [b] *affirme, that in the Sacrament of Penance, it is not by the ordinance of God neceſſarie for the obtayning of the remiſsion of ſinnes, to confeſſe all and every one of thoſe mortall ſinnes, the memory whereof by due and diligent premeditation may be had, even ſuch as are hidden, and be againſt the two laſt Commandements of the Decalogue, together with the circumſtances which change the kinde of the ſinne; but that this confeſsion is only profitable to inſtruct and comfort the penitent, and was anciently obſerved onely for the impoſing of Canonicall ſatisfaction.* This doctrine, I ſay, wee cannot but reject: as being repugnant to that which wee have learned both from the Scriptures, and from the Fathers.

For in the Scriptures wee finde, that the confeſsion which the penitent ſinner maketh to God alone, hath the promiſe of forgiveneſſe annexed unto it: which no Prieſt upon earth hath power to make voyde, upon pretence that himſelfe or ſome of his fellowes were not firſt particularly acquainted with the buſineſſe. [c] *I acknowledged my ſinne unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: I ſaid, I will confeſſe my tranſgreſsions unto the Lord; and thou forgaveſt the iniquitie of my ſinne.* And leſt wee ſhould thinke that this was ſome peculiar priviledge vouchſafed to [d] *the man who was raiſed up on high, the Anointed of the God of Iacob*: the ſame ſweet Pſalmiſt of Iſrael doth preſently enlarge his note, and inferreth this generall

a Si quis negaverit, Confeſſionem ſacramentalem vel inſtitutam, vel ad ſalutem neceſſariã eſſe jure divino: *&c.* Anathema ſit. *Concil. Trident. Seſſ. 14. Can. 6.*

b Si quis dixerit, in ſacramento Pœnitentiæ ad remiſſionem peccatorum neceſſarium non eſſe jure divino, confiteri omnia & ſingula peccata mortalia, quorũ memoria cum debitâ & diligenti præmeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta & quæ ſunt contra duo ultima Decalogi præcepta, & circũſtantias quæ peccati ſpeciem mutant ſed eam confeſsionem tantùm eſſe utilem ad erudiendum & conſolandum pœnitentem, & olim obſervatam fuiſſe tantùm ad ſatisfactionem canonicam imponendam; *&c.* Anathema ſit. *Ibid. can. 7.*

c *Pſalme* 32. 5. d 2 *Sam.* 23. 1.

generall concluſion thereupon. [e] *For this ſhall every one that is godly pray unto thee, in a time when thou mayeſt be found.* King *Salomon*, in his prayer for the people at the dedication of the Temple, treadeth juſt in his Fathers ſtepps. If they *turne* (ſaith [f] hee) *and pray unto thee in the land of their captivity, ſaying; Wee have ſinned, wee have done amiſſe, and have dealt wickedly: if they returne to thee with all their heart, and with all their ſoule;* &c. *forgive thy people, which have ſinned againſt thee, all their tranſgreſsions wherein they haue tranſgreſſed againſt thee.* And the poore [g] Publican, putting up his ſupplication in the Temple accordingly [*God bee merciſull to mee a ſinner,*] went backe to his houſe juſtified; without making confeſſion to any other ghoſtly Father, but onely [h] *the Father of ſpirits.* of whom S. *Iohn* giveth us this aſſurance: that [i] *if wee confeſſe our ſinnes, hee is faithfull and iuſt, to forgive us our ſinnes, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſſe.* Which promiſe, that it appertained to ſuch as did confeſſe their ſinnes unto God, the ancient Fathers were ſo well aſſured of, that they caſt in a manner all upon this confeſſion, and left little or nothing to that which was made unto man. Nay, they doe not onely leave it free for men to confeſſe or not confeſſe their ſinnes unto others (which is the moſt that wee would haue:) but ſome of them alſo ſeeme, in words at leaſt, to adviſe men not to doe it at all; which is more than wee ſeeke for.

e *Pſal.* 32.6.

f 2 *Chron.* 6. 37, 39. 1 *King.* 8, 47. 50.

g *Luke* 18, 13. 14.

h *Hebr.* 12.9.

i 1 *Iohn* 1.9.

S. *Chryſoſtome* of all others is moſt copious in this argument: ſome of whoſe paſſages to this purpoſe,

I will

I will here lay downe. [k] *It is not neceſſarie* (ſaith he) *that thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe in the preſence of witneſſes: let the inquirie of thy offences bee made in thy thought; let this judgement bee without a witneſſe; let God onely ſee thee confeſſing.* [l] *Therefore I intreat and beſeech and pray you, that you would continually make your confeſſion to God. For I doe not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-ſervants, neither doe I conſtraine thee to diſcover thy ſinnes unto men: unclaſpe thy conſcience before God, and ſhew thy wounds unto him, and of him aske a medicine. Shew them to him that will not reproach, but heale thee. For although thou hold thy peace, hee knoweth all.* [m] *Let us not call our ſelves ſinners onely, but let us recount our ſinnes, and repeate every one of them in ſpeciall. I doe not ſay unto thee, Bring thy ſelfe upon the ſtage, nor, Accuſe thy ſelfe unto others: but I counſaile thee to obey the Prophet, ſaying, Reveale thy way unto the Lord. Confeſſe them before God, confeſſe thy ſinnes before the Iudge; praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at leaſt with thy memory: and ſo looke to obtaine mercy.* [n] *But thou art aſhamed to ſay, that thou haſt ſinned. Confeſſe thy faults then daily in thy*

k Nunc autem neque neceſſarium præſentibus teſtibus confiteri: cogitatione fiat delictorum exquiſitio, abſque teſte ſit hoc iudicium. Solus te Deus confitentem videat. *Chryſoſt. homil. de pœnitent. & confeſſion. tom. 5. edit. Latin. Col. 901. edit. Baſil. ann. 1558.*

l Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι συνεχῶς τῷ Θεῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς θέατρόν σε ἄγω τῶν συνδούλων σῶν, οὐδὲ ἐπικαλύπτειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκάζω τὰ ἁμαρτήματα· τὸ συνειδὸς ἀνάπτυξον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτῷ δεῖξον τὰ τραύματα, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ φάρμακον αἴτησον. Δεῖξον τῷ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντί σε, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύοντι· κἂν γὰρ σὺ σιγήσῃς, οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα. Id. circa finem hom. 5. de incomprehenſib. Dei natur. tom. 6. edit. Græc. D. Hen. Savil. pag. 424. & tom. 5. pag. 262. 263.

m Μὴ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καλῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀναλογισώμεθα, κατ' εἶδος ἕκαστον ἀναλέγοντες. Οὐ λέγω σοι, ἐκπόμπευσον σαυτὸν, οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατηγόρησον· ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαί σοι βούλομαι τῷ προφήτῃ, λέγοντι, Ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς Κύριον τὴν ὁδόν σου. ὅπως τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ὁμολόγησον, ὅπως τοῦ δικαίου ὁμολόγει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, δι' ἡμέρας· εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μνήμῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἀξίως ἐλεηθῆναι. Id. in epiſt. ad Hebr. cap. 12. homil. 31. tom. 4. Savil. pag. 589.

n Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνῃ εἰπεῖν, λόγοι ἡμάρτες. λέγε αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ σου. καὶ τί; μὴ γὰρ λέγω, Εἰπὲ τῷ συνδούλῳ τῷ ὀνειδίζοντί σε; εἰπὲ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ θεραπεύοντι αὐτά· ὁ γὰρ, ἐὰν μὴ εἴπῃς, ἀγνοεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός. Id. in Pſal. 50. hom. 2. tom. 1. Savil. pag. 708.

praier.

prayer. For doe I say; Confesse them to thy fellow-servant, who may reproach thee therewith? Confesse them to God, who healeth them. For, although thou confesse them not at all, God is not ignorant of them. • Wherefore then, tell mee, art thou ashamed and blushest to confesse thy sinnes? For dost thou discover them to a man, that hee may reproach thee? Doest thou confesse them to thy fellow servant, that hee may bring thee upon the stage? To him who is thy Lord, who hath care of thee, who is kinde, who is thy physician, thou shewest thy wound. p I constraine thee not, saith God, to goe into the middest of the theatre, and to make many witnesses of the matter. Confesse thy sinne to mee alone in private, that I may heale thy sore, and free thee from griefe. q And this is not onely wonderfull, that hee forgiveth us our sinnes, but that hee neither discovereth them, nor maketh them open and manifest, nor constraineth us to come forth in publike, and disclose our misdemeanours; but commandeth us to give an account thereof unto him alone, and unto him to make confession of them.

• Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκεν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἐρυθριᾷς, εἰπέ μοι, τὰ ἁμαρτήματα εἰπεῖν; μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ λέγεις, ἵνα ὀνειδίσῃ σε, μὴ γὰρ τῷ συνδούλῳ ὁμολογεῖς, ἵνα ἐπιτιμήσῃ; τῷ δεσπότῃ, τῷ κηδεμόνι, τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ, τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδεικνύεις. Id. homil. 4. de Lazaro, tom. 5. Savil. pag. 258.

p Οὐκ ἀναγκάζω, φησὶν, εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν σε θεάτρου, καὶ μάρτυρας ἐκεῖ σῦραι πολλούς. Ἐμοὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα εἰπὲ μόνῳ κατ' ἰδίαν, ἵνα θεραπεύσω τὸ ἕλκος, καὶ ἀπαλλάξω τῆς ὀδύνης. Id. ibid.

q Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον δεῖ θαυμάσαι, ὅτι ἀτίμητον ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύπτει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ αὐτὰ φανερὰ καὶ δῆλα, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζει παρελθόντας εἰς μέσον ἐξετάσαι τὰ πλημμελήματα, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι κελεύει, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Id. in Anastasim ad pop. Antiochen. homil. 21. tom. 6. Savil. pag. 608.

Neither doth S. *Chrysostome* here walke alone. That saying of S. *Augustine* is to the same effect: r *What have I to doe with men, that they should heare my confessions, as though they should heale all my diseases?* and that collection of S. *Hilary* upon the two last verses of the 52. Psalme, s that *David* there teacheth

r Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? *Aug. Confess. li. 10. cap. 3.*

s Confessionis autem causam addidit, dicens; Quia feciſti autorem scilicet universitatis huius Dominum esse confessus; nulli alii docens confitendum, quàm qui fecit Olivam fructiferam spei misericordia in seculum seculi. *Hilar. in Psal. 51.*

cheth us *to confeſſe to no other* but unto the Lord, *who hath made the Olive fruitfull with the mercy of hope* (or, *the hope of mercie*) *for ever and ever.* and that aduice of *Pinuphius* the Ægyptian Abbat (which I finde alſo inſerted amongſt the [t] Canons collected for the uſe of the Church of England, in the time of the Saxons; under the title, *De pœnitentiâ ſoli Deo confitendâ:*) [u] *Who is it that cannot humbly ſay? I made my ſinne known unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. that by this confeſſion hee may confidently adioyne that which followeth: And thou forgaveſt the impiety of my heart. But if ſhamefaſtneſſe doe ſo draw thee backe, that thou bluſheſt to reveale them before men: ceaſe not by continuall ſupplication to confeſſe them unto him from whom they cannot be hid, and to ſay* [*I know mine iniquitie, and my ſinne is againſt mee alwaies; To thee onely have I ſinned, and done evill before thee*] *whoſe cuſtome is, both to cure without the publiſhing of any ſhame, and to forgive ſinnes without upbraiding.* S. *Auguſtine, Caſſiodor,* and *Gregory,* make a further obſervation upon that place of the 32. Pſalme: *I ſaid, I will confeſſe my tranſgreſſions unto the Lord; and thou forgaveſt the iniquity of my ſinne.* that God, upon the onely promiſe and purpoſe of making this confeſſion, did forgive the ſinne. *Marke* (ſaith [x] *Gregory*) *how great the ſwiftneſſe is of this vitall Indulgence, how great the commendation is of*

t *Antiq. lib. Canon. 66. titulorum, MS. in Bibliothecâ Cotteniânâ.*

u Quis eſt qui non poſſit ſupplíciter dicere? Peccatum meum cognitum tibi feci, & injuſtitiam meam non operui. ut per hanc cõfeſſionem etiam illud confidenter ſubiungere mereatur: Et tu remiſiſti impietatẽ cordis mei. Quod ſi verecundiâ retrahente revelare ea coram hominibus erubeſcis, illi quem latere non poſſunt, confiteri ea iugi ſupplicatione non deſinas, ac dicere [Iniquitatem meam ego cognoſco, & peccatum meum contra me eſt ſemper: tibi ſoli peccavi, & malum coram te feci:] qui & abſq; ullius verecundiæ publicatione curare, & ſine improperio peccata donare conſuevit. *Io. Caſſian. Collat. 20. Cap. 8.*

x Attende quanta ſit indulgentiæ vitalis velocitas, quanta miſericordiæ Dei commendatio: ut confitentis deſiderium comitetur venia, antequàm ad cruciatum perveniat pœnitentia; antè remiſsio ad cor perveniat, quàm confeſſio in vocem erumpat. *Greg. expoſit. 2. Pſal. Pœnitential.*

Gods

Gods mercie; that pardon ſhould accompanie the verie deſire of him that is about to confeſſe, before that repentance doe come to afflict him; and remiſsion ſhould come to the heart, before that confeſsion did breake forth by the voice. So S. *Baſil*, upon thoſe other words of the Pſalmiſt; *I have roared by reaſon of the diſquietneſſe of my heart*; (Pſal. 38. 8.) maketh this paraphraſe. [y] *I doe not confeſſe with my lips, that I may manifeſt my ſelfe unto many. but inwardly in my verie heart, ſhutting mine eyes, to thee alone who ſeeſt the things that are in ſecret, doe I ſhew my groanes, roaring within my ſelfe. For the groanes of my heart ſufficed for a confeſsion, and the lamentations ſent to thee my God from the depth of my ſoule.*

And as S. *Baſil* maketh the groans of the heart to bee a ſufficient confeſſion: ſo doth S. *Ambroſe* the teares of the penitent. *Teares* (ſaith [z] he) *doe waſh the ſinne, which the voice is aſhamed to confeſſe. Weeping doth provide both for pardon and for ſhamefaſtneſſe: teares doe ſpeake our fault without horror, teares doe confeſſe our crime without offence of our ſhamefaſtneſſe.* from whence, hee that gloſſeth upon *Gratian* (who hath inſerted theſe words of S. *Ambroſe* into his collection of the Decrees) doth infer; that [a] *if for ſhame a man wil not confeſſe; teares alone do blot out his ſinne.* *Maximus Taurinenſis* followeth S. *Ambroſe* herein almoſt *verbatim*. *The teare* (ſaith [b] he) *waſheth the ſin,*

y Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα τοῖς πολλοῖς φανερὸς γένωμαι, σοῖς χείλεσιν ἐξομολογοῦμαι· ἔνδον ὢν ἐν αὐλῇ τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸ ὄμμα μύων, σοὶ μόνῳ τῷ βλέποντι τὰ ἐν κρυπτῷ, τοὺς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ στεναγμοὺς ὑπεδείκνυμι, ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ὠρυόμενος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μακρῶν μοι λόγων χρεία πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐξομολόγησιν· ἀπήρκεσε γὰρ ὁ στεναγμὸς τῆς καρδίας μου πρὸς ἐξομολόγησιν, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ βάθους ψυχῆς πρὸς σὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἀναπεμπόμενοι ὀδυρμοί. Baſil. in Pſal. 37

z Lavant lachrymæ delictum, quod voce pudor eſt confiteri. Et veniæ fletus conſulunt, & verecundiæ: lachrymæ ſine horrore culpam loquuntur; lachrymæ crimen ſine offenſione verecundiæ confitentur. *Ambroſ. lib.* 10. *comment. in Luc. cap.* 22. a Vnde etſi propter pudorem nolit quis confiteri, ſolæ lachrymæ delent peccata. *Gloſſ. de Pœnit. diſtinct.* 1 *cap.* 2. *Lachrymæ.* b Lavat lachryma delictum, quod voce pudor eſt confiteri. Lachrymæ ergo verecundiæ conſulunt pariter & ſaluti; nec erubeſcunt in petendo, & impetrant in rogando. *Maxim. homil. de Pœnitent. Petri. Tom.* 5. *Bibliotb. Patr. part.* 1. *pag.* 21. *edit. Colon.*

which

which the voyce is aſhamed to confeſſe. Teares therefore doe equally provide both for our ſhamefaſtneſſe and for our health: they neither bluſh in asking, and they obtaine in requeſting. Laſtly, *Proſper*, ſpeaking of ſinnes committed by ſuch as are in the miniſtric, writeth thus. [c] *They ſhall more eaſily appeaſe God, who beeing not convicted by humane judgement, doe of their owne accord acknowledge their offence: who either doe diſcover it by their owne confeſsions, or others not knowing what they are in ſecret, doe themſelves give ſentence of voluntarie excommunication upon themſelves; and beeing ſeparated (not in minde, but in office) from the Altar to which they did miniſter, doe lament their life as dead; aſſuring themſelves, that God being reconciled unto them by the fruits of effectuall repentance, they ſhall not onely receive what they have loſt, but alſo being made citizens of that citie which is above, they ſhall come to everlaſting joyes.* By this it appeareth, that the ancient Fathers did not thinke, that the remiſſion of ſinnes was ſo tyed unto externall confeſſion, that a man might not looke for ſalvation from God, if he concealed his faults from Man: but that inward contrition, and confeſsion made to God alone was ſufficient in this caſe. Otherwiſe, neither they nor we doe debarre men from opening their grievances unto the Phyſitians of their ſoules: either for their better information in the true ſtate of their diſeaſe, or for the quieting of their troubled conſciences, or for receiving further direction from them out of Gods word, both for the recoverie of their preſent ſickneſſe, and for the prevention of the like danger in time to come.

[c] Deum ſibi faciliùs placabunt illi, qui non humano convicti iudicio, ſed ultrò crimen agnoſcunt: qui aut propriis illud confeſsionibus produnt, aut neſcientibus ea liis quales occulti ſunt, ipſi in ſe voluntariæ excommunicationis ſententiam ferunt, & ab altari cui miniſtrabant, non animo ſed officio ſeparati, vitam tanquam mortuam plangunt; certi, quòd reconciliato ſibi efficacis pœnitentiæ fructibus Deo, non ſolùm amiſſa recipiant, ſed etiam cives ſupernæ civitatis effecti, ad gaudia ſempiterna perveniant. *Proſper, de vitâ contemplativâ, lib. 2. cap. 7.*

If

[d] *If I ſhall ſinne, although it bee in any ſmall offence, and my thoughr doe cõſume me, & accuſe me, ſaying; Why haſt thou ſinned? what ſhall I do?* ſaid a brother once to Abbat *Arſenius*. The old man anſwered: *Whatſoever houre a man ſhall fall into a fault, and ſhall ſay from his heart, Lord God I have ſinned, grant mee pardon; that conſumption of thought or heavineſſe ſhall ceaſe forthwith.* And it was as good a remedie as could bee preſcribed for a greene wound: to take it in hand preſently, to preſent it to the view of our heavenly Phyſician, [e] to prevent Satan by taking his office (as it were) out of his hand, and [f] accuſing our ſelves firſt, that we may be juſtified. But when it is not taken in time, but ſuffered to feſter and rankle, the cure will not now prove to be ſo eaſie: it being found true by often experience, that the wounded conſcience will ſtill pinch grievouſly, notwithſtanding the confeſſion made unto God in ſecret. At ſuch a time as this then, where the ſinner can finde no eaſe at home, what ſhould he doe but uſe the beſt means he can to finde it abroad? Is [g] there *no balme in Gilead?* is there *no phyſician there?* No doubt but God hath provided both the one and the other, for *recovering of the health of the daughter of his people:* and S. *Iames* hath herein given us this direction. [h] *Confeſſe your faults one to another, and pray one for*

d Si peccavero, etiam in quocunque minuto peccato, & conſumit me cogitatio mea, & arguit me, dicens: Quare peccâſti? quid faciam? Reſpondit ſenex: Quacunque horâ ceciderit homo in culpam, & dixerit ex corde, Domine Deus peccavi, indulge mihi; mox ceſſabit cogitationis vel triſtitiæ illa conſumptio. *Reſponſ. Patr. Aegypt. à Paſchaſio diacono Latiné verſ. cap.* 11.

e Novit omnia Dominus, ſed expectat vocem tuam; non ut puniat, ſed ut ignoſcat: non vult ut inſultet tibi Diabolus, & celantem peccata tua arguat. Præveni accuſatorem tuum: ſi te ipſe accuſaveris, accuſatorem nullum timebis. *Ambr. de Pœnitent. lib.* 2 *cap.* 17. Μὴ γὰρ σὺ, σαυτὸν ἐὰν μὴ εἴπῃς ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἔχεις κατήγορον τὸν διάβολον; προλαβὲ καὶ ἅρπασον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ κατηγορεῖν. τί ἂν ὁ προλαμβάνεις αὐτὸν, καὶ λέγεις τῷ ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ ἐξαλείφεις τὸ ἁμάρτημα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοιοῦτον κατήγορον ἔχεις σιγῆσαι μὴ δυνάμενον; Chryſoſt. de Pœnit. ſerm. 3. tom 6. edit. Savil. pag. 779.

f Λέγε σὺ τὰς ἀνομίας σου πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῇς. LXX. in Eſa. 43. 26. & Proverb. 18. 17.

g Ierem. 8. 22.

h Iam. 5. 16.

another,

another, that ye may bee healed. According to which preſcription *Gregorie Nyſſen,* toward the end of his Sermon of *Repentance,* uſeth this exhortation to the ſinner. [i] *Be ſenſible of the diſeaſe wherewith thou art taken, afflict thy ſelfe as much as thou canſt. Seeke alſo the mourning of thy intirely affected brethren, to helpe thee unto libertie. Shew mee thy bitter and aboundant teares, that I may alſo mingle mine therewith. Take likewiſe the Prieſt for a partner of thine affliction, as thy Father. For who is it that ſo falſly obtaineth the name of a father, or hath ſo adamantine a ſoule, that hee will not condole with his ſonnes lamenting? Shew unto him without bluſhing the things that were kept cloſe: diſcover the ſecrets of thy ſoule, as ſhewing thy hidden diſeaſe unto thy phyſitian. He will have care both of thy credit and of thy cure.*

i Ἐυαίδητος γένε θεὸς τὼ θερέχοσάν σε νόσον. σύνιτε φον σαυτὸν ὅσον δύνασαι. ζήτησον καὶ ἀδελφῶν ὁμοφύχων πένθος βοηθεῖν σοὶ θεὸς τὼ ἐλευθερείαν. δεῖξόν μοι πικρὸν σὸν καὶ δακρύλες τὸ δάκρυον, ἵνα μίζω κἀ τὸ ἐμόν. λάβε καὶ τὸν ἱερέα κοινωνὸν τ θλίψεως, ὡς πατέρα τὶς γὰρ ἔτως πατὴρ ψευδώνυμος, ἢ τὼ ψυχὼ ἀδαμάντινος, ὡς μὴ συμπαθῦρεσθαι τοῖς τέκνοις λυπεμένοις; &c. δεῖξον αὐτῷ ἀνερυθριάστως τὰ κεχρυμμένα· γύμνωσον τὰ τ ψυχῆς ἀπόρρητα, ὡς ἰατρῷ παθος δεικνύων κεκαλυμμένον. αὐτὸς ὁπμελήσεται.

It was no part of his meaning to adviſe us, that we ſhould open our ſelves in this manner unto everie hedge-prieſt; as if there were a vertue generally annexed to the order, that upon confeſſion made, and abſolution received from any of that rank, all ſhould be ſtraight made up: but he would have us communicate our caſe both to ſuch Chriſtian *brethren,* and to ſuch a ghoſtly *father,* as had skill in phyſick of this kinde, and out of a fellow-feeling of our griefe, would apply themſelves to our recoverie. Therefore, ſaith *Origen,* [k] *looke about thee diligently, unto*

καὶ τῆς εὐχημοσύνης καὶ τῆς θεραπείας. Greg. Nyſſen. de Pœnitent. in Operum Appendice, edit. Pariſ. an. 1618. p. 175. 176. k Tantummodò circumſpice diligentiùs, cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum. Proba priùs medicum, cui debeas cauſam languoris exponere, qui ſciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit diſciplinam: ut ita demùm, ſi quid ille dixerit, qui ſe priùs & eruditum medicum oſtenderit & miſericordem, ſi quid conſilii dederit, facias & ſequaris. *Orig. in Pſal.* 37, *hom.* 2.

whom thou oughteſt to confeſſe thy ſinne. Trie firſt the phyſitian, unto whom thou oughteſt to declare the cauſe of thy maladie, who knoweth to be weake with him that is weake, to weepe with him that weepeth, who underſtandeth the diſcipline of condoling and compaſsionating: that ſo at length, if he ſhall ſay anie thing, who hath firſt ſhewed himſelfe to be both a skilfull phyſician and a mercifull, or if he ſhall give anie counſaile, thou maieſt doe and follow it. For, as S. *Baſil* well noteth, [1] *the verie ſame courſe is to be held in the confeſsion of ſinnes, which is in the opening of the diſeaſes of the bodie. As men therfore do not diſcover the diſeaſes of their bodie to all, nor to everie ſort of people, but to thoſe that are skilfull in the cure thereof: even ſo ought the confeſsion of our ſinnes to bee made unto ſuch as are able to cure them; according to that which is written. Yet that are ſtrong, beare the infirmities of the weak, that is, take them away by your diligence.* Hee requireth care and diligence in performance of the cure: being ignorant (good man) of that new compendious method of healing, invented by our Romane Paracelſians, whereby a man [m] *in confeſsion, of attrite is made contrite by vertue of the keyes*; that the ſinner neede put his ghoſtly father to no further trouble than this. *Speake the word only, and I ſhall be healed.* And this is that *Sacramentall* confeſsion, deviſed of late by the Prieſts of Rome: which they notwithſtanding would faine father upon S. *Peter*, from whom the Church of Rome (as they would have us beleeve)

1 Ἡ ἐξαγόρευσις τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τῶτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔχει ἡ ὁπὶ δειξις τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν. ὡς ἓν τοῖς παθήμασι τῷ σώματι & ἃ πᾶσιν ἀποκαλύπτουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῆς τῶτων θεραπείας· ὅτω καὶ ἡ ἐξαγόρευσις τῆς ἁμαρτημάτων γίνεσθαι ὀφείλει, ἐπὶ τῶ δυναμένων διορθῶσαι, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ὑμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ, τὰ ἀδυνήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων βαστάζετε, τέλεστι, αἴρετε διὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας. Baſil. in Regul. brevioribus. reſp. 229.

m Secundùm Archiepiſc. imò ſanctum Thomam, & alios Theologos, in confeſsione fit quis de attrito contritus, virtute clavium. *Summa Sylveſtrina*: de Confeſſ. Sacramental. cap. 1. ſect. 1.

received

received this inſtruction. [n] *that if envie, or infidelitie, or anie other evill did ſecretly creepe into anie mans heart, he who had care of his own ſoule, ſhould not bee aſhamed to confeſſe thoſe things unto him who had the overſight over him; that by Gods word and wholſome counſaile, he might be cured by him.* And ſo indeed we reade in the apocryphal epiſtle of *Clement*, pretended to be written unto S. *Iames* the brother of our Lord: where in the ſeverall editions of *Crab*, *Sichardus*, *Venradius*, *Surius*, *Nicholinus*, and *Binius*, we finde this note alſo laid down in the margent; *Nota de confeſsone ſacramentali*, *Marke this of ſacramentall confeſsion.* But their owne [o] *Maldonat* would have taught them, that this note was not worth the marking: foraſmuch as the proper end of ſacramentall confeſſion, is the obtaining of remiſſion of ſinnes, by vertue of the keyes of the Church; whereas the end of the confeſſion here ſaid to bee commended by S. *Peter*, was the obtayning of counſaile out of Gods word for the remedie of ſinnes. which kinde of medicinall confeſſion we well approve of, & acknowledge to have bin ordinarily preſcribed by the ancient Fathers for the cure of ſecret ſinnes.

For as for notorious offences, which bred open ſcandall, private confeſſion was not thought ſufficient: but there was further required publick acknowledgement of the fault, and the ſolemne uſe of the keyes for the reconciliation of the penitent. [p] *If his ſinne do not only redound to his owne evill, but alſo unto much ſcandall of others, and the Biſhop thinketh it to be*

n Quòd ſi fortè alicujus cor, vel livor, vel infidelitas, vel aliquod malum latenter irrepſerit; non erubeſcat, qui animæ ſuæ curam gerit, confiteri hæc huic qui præeſt, ut ab ipſo per verbum Dei & conſilium ſalubre curetur. *Clem. epiſt.* 1.

o *Maldonat. Diſputat. de Sacrament. tom.* 2. *de Confeſsionis origine. cap.* 2.

p Si peccatum eius non ſolùm in gravi eius malo, ſed etiam in tanto ſcandalo eſt aliorum, atque hoc expedire utilitati Eccleſiæ videtur Antiſtiti, in notitiâ multorum, vel etiam totius plebis agere pœnitentiam non recuſet; non reſiſtat, non lethali & mortiferæ plagæ per pudorem addat tumorem. *Auguſt. in lib. de Pœnitentiâ: quæ poſtrema eſt homilia ex* 50. *in* 10. *Tom.*

expedient for the profit of the Church, let him not refuſe to performe his penance in the knowledge of manie, or of the whole people alſo; let him not reſiſt, let him not by his ſhamefaſtneſſe adde ſwelling to his deadly and mortall wound: ſaith S. *Auguſtine.* and more largely in another place; where hee meeteth with the objection of the ſufficiencie of internall repentance, in this manner. ¶ *Let no man ſay unto himſelfe: I doe it ſecretly, I doe it before God; God who pardoneth mee doth know, that I doe it in my heart. Is it therefore ſaid without cauſe; whatſoever you ſhall looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven? Are the keyes therefore without cauſe given unto the Church of God? Doe we fruſtrate the Goſpell of God? do we fruſtrate the words of Chriſt? Doe we promiſe that to you which he denieth you? Doe we not deceive you? Iob ſaith: If I was abaſhed to confeſſe my ſinnes in the ſight of the people. So juſt a man of Gods rich treaſure, who was tried in ſuch a furnace, ſaith thus: and doth the childe of peſtilence withſtand me, and is aſhamed to bow his knee under the bleſſing of God? That which the Emperour was not aſhamed to do, is he aſhamed of, who is not as much as a Senator, but only a ſimple Courtier? O proud necke, O crooked minde! perhaps, nay it is not to be doubted, it was for this reaſon God would that Theodoſius the Emperour ſhould doe publike penance in the ſight of the people, eſpecially be-*

q Nemo ſibi dicat, Occultè ago, apud Deũ ago; novit Deus qui mihi ignoſcit, quia in corde ago. Ergo ſine cauſsâ dictum eſt: Quæ ſolveritis in terrâ, ſoluta erunt in cœlo? Ergo ſine cauſsâ ſunt claves datæ Eccleſiæ Dei? Fruſtramus Evangelium Dei? fruſtramus verba Chriſti? Promittimus vobis quod ille negat? Nónne vos decipimus? Iob dicit: Si erubui in conſpectu populi confiteri peccata mea. Talis iuſtus theſauri divini obryzi, tali camino probatus, iſta dicit: & reſiſtit mihi filius peſtilentiæ, & erubeſcit genu figere ſub benedictione Dei? Quod non erubuit Imperator, erubeſcit nec ſenator, ſed tantùm curialis? Superba cervix, mens tortuoſa! fòrtaſſis, imò quod non dubitatur, propterea Deus voluit ut Theodoſius Imperator ageret pœnitentiam publicam in conſpectu populi, maximé quia peccatum eius celari non potuit: & erubeſcit Senator, quod non erubuit Imperator? erubeſcit nec Senator, ſed tantùm curialis, quod non erubuit Imperator? Erubeſcit plebeius ſive negotiator, quod non erubuit Imperator? Quæ iſta ſuperbia eſt? Nónne ſola ſufficeret gehennæ, etiamſi adulterium nullum eſſet? *Id. hom. 49. ex 50. cap. 3.*

cauſe

cauſe his ſinne could not be concealed: and is a Senator aſhamed of that, whereof the Emperour was not aſhamed? is he aſhamed of that who is no Senator, but a Courtier only, whereof the Emperour was not aſhamed? Is one of the vulgar ſort, or a trader, aſhamed of that, whereof the Emperour was not aſhamed? What pride is this? Were not this alone ſufficient to bring them to hell, although no adulterie had beene committed? Thus farre S. *Auguſtine*, concerning the neceſſity of publick Repentance for knowne offences: which beeing in tract of time diſuſed in ſome places, long after this, the [r] Biſhops of France, by the aſſiſtance of *Charles* the great, cauſed it to bee brought in uſe againe, according to the order of the old Canons.

r *Concil. Arelat. IV. cap. 26. & Cabilonenſ. II. cap. 25.*

Neither is it here to be omitted, that in the time of the more ancient Fathers this ſtrict diſcipline was not ſo reſtrained to the cenſure of publicke crimes; but that private tranſgreſſions alſo were ſometimes brought within the compaſſe of it. For whereas at firſt, publike confeſſion was enjoined onely for publike offences: men afterwards, diſcerning what great benefit redounded to the penitents thereby, (aſwell for the ſubduing of the ſtubbornneſſe of their hard hearts, and the furthering of their deeper humiliation; as for their rayſing up again by thoſe ſenſible comforts which they received by the publike prayers of the Congregation, and the uſe of the keyes) ſome men, I ſay, diſcerning this, and finding their owne conſciences burdened with the like ſinnes, which beeing carried in ſecrecie, were not ſubject to the cenſures of the Church; to the end they might obtaine the like conſolation and quiet of minde, did

voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to the Churches diſcipline herein, and undergoe the burden of publike Confeſſion and Penance. This appeareth by *Origen* in his ſecond Homily upon the 37. Pſalme. *Tertullian* in his booke *de Pœnitentiâ*. chap. 9. S. *Cyprian* in his Treatiſe *de Lapſis*, ſect. 23. (or 11. according to *Pamelius* his diſtinction) S. *Ambroſe* in his firſt book *de Pœnitentiâ*, chap. 16. and others. And to the end that this publication of ſecret faults might bee performed in the beſt manner: ſome prudent Miniſter was firſt of all made acquainted therewith; by whoſe direction the delinquent might underſtand what ſins were fit to bee brought to the publike notice of the Church, and in what manner the penance was to be performed for them. Therefore did *Origen* adviſe (as wee heard) that one ſhould uſe great care in making choyce of a good and skilfull phyſician, to whom hee ſhould diſcloſe his griefe in this kinde. and [r] *If hee underſtand* (ſaith hee) *and foreſee that thy diſeaſe is ſuch as ought to be declared in the aſſembly of the whole Church, and cured there, whereby peradventure both others may bee edified, and thou thy ſelfe more eaſily healed; with much deliberation, and by the verie skilfull counſaile of that phyſitian, muſt this be done.*

[r] Si intellexerit, & prævideritt talem eſſe languorem tuum qui in conventu totius Eccleſiæ exponi debeat, & curari, ex quo fortaſſis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipſe facile ſanari: multâ hoc deliberatione, & ſatis perito medici illius conſilio procurandum eſt. *Origen. in Pſal. 37. hom. 2.*

But within a while (ſhortly after the perſecution raiſed in the daies of *Decius* the Emperour) it was no longer left free to the Penitent to make choyce of his ghoſtly father: but by the generall conſent of the Biſhops it was ordained, that in every Church one certaine diſcreet Miniſter ſhould be appointed to receive the confeſſions of ſuch as relapſed into

ſinne

ſinne after Baptiſme. This is that addition, which [t] *Socrates* in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie noteth to have beene then made unto the Penitentiall Canon; and to have beene obſerved by the governours of the Church for a long time: untill at length in the time of *Nectarius* Biſhop of Conſtantinople (which was about CXL. yeares after the perſecution of *Decius*) upon occaſion of an infamie drawne upon the Clergie by the confeſſion of a Gentlewoman, defiled by a Deacon in that City, it was thought fit it ſhould bee aboliſhed; and that [u] libertie ſhould be given unto every one, upon the private examination of his owne conſcience, to reſort to the holy Communion. Which was agreeable both to the rule of the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. 11. 28. (*Let a man examine himſelfe, and ſo let him eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup:*) and to the judgement of the more ancient Fathers; as appeareth by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who accounteth a mans owne conſcience to be his [x] beſt directer in this caſe. howſoever our new Maſters of [y] Trent have not onely determined, that *ſacramentall confeſſion muſt neceſſarily be premiſed* before the receiving of the Euchariſt; but alſo have pronounced them to be excommunicate *ipſo facto*, that ſhall preſume to teach the contrary.

The caſe then (if theſe mens cenſures were ought worth) would go hard with *Nectarius*, & all the Biſhops that followed him; but eſpecially with S. *Iohn Chryſoſtome*, who was his immediate ſucceſſor in the See of Conſtantinople. for thus doth hee expound that place of the Apoſtle: [z] *Let every one examine*

t Οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνι τὸν πρεσβύτερον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς μετανοίας προστιθέσαν Socrat hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 19.

u συγχωρῆσαι ἕκαστον τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνειδότι τῆς μυστηρίων μετέχειν. Socrat. ib. συγχωρεῖν ἕκαστον, ὡς αὐτὸν τῇ συνειδήσει καὶ θαρρεῖν δύναται, κοινωνεῖν τῆς μυστηρίων. Sozomē. lib. 7. hiſtor. cap. 16.

x Αἱρεῖται δὲ ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀκριβῆ αἵρεσιν τε καὶ φυλακὴν, ἡ συνείδησις. Clem. Alexandr. lib. 1 Strom.

y *Concil. Trident. Seſſ. 13. can. 11.*

z Δοκιμαζέτω ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος, καὶ τότε θεσπίσῃ· καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ δοκιμάσει, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν, ἀδιαπόν τοιῶν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἀμάρτητον τὸν ἔλεγχον. Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. 11. homil. 28.

himſelfe, and then let him come. Hee doth not bid one man to examine another, but every one himſelfe; making the judgement private, and the tryall without witneſſes. and in the end of his ſecond homily of *Faſting* (which in others is the eighth *de pœnitentiâ*) frameth his exhortation accordingly. [a] *Within thy conſcience, none being preſent but God who ſeeth all things, enter thou into judgement, and into a ſearch of thy ſinnes, and recounting thy whole life, bring thy ſins unto judgement in thy minde: reforme thy exceſſes, and ſo with a pure conſcience draw neere to that ſacred Table, and partake of that holy ſacrifice.* Yet in another place he deeply chargeth Miniſters, not to admit knowne offenders unto the Communion. *But* [b] *if one* (ſaith hee) *be ignorant that hee is an evill perſon, after that hee hath uſed much diligence therein, hee is not to be blamed. for theſe things are ſpoken by mee of ſuch as are knowne.* And wee finde both in him, and in the practice of the times following, that the order of publicke Penance was not wholly taken away; but according to the ancient diſcipline eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles in the Church, open offenders were openly cenſured, and preſſed to make publicke confeſſion of their faults. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the libertie brought in by *Nectarius*, of not reſorting to any Penitentiarie, reſpected the diſcloſing of ſecret ſinnes onely; ſuch as that foule one was, from whence the publicke ſcandall aroſe, which gave occaſion to the repeale of the former Conſtitution. For to ſuffer open and notorious crimes, committed in the Church, to paſſe without controule, was not a meane to prevent, but to augment ſcandals; nay the

a Ἔνδον ἐν τῇ συνειδότι, μηδενὸς παρόντος, πλὴν τοῦ πάντα ὁρῶντος Θεοῦ, ποιῆσον τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν ἐξέτασιν, καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀναλογιζόμενος, οὕτω τοῖνυν τὸ κριτήριον ἄγε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, διόρθωσαι τὰ πλημμελήματα, καὶ ὅταν μὴ καθαρᾷ τῇ συνειδότι τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅψῃ τραπέζης, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μετάσχῃς θυσίας. Id. tom. 6. Savil. pag. 837.

b Εἰ δὲ ἀγνοήσει τις τὸν φαῦλον πολλὰ περιεργασάμενον, οὐδὲν ἔγκλημα· ταῦτα γάρ μοι περὶ τῶν δηλων εἴρηται. Id. in fine hom. 82. in Matth. edit. Græc. vol. 83. Latin.

the readie way, to make the houſe of God become a denne of theeves.

Two obſervations more I will adde upon this part of the hiſtory. The one: that the abrogation of this Canon ſheweth, that the forme of Confeſſion uſed by the ancient, was *Canonicall*, that is, appertayning to that externall diſcipline of the Church, which upon juſt occaſion might be altered; and not *Sacramentall*, and of perpetuall right, which is that our Ieſuites ſtand for. The other: that the courſe taken herein by *Nectarius*, was not onely approved by S. *Chryſoſtome*, who ſucceeded him at Conſtantinople; but [c] generally in a manner by the Catholicke Biſhops of other places. howſoever the *Arrians*, and the reſt of the ſectaries (the *Novatians* onely excepted, who from the beginning would not admit the diſcipline uſed in the Church for the reconciliation of Penitents) retained ſtill the former uſage. as by the relation of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* more fully may appeare. And therefore when within ſome XXI. yeares after the time wherein they finiſhed their hiſtories, and about LXX. after that the publication of ſecret offences began to be aboliſhed by *Nectarius*, certaine in Italy did ſo doe their penance, that they cauſed a writing to be publickly read, containing a profeſſion of their ſeverall ſinnes: *Leo*, who at that time was Biſhop of Rome, gave order, that by all meanes [d] that courſe ſhould be broken

c ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ πάντων σχεδὸν οἱ πανταχοῦ ἐπίσκοποι. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 16.

d Ne de ſingulorum peccatorum genere libellis ſcripta profeſſio publicè recitetur: cùm reatus conſcientiarum ſufficiat ſolis ſacerdotibus indicari confeſsione ſecretâ. Quamvis enim plenitudo fidei videatur eſſe laudabilis, quæ propter Dei timorem apud homines erubeſcere non veretur: tamen quia non omnium hujuſmodi ſunt peccata, ut ea, quæ pœnitentiam poſcunt, non timeant publicare, removeatur tam improbabilis conſuetudo; ne multi à pœnitentiæ remediis arceantur, dum aut erubeſcunt, aut metuunt inimicis ſuis ſua facta reſerare, quibus poſsint legum conſtitutione percelli. Sufficit enim illa confeſsio, quæ primùm Deo offertur, tum etiam Sacerdoti, qui pro delictis pœnitentium precator accedit. Tunc enim demùm plures ad pœnitentiam poterunt provocari, ſi populi auribus non publicetur conſcientia confitentis. *Leo epiſt.* 80. *ad Epiſcopos Campaniæ, Samnii & Picen.*

off;

off; *foraſmuch as it was ſufficient, that the guilt of mens conſciences ſhould be declared in ſecret confeſsion to the Prieſts alone. For although* (ſaith hee) *the fulneſſe of faith may ſeeme to bee laudable, which for the feare of God doth not feare to bluſh before men: yet becauſe all mens ſinnes are not of that kinde, that they may not feare to publiſh ſuch of them as require repentance, let ſo inconvenient a cuſtome be removed; leſt many be driven awaie from the remedies of repentance, while either they are aſhamed, or afraid to diſcloſe their deedes unto their enemies, whereby they may be drawne within the perill of the lawes. For that confeſsion is ſufficient, which is offered firſt unto God, and then unto the Prieſt, who commeth as an interceſſor for the ſinnes of the penitent. For then at length moe may be provoked to repentance, if that the conſcience of him who confeſſeth, be not publiſhed to the eares of the people.*

By this place of *Leo* wee may eaſily underſtand, how upon the removeall of publicke Confeſſion of ſecret faults (together with the private made unto the Penitentiarie, which was adioyned as a preparative thereunto) Auricular confeſſion began to bee ſubſtituted in the roome thereof: to the end, that by this meanes moe might be drawne on to this exercise of repentance; the impediments of *ſhame* and *feare*, which accompanied the former practice, being taken out of the way. for indeede the ſhame of this publick Penance was ſuch, that in the time of *Tertullian* (when this diſcipline was thought moſt needfull for the Church) it was ſtrongly [e] *preſumed, that manie did either ſhunne this worke as a publication of themſelves, or deferred it from day to day, beeing more mindfull*

e Pleroſque tamen hoc opus ut publicationem ſui aut ſuffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præſumo; pudoris magis memores quàm ſalutis. *Tertul. de Penit. cap.* 10.

mindefull (as he ſaith) *of their ſhame, than of their ſalvation.* Nay, S, *Ambroſe* obſerved, that [f] *ſome, who for feare of the puniſhment in the other world, beeing conſcious to themſelves of their ſinnes, did here deſire their penance, were yet for ſhame of their publicke ſupplication drawn back, after they had received it.* Therefore the conjecture of [g] *Rhenanus* is not to be contemned, that from this publik confeſſion, the private tooke his originall: which by *Stapleton*, (in his Fortreſſe, part. 2. chap. 4.) is poſitively delivered in this maner. *Afterward this open and ſharpe penance was brought to the private & particular confeſſion now uſed; principally for the lewdneſſe of the common lay-Chriſtians, which in this open confeſſion began at length to mocke and inſult at their brethrens ſimplicitie and devotion.* although it may ſeeme by that which is written by [h] *Origen*, that the ſeedes of this lewdneſſe beganne to ſprout long before; howſoever [i] *Tertullian* imagined, that no member of the Church whould be ſo ungracious as to commit ſuch folly.

The publick confeſſion therefore of ſecret ſinnes being thus aboliſhed, by *Nectarius* firſt (for the ſcandall that came thereby unto others) and by the reſt of the Catholicke Biſhops after him (for the reproach

f Nam pleriq; futuri ſupplicii metu, peccatorum ſuorum conſcii, pœnitentiâ petunt: & cùm acceperint, publicæ ſupplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi videntur malorum peniſſe pœnitentiam, agere bonorum. *Ambr. de pœnitent. lib. 2. cap. 9.*

g Porrò non aliam ob cauſſam complurium hîc teſtimoniis uſi ſumus, quàm ne quis admiretur Tertullianum de clancularià iſtâ admiſſorum confeſsione nihil locutum: quæ, quantum conjicimus, nata eſt ex iſtâ Exomologeſi per ultroneam hominum pietatem, ut occultorum peccatorum eſſet & Exomologeſis occulta. Nec enim uſquàm præceptam olim legimus. *B. Rhenan. argument. in lib. Tertul. de Pœnit.* h Si ergo huiuſmodi homo memor delicti ſui, confiteatur quæ commiſit, & humanâ confuſione parvi pendat eos qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irridentem: *&c. Origen. in Pſalm. 37. homil. 2.* i Certé periculum eius tunc ſi fortè oneroſum eſt, cùm penes inſultaturos in riſiloquio conſiſtit, ubi de alterius ruinâ alter attollitur, ubi proſtrato ſuperſcenditur. Cæterùm inter fratres atque conſervos, ubi communis ſpes, metus, gaudium, dolor, paſsio: quid tuos aliud quàm te opinaris? Quid conſortes caſuum tuorum, ut plauſores fugis? Non poteſt corpus de unius membri vexatione lætum agere: *Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. 9.*

proach and danger, whereunto the penitents by this meanes were laid open:) private confeſſion was ſo brought in to ſupply the defect thereof, that it was accounted no more *ſacramentall*, nor eſteemed (at leaſt generally) to bee of more *neceſsitie* for the obtaining of remiſſion of ſins, than that other. So that whatſoever order afterward was taken herein, may well be judged to have had the nature of a *temporall law*, which, according to the definition of S. *Auguſtine*, [k] *although it be juſt, yet in time may be juſtly alſo changed.* Nay wee finde that *Laurence* Biſhop of *Novaria*, in his Homily *de Pœnitentiâ*, doth reſolutely determine, that for obtaining remiſſion of ſinnes, a man needeth not to reſort unto any Prieſt, but that his owne internall repentance is ſufficient for that matter. God (ſaith [l] he) *after Baptiſme hath appointed thy remedy within thy ſelfe, hee hath put remiſsion in thine owne power, that thou needeſt not ſeeke a Prieſt when thy neceſsitie requireth; but thou thy ſelfe now, as a skilfull and plaine maſter, maiest amend thine error within thy ſelfe, and waſh away thy ſinne by repentance.* [m] *He hath given unto thee* (ſaith another, ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe) *the power of binding and looſing. Thou haſt bound thy ſelfe with the chaine of the love of wealth; looſe thy ſelfe with the injunction of the love of povertie. Thou haſt bound thy ſelfe with the furious deſire of pleaſures; looſe thy ſelfe with tempe-*

rance,

k Appellemus iſtam legem, ſi placet, temporalem, quæ quamvis iuſta ſit, commutari tamen per tempora iuſtè poteſt. *Auguſt. de lib. arbitr. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

l Poſt Baptiſma, remedium tuum in teipſo ſtatuit, remiſſionem in arbitrio tuo poſuit, ut non quæras Sacerdotem eùm neceſſitas flagitaverit: ſed ipſe iam acſi ſcitus perſpicuuſque magiſter, errorem tuum intra te emendes, & peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas. *Laur. Novar. tom. 6. Biblioth. Patr. part. 1. pag. 337. a. edit. Colon.*

m Σοὶ δέδωκε τὼ ἐξουσίαν τὸ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ σειρᾷ τ̃ φιλαργυρίας, σαυτὸν λυσον τῇ ἐντολῇ τ̃ς φιλοπτωχίας. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῷ ὄιστρῳ τ̃ς ἡδονῶν, σαυτὸν λυσον τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ Εὐνομίᾳ κακοπιστίᾳ, σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ τ̃ ὀρθοδοξίας δυσεβείᾳ. *Author. homiliæ in illud;* Quæcunque ligaveritis, &c. *intra opera Chryſoſtomi, tom. 7. edit. Savil. pag. 268.*

rance, Thou haſt bound thy ſelfe with the misbeleefe of Eunomius; looſe thy ſelfe with the religious embracing of the right faith.

And, that we may ſee how variable mens judgements were touching the matter of Confeſſion in the ages following: *Bede* would have us [n] *confeſſe our daily and light ſinnes one unto another, but open the uncleaneneſſe of the greater leproſie to the Prieſt. Alcuinus*, not long after him, would have us [o] *confeſſe all the ſinnes that we can remember*. Others were of another minde. For ſome (as it appeareth by the writings of the ſame [p] *Alcuinus*, and of [q] *Haymo*) would not confeſſe their ſinnes to the Prieſt; but [r] *ſaid, it was ſufficient for them that they did confeſſe their ſins to God alone*, provided alwaies that they ceaſed from thoſe ſinnes for the time to come. Others confeſſed their ſinnes unto the Prieſts, but [s] *not fully*: as may bee ſeene in the Councell of *Cauailon*, held in the daies of *Charles* the great. where, though the Fathers thinke that this had *neede to be amended*: yet they freely acknowledge, that it remained ſtill a queſtion, whether men ſhould only confeſſe to God, or to the Prieſts alſo; and they themſelves put this difference betwixt both thoſe confeſſions, that the one did properly ſerve for the cure, the other for direction in what ſort the repentance, (and ſo the cure) ſhould be performed. Their words are theſe.

n In hâc ſententiâ illa debet eſſe diſcretio; ut quotidiana leviáque peccata alterutrum coæqualibus confiteamur, eorumque quotidianâ credamus oratione ſalvari. Porrò gravioris lepræ immunditiam juxta legem ſacerdoti pandamus, atque ad ejus arbitrium qualiter & quanto tempore juſſerit, purificari curemus. *Bed. in Iacob.* 5.

o Volens dimittere omnia his qui in ſe peccaverunt, confiteatur omnia peccata ſua, quæ recordari poteſt. *Alcuin. de divin. offic. cap.* 13. in capite Ieiunii. p *Id. epiſt.* 26. q *Haymo. Halberſtatt. in Evangel. Dominic.* 15. *poſt. Pentecoſt.* Ad illud: ite oſtendite vos Sacerdotib. r Dicentes, ſibi ſufficere, ut ſoli Deo peccata ſua confiteantur; ſi tamen ab ipſis peccatis in reliquo ceſſent. *Haymo, ut ſupra.* s Sed & hoc emendatione egere perſpeximus, quòd quidam dum confitentur peccata ſua ſacerdotibus, non plenè id faciunt. *Concil. Cabilon. II. cap.* 32.

Some

t Quidam ſolummodò Deo confiteri debere dicunt peccata, quidam verò Sacerdotibus confitenda eſſe percenſent: quod utrumque non ſine magno fructu intra ſanctam fit Eccleſiam. ita duntaxat, ut & Deo, qui remiſſor eſt peccatorum, confiteamur peccata noſtra, (& cum David dicamus: Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, & injuſtitiam meam non abſcondi. Dixi, Confitebor adverſùm me injuſtitias meas Domino, & tu remiſiſti impietatem peccati mei.) & ſecundùm inſtitutionem Apoſtoli, Confiteamur alterutrum peccata noſtra, & oremus pro invicem ut ſalvemur. Confeſsio itaque quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea verò quæ Sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipſa purgentur peccata. Deus namq; ſalutis & ſanitatis author & largitor, plerumque hanc præbet ſuæ potentiæ inviſibili adminiſtratione, plerumque Medicorum operatione. *Ibid. cap.* 33.

t *Some ſay, that they ought to confeſſe their ſinnes only unto God, and ſome thinke that they are to bee confeſſed unto the Prieſts: both of which, not without great fruit, is practiſed within the holy Church. namely thus, that we both confeſſe our ſinnes unto God, who is the forgiver of ſinnes (ſaying with David: I acknowledged my ſinne unto thee, and mine iniquitie have I not hid. I ſaid, I will confeſſe againſt my ſelfe my tranſgreſsions unto the Lord: and thou forgaveſt the iniquitie of my ſinne.) and according to the inſtitution of the Apoſtle, confeſſe our ſinnes one unto another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed. The Confeſsion therfore which is made unto God, purgeth ſinnes: but that which is made unto the Prieſt, teacheth in what ſort thoſe ſinnes ſhould be purged. For God, the author and beſtower of ſalvation and health, giveth the ſame ſometime by the inviſible adminiſtration of his power, ſometime by the operation of Phyſicians.*

This Canon is cyted by u *Gratian* out of the Penitentiall of *Theodorus* Archbiſhop of Canterbury: but clogged with ſome unneceſſarie additions. as when in the beginning thereof it is made the x opinion of the Grecians, that ſins ſhould bee confeſſed onely unto God; and of the reſt of the Church, that they ſhould bee confeſſed to Prieſts. where thoſe words, *ut Græci*, in *Gratian*, ſeeme unto Cardinall

u *Grat. de Pœnit. diſtinct.* 1. *cap. ult.* Quidam Deo. x Quidam Deo ſolummodò confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci: quidam verò Sacerdotibus confitenda eſſe percenſent, ut tota ferè ſancta Eccleſia. *Ibid.*

Bellar-

Bellarmine, [y] *to have crept out of the margent into the text; and to have beene a marginall annotation of ſome unskilfull man, who gathered by the fact of Nectarius, that Sacramentall Confeſsion was wholly taken away among the Grecians. For otherwiſe* (ſaith he) *in the Capitular it ſelfe of Theodorus, whence that Canon was tranſcribed, thoſe two words* [*ut Græci.*] *are not to bee had; nor are they alſo to be had in the ſecond Councell of Cauaillon. c. 33. whence Theodorus ſeemeth to have taken that Chapter: neither yet doth the Maſter of the Sentences, in his 4th booke and 17. diſtinction bringing in the ſame ſentence, adde thoſe words* [*ut Græci.*] But the Cardinalls conjecture of the tranſlating of theſe words out of the margent into the text of *Gratian,* is of little worth: ſeeing we find them expreſſely laid downe in the elder collections of the Decrees, made by [z] *Burchardus,* and [a] *Ivo*; from whence it is evident, that *Gratian* borrowed this whole chapter, as he hath done manie a one beſide. For as for *the Capitular it ſelfe of Theodorus, whence* the Cardinall too too boldly affirmeth *that Canon was tranſcribed*; as if he had looked into the book himſelfe: wee are to know, that no ſuch Capitular of *Theodorus* is to be found: onely *Burchardus* and *Ivo* (in whom, as we ſaid, thoſe controverted words are extant) ſette downe this whole chapter as taken out of *Theodors Penitentiall,* and ſo miſguided *Gratian.* for indeede in *Theodorus* his *Penitentiall* (which I did lately tranſcribe out of a moſt ancient copie kept in Sir *Robert Cottons* Threaſurie) no part of that chapter can be ſeene: nor yet any thing elſe tending to the matter now in hand, this ſhort ſentence onely

y Videtur irrepſiſſe in textum ex margine; & marginalem annotationem imperiti alicujus fuiſſe, qui ex facto Nectarii collegit, ſublatam omnino Confeſsionem Sacramentalẽ apud Græcos. Nam alioqui in ipſo capitulari Theodori, unde canon ille deſcriptus eſt, non habentur duæ illæ voces [ut Græci,] neque etiam habentur in Concilio II. Cabilonenſi, c. 33. unde Theodorus Capitulũ illud accepiſſe videtur: ſed nec Magiſter Sentent. in 4. lib. diſt. 17. eandem ſententiã adducens, addidit illud, [ut Græci.] *Bellar. de Pœnitent. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

z *Burchard. Decret. lib. 19. cap. 145.*

a *Ivo, Decret. part. 15. cap. 155.*

ly excepted. *Confeſsionem ſuam Deo ſoli, ſi neceſſe eſt, licebit agere. It is lawfull, that Confeſsion be made unto God alone, if neede require.* And to ſuppoſe, as the Cardinal doth, that *Theodorus* ſhould take this chapter out of the ſecond Councel of *Cauaillon:* were an idle imagination. ſeeing it is well known that *Theodore* died Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the yeare of our Lord 690. and the Councell of *Cauaillon* was held in the yeare 813, that is, 123. years after the others death. The truth is, he who made the additions to the *Capitularia*, of *Charles* the great and *Ludovicus Pius*, (gathered by *Anſegiſus* & *Benedict*) tranſlated this Canon out of that Councel into his [b] collection: which *Bellarmine*, as it ſeemeth, having ſome way heard of, knew not to diſtinguiſh between thoſe *Capitularia*, and *Theodors Penitentiall*, beeing herein as negligent, as in his allegation of the fourth booke of the Sentences: where the Maſter doth not bring in this ſentence at all, but having among other queſtions propounded this alſo for one, [c] *Whether it be ſuffictent that a man confeſſe his ſinnes to God alone, or whether hee muſt confeſſe to a Prieſt*; doth thereupon ſet downe the diverſitie of mens opinions touching that matter, and ſaith, that *unto ſome it ſeemed to ſuffice, if confeſsion were made to God onely without the judgement of the Prieſt, or the confeſsion of the Church. becauſe David ſaid; I ſaid, I will confeſſe unto the Lord: hee ſaith not, unto the Prieſt; and yet hee ſheweth that his ſinne was forgiven him.* For in theſe points, as the ſame author had before noted, [d] *even the learned were found to hold diverſly: becauſe*

b *Addit. 3. cap. 31. edit. Pithei. & Lindenbrogii.*

c Vtrùm ſufficiat peccata confiteri ſoli Deo, an oporteat confiteri Sacerdoti. Quibuſdam viſum eſt ſufficere, ſi ſoli Deo fiat confeſſio ſine iudicio Sacerdotali & confeſsione eccleſiæ. quia David dixit; Dixi Confitebor Domino, &c. non ait, Sacerdoti: & tamen remiſſum ſibi peccatum dicit. *Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diſt. 17.*

d In his enim etiam docti diverſa ſentire inveniuntur: quia ſuper his varia ac penè adverſa tradidiſſe videntur doctores. *Ibid.*

the

the Doctors ſeemed to deliver divers and almoſt contrarie judgements therein.

The diverſe ſentences of the Doctors touching this queſtion, whether external confeſsion were neceſſarie or not, are at large laid downe by *Gratian*: who in the end leaveth the matter in ſuſpence, and concludeth in this manner. [e] *Vpon what authorities, or upon what ſtrength of reaſons both theſe opinions are grounded, I have briefely laid open. But to whether of them wee ſhould rather cleave to, is reſerved to the judgement of the reader. For both of them have for their favourers both wiſe and religious men.* And ſo the matter reſted undetermined 1150. yeares after Chriſt: howſoever the Romane Correctors of *Gratian* doe tell us, that now the caſe is altered, and that [f] *it is moſt certaine, and muſt be held for moſt certaine, that the ſacramentall confeſsion of mortall ſinnes is neceſſarie, uſed in that maner, and at ſuch time, as in the Councell of Trent after other Councels it is appointed.* But the firſt Councell wherein wee finde anie thing determined touching this neceſſitie, is that of Lateran under *Innocent* the III. wherein wee heard that *Tranſſubſtantiation* was eſtabliſhed. for there it was ordained, that [g] *Omnis utriuſque ſexus fidelis, everie faithfull one of either ſex, beeing come to yeares of diſcretion, ſhould by himſelf alone, once in the yeare at leaſt,*

e Quibus auctoritatibus, vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraq; ſententia innitatur, in medium breviter expoſuimus. Cui autem harum potiùs adhærendum ſit, lectoris iudicio reſervatur. Vtraque enim fautores habet ſapientes, & religioſos viros. *De Pœnit. diſt.* 1. *cap.* 89. Quamvis.

f Certiſsimum eſt, & pro certiſsimo habendum, peccati mortalis neceſſariam eſſe confeſsionem ſacramentalem eo modo, ac tempore adhibitam, quo in Concilio Tridentino poſt alia Concilia eſt conſtitutum. *Rom. Correct. ibid.*

g Omnis utriuſque ſexus fidelis, poſtquàm ad annos diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia ſua ſolus peccata confiteatur fideliter ſaltem ſemel in anno proprio ſacerdoti; & iniunctam ſibi pœnitentiam ſtudeat pro viribus adimplere, ſuſcipiens reverenter ad minùs in Paſcha Euchariſtiæ ſacramentum, &c. alioquin & vivens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & moriens Chriſtianâ careat ſepultur[illegible]â. *Concil. Lateran. cap.* 21.

faithfully confeſſe his ſinnes unto his owne Prieſt; and indevour according to his ſtrength to fulfill the penance injoined unto him, receiving reverently at leaſt at Eaſter the Sacrament of the Euchariſt: otherwiſe, that both being alive hee ſhould bee kept from entring into the Church, and being dead, ſhould want Chriſtian buriall. Since which determination, *Thomas Aquinas* (in his expoſition of the text of the fourth booke of the Sentences, diſtinct. 17.) holdeth [h] the deniall of the neceſsitie of Confeſſion unto ſalvation to bee hereſie: which before that time (ſaith *Bonaventure*, in his diſputations upon the ſame fourth booke) was not hereticall; for as much as manie Catholick Doctors did hold contrary opinions therein, as appeareth by *Gratian*.

But *Medina* will not admit by anie means, [i] that it ſhould be accounted *ſtrictly hereſie:* but would have it ſaid, that *it ſavours of hereſie.* and for this decree of Confeſſion to be made once in the yeare, he ſaith [k] that it *doth not declare nor interpret any divine right of the thing, but rather appointeth the time of confeſſing.* *Durand* thinketh that it may bee ſaid, that this ſtatute containeth [l] *an holy and wholſome exhortation of making confeſsion, and then adjoineth a precept of the receiving of the Euchariſt, backed with a penaltie:* or if both of them be precepts, that [m] *the penaltie reſpecteth onely the precept of communicating (of the tranſgreſsion whereof knowledge may be taken) and not*

h Magiſter & Gratianus hoc pro opinione ponunt. Sed nunc poſt determinationem Eccleſiæ ſub Inn. III. factam, hæreſis reputanda eſt. *Thom.*

i Ideò dicendum, quòd præfata aſſertio non eſt ſtrictè hæreſis, ſed ſapit hæreſim. *Io. Medina, tractat. 2. de Confeſsione, quæſt. 4.*

k Nam illud, quod illic dicitur de confeſſione ſemel in anno, non proœdit declarando, nec divinum ius interpretando, ſed potiùs tempus confitendi inſtituendo.

Id. Ibid. quæſt. 2. l In quo præmittitur exhortatio ſancta & ſalubris de confeſsione faciendâ, & ſubiungitur præceptum de perceptione Euchariſtiæ vallatum pœnâ. *Durand. in lib. 4. Sentent. diſtinct. 17. quæſt. 14.* m Et ob hoc poſſet rationabiliter videri alicui, quòd prædicta pœna illius ſtatuti reſpicit ſolum præceptum de communione, de cujus tranſgreſſione conſtare poteſt, & non præceptum de confeſsione. *Id. Ibid.*

the precept of confeſſion; of the tranſgreſſion where-of the Church can take no certain notice, and there-fore can appoint no certain penaltie for it. But how-ſoever, this we are ſure of, that the Canoniſts after-wardheld no abſolute neceſſitie of obedien ce to be required therein, as unto a Sacramentall inſtitution ordained by Chriſt for obtaining remiſſion of ſins; but a Canon icall obedience onely, as unto an uſe-full conſtitution of the Church. And therefore where *Gratian* in his firſt diſtinction *de Pœnitentiâ*, had in the 34. chapter, and the three next following, propounded the allegations which made for them who held, [n] that men might obtayne pardon for their ſinnes, without any orall confeſsion of them; and then proceeded to the authorities which might ſeeme to make for the contrarie opinion: *Iohannes Semeca* at the beginning of that part, upon thoſe words of *Gratian*, *Alij è contrario teſtantur*, putteth to this Gloſſe. [o] *From this place untill the ſection, His auctoritatib. he alledgeth for the other part, that ſinne is not forgiven unto ſuch as are of yeares, without con-feſsion of the mouth. which yet is falſe*: ſaith he. But this free dealing of his did ſo diſpleaſe Frier *Man-rique*, who by the command of *Pius Quintus*, ſet out a cenſure upon the Gloſſes of the Canon law; that he gave direction, theſe words, *which yet is falſe*, ſhould be cleane blotted out. which direction of his notwithſtanding, the Romane Correctors under *Gregorie* XIII. did not follow: but letting the words ſtill ſtand, give them a check onely with this marginall annotation. [p] *Nay it is moſt true, that*

n Vnde datur intelligi, quòd etiam ore tacente, veniam conſequi poſſumus. *De Pœnit. diſt.* 1. *cap.* 34. Convertimini. *Vid. initium eiuſd. diſtinct. & Gloſſam, ibid. verb.* Sunt enim.

o Ab hoc loco uſque ad ſect. *His auctoritatib.* pro aliâ parte allegat, quòd ſcilicèt adulto peccatum non dimittitur ſine oris confeſsione. quòd tamen falſum eſt. *Gloſſ.*

p Imo veriſsimum, ſine confeſsione in voto non dimitti peccatum. *Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.*

without confeſsion, in deſire at leaſt, the ſinne is not forgiven.

In like manner, where the ſame *Semeca* holdeth it to be the better opinion, that confeſsion was [q] *ordained by a certaine tradition of the univerſall Church, rather than by the authoritie of the new or old Teſtament*; and inferreth thereupon, that it is [r] neceſſary among the Latins, but *not among the Greekes, becauſe that tradition did not ſpread to them*: Friar *Manrique* commandeth all that paſſage to bee blotted out, But the Romane Correctors clap this note upon the margent for an antidote. [s] *Nay, confeſsion was ordained by our Lord, and by Gods Law is neceſſarie to all that fall into mortall ſinne after Baptiſme, as well Greekes as Latins.* and for this they quote onely the 14. Seſsion of the Councell of Trent: where that opinion is accurſed in us, which was held two or three hundred yeares agoe by the men of their owne religion, among whom, [t] *Michael* of Bononia (who was Prior generall of the order of the Carmelites in the daies of Pope *Vrban* the ſixt) doth conclude ſtrongly out of their owne received grounds; *that confeſsion is not neceſſarie for the obtainiug of the pardon of our ſinne*: and *Panormitan* the great Canoniſt, [u] profeſseth that the opinion of *Semeca* doth much pleaſe him, which referreth the original of Confeſsion to a generall tradition of the Church: *becauſe* (ſaith he) *there is not anie cleare authoritie, which ſheweth that God or Chriſt did clearly ordaine that Confeſsion ſhould*

q Meliùs dicitur eam inſtitutam fuiſſe à quadam univerſalis Eccleſiæ traditione, potiùs quàm ex novi vel veteris Teſtaméti auctoritate. *Gloſſ. de Pœnitent. init. diſtinct. 5.* In pœnitentia.

r Ergo neceſſaria eſt confeſſio in mortalibus apud nos, apud Græcos non: quia non emanavit apud illos traditio talis. *Ibid.*

s Imò confeſſio eſt inſtituta à Domino, & eſt omnibus poſt Baptiſmũ lapſis in mortale peccatum, tam Græcis quàm Latinis, iure divino neceſſaria. *Rom. Correct. ibid. in marg.*

t *Michael Angrianus in Pſal.* 29.

u Multùm mihi placet illa opinio; quia non eſt aliqua authoritas aperta, quæ innuat Deum ſeu Chriſtum aperté inſtituiſſe confeſsionem fiendam Sacerdoti. *Panorm. in 5. Decretal. de Pœnit. & remiſſ. cap.* 12. Omnis utriuſque. *ſect.* 18.

be made unto a Prieſt. Yea, [x] *all the Canoniſts, following their firſt Interpreter, ſay that Confeſsion was brought in onely by the law of the Church,* and not by anie divine precept: if wee will beleeve *Maldonat.* who addeth notwithſtanding, that [y] *this opinion is either alreadie ſufficiently declared by the Church to be hereſie, or that the Church ſhould doe well if it did declare it to be hereſie.*

And wee finde indeede, that in the yeare of our Lord 1479. (which was 34. yeares after the death of *Panormitan*) by a ſpeciall commiſſion directed from Pope *Sixtus the fourth* unto *Alfonſus Carillus* Archbiſhop of Toledo, one *Petrus Oxomenſis,* profeſſor of Divinitie in the Univerſitie of Salamanca, was driven to abjure [z] this concluſion, which hee had before delivered as agreeable to the common opinion of the Doctors; *that confeſsion of ſinnes in particular was grounded upon ſome ſtatute of the univerſall Church, and not upon divine right.* and when learned men for all this would not take warning, but would needes be meddling againe with that which the Popiſh Clergie could not indure ſhould bee touched, (as *Iohannes de Selva,* among others, in the end of his treatiſe *de jureiurando*; *Eraſmus* in diverſe of his workes, and *Beatus Rhenanus* in his argument upon *Tertullians* booke *de Pœnitentiâ*:) the fathers of *Trent* within 72. years after that, conſpired together to ſtop all mens mouthes with * an *anathema,* that ſhould deny ſacramental confeſsion to be of divine inſtitution, or to be neceſſarie unto ſalvation. And ſo we are come to an end of that point.

x Omnes iuris Pontificii periti, ſecuti primũ ſuum Interpretem, dicunt Confeſſionem tantùm eſſe introductam iure Eccleſiaſtico. *Maldon. Diſp. de Sacrament. Tom. 2. de Confeſſ. orig. cap. 2.*

y Sed tamen hæc opinio, aut iam declarata eſt ſatis tanquam hæreſis ab Eccleſiâ; aut faceret Eccleſia operæ pretium, ſi declararet eſſe hæreſim. *Id. ib. de præcepto Confeſſ. cap. 3.*

z Quòd confeſſio de peccatis in ſpecie fuerit ex aliquo ſtatuto univerſalis Eccleſiæ, non de iure divino. *Congregat. Compluten. ſub Alfonſo Carillo: apud Carranzam in Summâ Concil. ſub Sixto IV.*

* *Conc. Trident. Seſſ. 14. Can. 6.*

OF THE PRIESTS POWER TO FORGIVE SINNES.

FRom *Confeſsion* we are now to proceed unto *Abſolution*: which it were pitie this man ſhould receive, before he made confeſſion of the open wrong hee hath here done, in charging us to denie *that Prieſts have power to forgive ſinnes*. whereas the verie formall words, which our Church requireth to bee uſed in the ordination of a Miniſter, are theſe:

a The forme of ordering of Prieſts.

a *Whoſe ſinnes thou doeſt forgive, they are forgiven; and whoſe ſinnes thou doeſt retaine, they are retained.* And therefore if this be all the matter, the Fathers and wee ſhall agree well enough: howſoever this make-bate would faine put friends together by the eares, where there is no occaſion at all of quarrell. For we acknowledge moſt willingly, that the principall part of the Prieſts miniſterie is exerciſed in the matter of *forgiveneſſe of ſinnes*: the queſtion only is of the maner how this part of their function is executed by them, and of the bounds and limits thereof, which the Pope and his Clergie for their owne advantage have enlarged beyond all meaſure of truth and reaſon.

That wee may therefore give unto the Prieſt the things that are the Prieſts, & to God the things that are Gods; and not communicate unto anie *creature* the power that properly belongeth to the *Creator*, who b *will not give his glorie unto another*: we muſt in the firſt place lay this downe for a ſure ground, that to forgive ſinnes properly, directly, and abſolutely;

b Eſay 48. 11.

lutely, is a priviledge onely appertaining unto the moſt High. *I*, ſaith he of himſelfe, even *I* am *he* that *blotteth out thy tranſgreſſions for mine owne ſake, and will not remember thy ſinnes.* (Eſai.43.25.) *Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquitie?* ſaith the Prophet, Micah 7.18. which in effect is the ſame with that of the Scribes: (Mark 2.7. and Luk.5.21.) *Who can forgive ſinnes, but God alone?* And therfore when *David* ſaith unto God; *Thou forgaveſt the iniquitie of my ſinne:* (Pſalm.32.5.) *Gregorie* ſurnamed *the great* (the firſt Biſhop of Rome of that name) thought this to be a ſound paraphraſe of his words. [c] *Thou, who alone ſpareſt, who alone forgiveſt ſinnes. For who can forgive ſinnes, but God alone?* Hee did not imagine that he had cõmitted any great error in ſubſcribing thus ſimply unto that ſentence of the Scribes; and little dreamed, that anie pettie Doctors afterwards would ariſe in *Rome* or *Rhemes*, who would tell us a faire tale; that [d] *the faithleſſe Iewes thought as Hereticks now adaies, that to forgive ſinnes was ſo proper to God, that it could not bee communicated unto man*; and that [e] *true beleevers referre this to the increaſe of Gods honour, which miſcreant Iewes and Hereticks do accompt blaſphemie againſt God, and injurious to his majeſtie.* whereas in truth the faithleſneſſe of the Iewes conſiſted in the application of this ſentence againſt our Saviour Chriſt, whom they did not acknowledge to bee God; as the ſenſleſneſſe of theſe Romaniſts, in denying of the axiom it ſelfe.

c Tu, qui ſolus parcis, qui ſolus peccata dimittis. Quis enim poteſt peccata dimittere, niſi ſolus Deus? *Gregor. expoſit. 2. Pſalmi Pœnitential.*

d *Rhemiſts, annot. in Matt. 9. 5.*

e *Rich. Hopkins, in the Memoriall of a Chriſt. life, pag. 179. edit. am. 1612.*

But the world is come unto a good paſſe, when we muſt be accounted *hereticks now adaies*, and con-

sorted with *miscreant Iewes*, for holding the selfe-same thing that the Fathers of the ancient Church delivered as a most certaine truth, whensoever they had anie occasion to treate of this part of the historie of the Gospel. Old *Irenæus* telleth us, that our Saviour in this place [f] *forgiving sinnes, did both cure the man, and manifestly discover who hee was. For if none* (saith he) *can forgive sinnes but God alone, and our Lord did forgive them, & cured men; it is manifest, that he was the Word of God, made the Sonne of man: and that as man hee is touched with compassion of us; as God, hee hath mercie on us, and forgiveth us our debts which we doe owe unto God our maker.* *Tertullian* saith, that [g] *when the Iewes beholding onely his humanitie, and not being yet certaine of his Deitie, did deservedly reason, that a man could not forgive sinnes, but God alone:* hee by answering of them, that *the Sonne of man had authoritie to forgive sinnes*, would by this remission of sins have them call to minde that he was [h] *that onely Sonne of man propheſied of in Daniel, who received power of judging, and thereby also of forgiving sinnes.* (Dan. 7. 13, 14). S. *Hilarie* commenting upon the ninth of Matthew, writeth thus. [i] *It moveth the Scribes, that sinne should be forgiven by a man. For they*

f Peccata igitur remittens, hominem quidem curavit, semetipsum autem manifestè ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo potest remittere peccata, nisi solus Deus; remittebat autem hæc Dominus, & curabat homines: manifestũ est, quoniã ipse erat Verbum Dei, Filius hominis factus, &c. & quomodo homo compassus est nobis, tanquam Deus misereatur nostri, & remittat nobis debita nostra, quæ factori nostro debemus Deo. *Irenæus adverſ. hæreſ. lib. 5. cap. 17.* g Nam cùm Iudæi solummodò hominem eius intuentes, necdum & Deum certi, quâ Dei quoque filium, meritò retractarent, non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed Deum solum, &c. *Tertullian. lib. 4. adverſ. Marcion. cap. 10.* h Illum scilicèt solum filium hominis apud Danielis Prophetiam, consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique & dimittendi delicta. *Id. ibid.* i Movet Scribas, remissum ab homine peccatum. Hominem enim tantùm in Iesu Christo contuebantur; & remissum ab eo, quod lex laxare non poterat. Fides enim sola iustificat. Deinde murmurationem eorum Dominus introspicit, dicitque facile esse filio hominis in terrâ peccata dimittere. Verum enim, nemo potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus: ergo qui remittit Deus est, quia nemo remittit nisi Deus. Deus in homine manens curationem homini præstabat. *Hilar. in Matth. Canon. 8.*

beheld

beheld a man onely in Ieſus Chriſt; and that to be forgiven by him, which the law could not releaſe. For it is faith onely that juſtifieth. Afterward the Lord looketh into their murmuring, and ſaith that it is an eaſie thing for the Son of man upon earth to forgive ſinnes. For it is true, none can forgive ſinnes but God alone: therefore he who remitteth is God, becauſe none remitteth but God. God remaining in man, performed this cure upon man. S. *Hierom* thus: [k] *We reade that God ſaith in the Prophet; I am he that blotteth out thine iniquities. Conſequently therefore the Scribes, becauſe they thought him to be a man, and did not underſtand the words of God, accuſe him of blaſphemie. But the Lord ſeeing their thoughts, ſheweth himſelfe to be God, who is able to know the ſecrets of the heart: and holding his peace after a ſort ſpeaketh; By the ſame majeſtie and power, wherewith I behold your thoughts, I am able alſo to forgive ſinnes unto men.* or, as *Euthymius* expreſſeth it in his commentaries upon the ſame place: [l] *In truth, none can forgive ſinnes but one, who beholdeth the thoughts of men.* S. *Chryſoſtome* likewiſe in his Sermons upon the ſame, ſheweth that Chriſt here declared himſelfe to bee God equall unto the Father: and that [m] if he had not beene equall unto the Father, hee would have ſaid; *Why doe you attribute unto mee an unfitting opinion? I am farre from that power.* To the ſame effect alſo writeth *Chriſtianus Druthmarus*, *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, and *Walafridus Strabus* in the

k Legimus in Prophetâ dicentem Deum, Ego ſum qui deleo iniquitates tuas. Conſequenter ergo Scribæ, quia hominem putabant, et verba Dei non intelligebant, arguũt eum blaſphemiæ. Sed Dominus videns cogitationes eorum, oſtendit ſe Deum, qui poſſit cordis occulta cognoſcere: & quodammodo tacens loquitur; Eâdem maieſtate & potentiâ, quâ cogitationes veſtras intueor, poſſum & hominibus peccata dimittere. *Hieronym. lib. 1. Commentar. in Matth 9.* l Veré nullus poteſt remittere peccata, niſi unus, qui intuetur cogitationes hominum. *Euthym. cap. 13 in Matth.* m Εἰ μὴ ἴσος ἦν, ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, τί μοι προσάπτετε μὴ πρέποντος ὑπόληψιν; πόρρω ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς δυνάμεως. *Chryſoſt. in Matth. 9. hom. 29. Græc. 30. Latin.*

ordinarie

ordinary Glosse upon the same place of S. *Matthew*. *Victor Antiochenus* upon the second of *Mark*; *Theophylact* aud *Bede* upon the second of *Marke*, and the fifth of *Luke*: S. *Ambrose* upon the fifth of *Luke*. who in another place also bringeth this sentence of the Scribes, as a ground to prove the deitie of the holy Ghost withall: forasmuch as [n] *none forgiveth sinnes but one God; because it is written, Who can forgive sins but God alone?* as S. *Cyril* doth to prove the deity of the Sonne. [o] *For this onely* (saith he) *did the malice of the Iewes say truely, that none can forgive sinnes, but God alone, who is the Lord of the law.* and thence hee frameth this argument. [p] *If hee alone who is the Lord of all doth free us from our sinnes, and this agreeth to no other, and Christ bestoweth this with a power befitting God; how should he not be God?*

Vid. etiam Basilium, lib. 5. contra Eunomium. pag. 113. edit. Græcolatin.

n Peccata nemo condonat, nisi unus Deus: quia æquè scriptum est; Quis potest peccata donare nisi solus Deus? *Ambros. de Spir. sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

o Istud enim solum malicia Iudæorum verè dicebat, quòd nullus potest dimittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, qui legis Dominus est. *Cyrill. Alexandr. Thesaur. lib. 12. cap. 4.*

The same argument also is used by *Novatianus* and *Athanasius*, to the selfe-same purpose. [q] *For if, when it agreeth unto none but unto God to know the secrets of the heart; Christ doth behold the secrets of the heart; if, when it agreeth unto none but unto God to forgive sinnes, the same Christ doth forgive sinnes:* then deservedly is Christ to be accounted God, saith *Novatianus*. So *Athanasius* demandeth of the Arrians: [r] If the Sonne were a creature, *how was he able to forgive sinnes?* it being written in the Pro-

p Εἰ μόνος ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάττει ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης πλημμελημάτων, ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ τοῦτο ἁρμόττει· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μηδενὶ χαριζόμενος, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη θεός; Id. in lib. de rectâ fide ad Reginas.

q Quòd si cùm nullius sit nisi Dei, cordis nôsse secreta, Christus secreta conspicit cordis: quòd si, cùm nullius sit nisi Dei, peccata dimittere, idem Christus peccata dimittit: &c. meritò Deus est Christus. *Novatian. de Trinitat. cap. 13.*

r Πῶς δ' ἂν ἕτερον χτίσμα ἦν λόγος, ὃ ἀπέφαινε τὸ θεῖον λύσιν δωρεᾶς εἶναι, καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτίας, μηδὲν μεμενηκὼς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι τοῦτο θεοῦ ἴδιον καὶ θεὸς ἄντερ οὐ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν τὰς καινὰς ἀνομίας; Athana. orat. 3. cont. Arian. p. 239. tom. 1. edit. Græcolat. Commelin.

phets,

phets, *that this is the worke of God. For who is a God like unto thee, that taketh away ſinnes, and paſſeth over iniquities?* [r] But *the ſonne* (ſaith hee) *ſaid unto whom hee would; Thy ſinnes are forgiven thee: and when the Iewes murmured, did demonſtrate alſo this forgiveneſſe indeed, ſaying to the man that was ſicke of the palſie; Ariſe, take up thy bedde, and goe unto thine houſe.* And therefore *Bede* rightly inferreth, that [s] *the Arrians doe erre here much more madly* than the Iewes: *who when they dare not denie, being convicted by the words of the Goſpell, that Ieſus is both the Chriſt, and hath power to forgive ſinnes; yet feare not for all that to denie him to be God.* and concludeth himſelfe moſt ſoundly: that [t] *if hee be God according to the Pſalmiſt, who removeth our iniquities from us as farre as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and the Sonne of man hath power upon earth to forgive ſinnes; therefore the ſame is both God and the ſonne of man, that the man Chriſt by the power of his divinity might forgive ſinnes; and the ſame Chriſt God by the frailtie of his humanitie might dye for ſinners.* Whereunto wee will adde another ſweet paſſage, (borrowed by him from an ancienter author:) [x] *No man taketh away ſinnes (which the Law, although holy and juſt and good, could not take away) but hee in whom there is no ſinne. Now hee taketh them away, both by pardoning thoſe that are done,*

[r] Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς ἔλεγεν οἷς ἤθελεν, ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου. ὅτε καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γογγυζόντων, ἔργῳ τὴν ἄφεσιν ἐδείκνυε, λέγων τῷ παραλυτικῷ· ἔγειραι, ἆρον τὸ κράβαττόν σου, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. Id. in epiſt. de Synodis Arimin. & Seleuc. pag. 712. Vid. etiam Orat. 4. Contra Arrian. pa. 254. & 281.

[s] Sed multo dementiùs errant Arriani, qui cùm Ieſum & Chriſtum eſſe, & peccata poſſe dimittere, Evangelii verbis devicti, negare non audeant; nihilominus Deum negare non timent. *Bed. in Marc. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

[t] Si & Deus eſt juxta Pſalmiſtam, qui quantum diſtat oriens ab occaſu elongavit à nobis iniquitates noſtras, & filius hominis poteſtatem habet in terrâ dimittendi peccata: ergo idem ipſe & Deus, & filius hominis eſt; ut & homo Chriſtus per divinitatis ſuæ potentiam peccata dimittere poſſit, & idem Deus Chriſtus per humanitatis ſuæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. *Id. ibid.* [x] Nemo tollit peccata (quæ nec Lex, quamvis ſancta & juſta & bona, potuit auferre) niſi ille in quo peccatum non eſt. Tollit autem, & dimittendo quæ facta ſunt, & adiuvando ne fiant, & perducendo ad vitam ubi fieri omnino non poſſint. *Id. in 1. Iohan. 3.*

and

and by aſsiſting us that they may not be done, and by bringing us to the life where they cannot at all be done.

y *Peter Lombard* alledgeth this as the ſaying of S. * *Auguſtine:* the former ſentence onely being thus changed. z *None taketh away ſinnes, but Chriſt alone, who is the Lamb that taketh away the ſins of the world.* agreeable to that, which in the ſame place hee citeth out of S. *Ambroſe:* a *Hee alone forgiveth ſinnes, who alone dyed for our ſinnes.* and to that of *Clemens Alexandrinus:* b *Hee alone can remit ſinnes, who is appointed our Maſter by the father of all, who alone is able to diſcerne diſobedience from obedience.* to which purpoſe alſo, S. *Ambroſe* maketh this obſervation upon the hiſtorie of the woman taken in adulterie, Ioh. 8. 9. that c *Ieſus being about to pardon ſinne, remained alone. For it is not the ambaſſador* (ſaith hee) *nor the meſſenger, but the Lord himſelfe that hath ſaved his people. Hee remaineth alone, becauſe it cannot be common to anie man with Chriſt to forgive ſinnes. This is the office of Chriſt alone, who taketh away the ſinne of the world.* Yea, S. *Chryſoſtome* himſelfe, who of all the Fathers giveth moſt in this point unto Gods ambaſſadors and meſſengers, is yet carefull withall to preſerve Gods priviledge entire, by often interpoſing ſuch ſentences as theſe. d *None can forgive ſins, but God alone.* e *To forgive ſinnes, belongeth to no o-*

y P. *Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diſtinct.* 18. D.

* In quo etiam eandem demùm repperi, *lib. 2. contra poſteriorem Iuliani reſponſ. num.* 84.

z Nemo tollit peccata, niſi ſolus Chriſtus, qui eſt agnus tollens peccata mundi. *Auguſt.*

a Ille ſolus peccata dimittit, qui ſolus pro peccatis noſtris mortuus eſt. *Ambroſ.*

b Μόνος ἔστος θεὸς τί ἀφιέναι τὰ πλημμελήματα, ἐπεὶ τῆς παρὸς τῶν ὅλων ὁ ταχθεὶς παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, μόνος ὁ τῆς ὑπακοῆς διακρῖναι τὸ παράπτωμα. Clem. Alexand. Pædagog. lib. 1. cap. 8.

c Donaturus peccatum, ſolus remanet Ieſus. &c. Non enim legatus neque nuncius, ſed ipſe Dominus ſalvum fecit populum ſuum. Solus remanet, quia non poteſt hoc cuiquam hominum cum Chriſto eſſe commune ut peccata condonet. Solius hoc munus eſt Chriſti, qui tulit peccatum mundi. *Ambroſ. epiſt. 76. ad Studium.*

d Οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός. Chryſoſt. in 2. Corinth. 3. homil. 6.

e Τὸ γὰρ ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας, θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἕτερα ἔστι. Id. in Iohan. 8. homil. 54. edit. Græc. vel 53. Latin.

ther.

ther. [f] *To forgive ſinnes, is poſſible to God onely.* [g] *God alone doth this: which alſo hee worketh in the waſhing of the new birth.* Wherein, that the worke of cleanſing the ſoule is wholly Gods, and the miniſter hath no hand at all in effecting any part of it; *Optatus* proveth at large in his fifth booke againſt the *Donatiſtes*: ſhewing, that [h] *none can waſh the filth and ſpots of the mind, but hee who is the framer of the ſame mind*; and convincing the hereticks, as by many other teſtimonies of holy Scripture, ſo by that of Eſai. 1. 18. which hee preſſeth in this manner. [i] *it belongeth unto God to cleanſe, and not unto man: hee hath promiſed by the prophet Eſay, that hee himſelfe would waſh, when hee ſaith; If your ſinnes were as ſcarlet, I will make them as white as ſnow. I will make them white, he ſaid: hee did not ſay, I will cauſe them to be made white. If God hath promiſed this, why will you give that, which is neither lawfull for you to promiſe, nor to give, nor to have? Behold in Eſay God hath promiſed that he himſelfe will make white ſuch as are defiled with ſinnes; not by man.*

Having thus therefore reſerved unto God his prerogative royall in cleanſing of the ſoule, we give unto his under-officers there due, when wee [k] *account of them as of the miniſters of Chriſt, and ſtewards of the myſteries of God.* [l] not as Lords, that have power to diſpoſe of ſpirituall graces as they pleaſe: [m] but as ſervants that are tyed to follow their Maſters preſcriptions therein; and in following thereof

f ἁμαρτήματα μὲν γὰρ ἀφεῖναι μόνῳ θεῷ δυνατόν. Id. in 1. Cor. 15. hom. 40.

g Θεὸς γὰρ μόνος τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐργάζεται. Id. ibid.

h Sordes & maculas mentis lavare non poteſt, niſi qui ejuſdem fabricator eſt mentis. *Optat. lib. 5.*

i Dei eſt mundare, non hominis: ipſe per Prophetam Eſaiam promiſit ſe loturum, dum ait; *Et ſi fuerint peccata veſtra velut coccum, ut nivem inalbabo. Inalbabo* dixit; non dixit, *faciam inalbari.* Si hoc Deus promiſit, quare vos vultis reddere, quod vobis nec promittere licet, nec reddere, nec habere? Ecce in Eſaiâ ſe promiſit, Deus inalbare peccatis affectos; non per hominem. *Id. ibid.*

k 1 Cor. 4. 1, 2. l *Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 4. hom. 10.* m *Id. in 2. Cor. 4. homil. 8. circa init.*

doe

doe but bring their externall ministery (n for which it selfe also they are beholding to Gods mercy and goodnesse) God conferring the inward blessing of his spirit therupon, when and where hee will. o *Who then is Paul,* (saith S. *Paul* himselfe) *and who is Apollo? but Ministers by whom yee beleeved, even as the Lord gave to every man?* Therefore, saith *Optatus,* p *in all the servants there is no dominion, but a ministerie.* q *Cui creditur, ipse dat quod creditur, non per quem creditur. It is hee who is beleeved, that giveth the thing which is beleeved, not hee by whom we do beleeve.* Whereas our Saviour then saith unto his Apostles, Iohn 20. *Receive the holy Ghost; Whose sinnes you forgive shall bee forgiven:* * S. *Basil,* r *Ambrose,* s *Augustine,* t *Chrysostome,* and u *Cyrill,* make this observation thereupon; that this is not their worke properly, but the worke of the holy Ghost, who remitteth by them, and therein performeth the worke of the true God. For *indeede* (saith S. x *Cyrill*) *it belongeth to the true God alone, to be able to loose men from their sins. for who else can free the transgressors of the law from sin, but hee who is the author of the law it selfe?* y *The Lord* (saith S. *Augustine*) *was to give unto men the holy Ghost, and he would have it to bee understood, that by the holy Ghost himselfe sinnes should be forgiven to the faithfull; and not that by the merits of men sins should*

n καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸς φησι, τὸ διακονήσαι ἄλλοις, ἀπὸ ἐλέους καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. Id. ibid.

o 1. Cor. 3. 5.

p Est ergo in universis servientibus non dominium, sed ministerium. Optat. lib. 5.

q Id. ibid. similiter & Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. 3. homil. 8.

Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ, μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον μισθῶν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄξιον ἀγαθῶν, ἐδεῖν. ὃ γὰρ διακονέμενον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ παρέχων αὐτὰ καὶ δοὺς, ὅτις ὄντιν ὁ δεσπότης.

* Basil. lib. 5. adverss. Eunom. pag. 113. edit. Græcolatin.

r Ambros. de Spir. sanct. lib. 3. cap 19.

s Augustin. contr. epist. Parmenian. lib 2. cap. 11. & homil. 23. ex 50.

t Chrysost. in 2. Corin. 3. hom. 6.

u Cyrill. Alexandr. in Iohan. lib. 12. cap. 56.

x Et certé solius veri Dei est, ut possit à peccatis homines solvere. Cui enim alii prævaricatores legis liberare à peccato licet, nisi legis ipsius autori? *Id. ibid.*

y Daturus erat Dominus hominibus Spiritum sanctum; ab ipso Spiritu sancto fidelibus suis dimitti peccata, non meritis hominum volebat intelligi dimitti peccata. Nam quid es homo, nisi æger sanandus? Vis mihi esse medicus? mecum quære medicum. *Augustin. homil. 23. ex 50.*

be

be forgiven. For what art thou, O man, but a ſicke-man that haſt neede to be healed? Wilt thou be a phyſician to mee? Seeke the phyſician together with mee. So. S. *Ambroſe:* [z] *Behold, that by the holy Ghoſt ſinnes are forgiven. But men to the remiſsion of ſinnes bring their miniſterie, they exerciſe not the authoritie of anie power.* S. *Chryſoſtome*, though he make this to bee the exerciſe of a great power (which alſo hee [a] elſe-where amplifieth, after his manner, exceeding hyperbolically) yet in the maine matter accordeth fully with S. *Ambroſe*; that it lieth in [b] *God alone to beſtowe the things wherein the Prieſts ſervice is employed.* [c] *And what ſpeake I of Prieſts?* ſaith hee. *Neither Angell nor Archangell can doe ought in thoſe things which are given by God: but the Father and the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt do diſpence all. The Prieſt lendeth his tongue, and putteth to his hand.* [d] *His part only is to open his mouth: but it is God that worketh all.* And the reaſons wherby both he, [e] and *Theophylact* after him, doe prove that the Prieſts of the law had no power to forgive ſins; are of as great force to take the ſame power from the miniſters of the Goſpell. *firſt*, becauſe [f] it is Gods part only to forgive ſinnes. which is the * Morall that *Haymo* maketh of that part of the hiſtorie of the Goſpell, wherein the Lepers are cleanſed by our Saviour, before they bee commaded to ſhew themſelves unto the Prieſts: *becauſe* (ſaith he) *not the*

z Ecce, quia per Spiritum ſanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remiſsionem peccatorum miniſterium ſuum exhibent, non jus alicujus poteſtatis exercent. *Ambroſ. de Spir. Sanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.* a *Chryſoſt. lib. 3. de Sacerdotib.* b Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεὺς, Θεῷ μόνῳ δεῖ λειτουργεῖσθαι. Id. in Iohan. 20. homil. 86. edit. Græc. vel 85. Latin. c Καὶ τί λέγω τοὺς ἱερεῖς; ὅτε ἄγγελος ὅτε ἀρχάγγελος ἐργάσασθαί τι δύναται εἰς τὰ δοθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντα οἰκονομεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δανείζει γλῶτταν, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχει χεῖρα. Id. ib. d Τὸ παῖ τὴ χάριτός ἐστι· τότε ἐστὶν ἀνοῖξαι μόνον τὸ στόμα· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ Θεὸς ἐργάζεται, σύμβολον οὖν πλεῖστον μόνον. Id in 2. Tim. cap 1. homil. 2. e *Id. in Johan. 8. homil. 54. Græc. vel 53. Latin.* f Τὸ γὰρ ἀφῆναι ἁμαρτίας θεοῦ μόνου Theophylact. in Iohan. 8. * Iuxta ſpiritalem intelligentiam, leproſi antequam ad Sacerdotes veniant, mundantur: quia non Sacerdotes ſed Deus peccata dimittit. *Haymo Halberſtat. in Evang. Domin. 15. poſt Penteceſt.*

commanded

Prieſts

Prieſts, but God doth forgive ſinnes. ſccondly, becauſe the Prieſts were ſervants, yea ſervants of ſinne and therefore had no power to forgive ſinnes unto others: but the Sonne is the Lord of the houſe; who [h] *was manifeſted to take a way our ſinnnes, and in him is no ſinne,* ſaith S. *Iohn.* upon which ſaying of his, S. *Auguſtine* giveth this good note: [i] *It is he in whom there is no ſinne, that came to take away ſinne. For if there had beene ſinne in him too, it muſt have beene taken away from him, hee could not take it away himſelfe.*

To forgive ſinnes therefore being thus proper to *God* only and to his *Chriſt*: his miniſters muſt not be held to have this power communicated unto them, but in an improper ſenſe; namely, becauſe God forgiveth by them, and hath appointed them both to apply thoſe meanes by which hee uſeth to forgive ſinnes, and to give notice unto repentant ſinners of that forgiveneſſe. [k] *For who can forgive ſinnes but God alone? yet doth he forgive by them alſo, unto whom he hath given power to forgive:* ſaith S. *Ambroſe,* and his [l] followers. And [m] *though it bee the proper worke of God to remit ſinnes* (ſaith *Ferus:*) *yet are the Apoſtles* (and their ſucceſſors) *ſaid to remit alſo, not ſimply, but becauſe they apply thoſe meanes whereby God doth remit ſinnes. Which meanes are the Word of God and the Sacraments.* Whereunto alſo wee may adde, the *relaxation of the cenſures of the Church,* and *Prayer.* for in theſe foure the whole exercile of this *miniſtery*

g Δοῦλοι κακεῖνοι ὄντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἔχουν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἄλλοις ἁμαρτίας. Id. ib.

h 1 *Ioh.* 3. 5.

i In quo non eſt peccatum, ipſe venit auferre peccatum. Nam ſi eſſet & in illo peccatũ, auferendum eſſet illi, non ipſe auferret. *Auguſt tract.* 4. *in* 1. *Iohan.* 3.

k Quis enim poteſt peccata dimittere niſi ſolus Deus? qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit poteſtatem. *Ambr. lib.* 5. *comment. in Luk.* 5.

l *Beda, & Strabus in Marc.* 2. *& Luc.* 5.

m Quamvis Dei proprium opus ſit, remittere peccata: dicuntur tamẽ etiam Apoſtoli remittere, non ſimpliciter, ſed quia adhibent media, per quæ Deus remittit peccata. Hæc autem media ſunt, Verbum Dei & Sacramenta. *Ie. Ferus, annotat. in Johan.* 20 *Item, lib.* 3. *Comment. in Matth. cap.* 16.

niſterie of reconciliation (as the [n] Apoſtle calleth it) doth mainely conſiſt. of each whereof it is needefull that wee ſhould ſpeake ſomewhat more particularly.

n 2.Cor.5.18.

That *Praier* is a means ordained by God for procuring remiſſion of ſinnes, S. *Chryſoſtom* * obſerveth out of *Iob* 42.8. and is plaine by that of S. *Iames*. [o] *The praier of faith ſhall ſave the ſicke, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up: and if he have committed ſins, they ſhall bee forgiven him. Confeſſe your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that yee may be healed: for the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* The later of which ſentences hath reference to the prayers of every good Chriſtian, whereunto we finde a gracious promiſe annexed, according to that of S. *Iohn*. [p] *If anie man ſee his brother ſinne a ſinne which is not unto death, he ſhall aske, and he ſhall give him life for them that ſinne not unto death.* But the former, as the verſe immediately going before doth manifeſtly prove, pertaineth to the praiers made by the miniſters of the Church; who have a ſpeciall charge to bee the Lords remembrancers for the good of his people. And therefore, as S. *Auguſtine* out of the later proveth, that [q] one brother by this means may cleanſe another from the contagion of ſinne: ſo doth S. *Chryſoſtome* out of the former, that Prieſts doe performe this, not [r] *by teaching only and admoniſhing, but by aſſiſting us alſo with their praiers*. and the faithfull praiers, both of the one and of the other, are by S. [s] *Auguſtine* made the eſpeciall meanes whereby the power of the keyes is exerciſed in the remitting of ſinnes: who thereupon exhorteth

* Ἐντεῦθεν μανθάνομεν, ὅτι ἐυχὴ δικαίων ὠφελεῖ ἁμαρτίαν. Chryſoſt. in Catenâ Græcâ, in Iob 42.8.

o Iam. 5.15,16.

p 1.Ioh.5.16.

q Quòd etiam frater fratrem à delicti poterit contagione mundare. *Aug. in Evangel. Iohan. tract. 58.*

r Οὐ πρὸς διδάσκειν μόνον καὶ νουθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς λαβεῖν ἐν χερσὶν συνδεῖν. Chryſoſt. lib. 3. de Sacerd. tom. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 17.

s *Auguſtin. de Baptiſmo contra Donatiſt. lib. 3. cap. 17, 18.*

exhorteth offenders to ſhew their repentance publikely in the Church, [t] *that the Church might pray for them*, and impart the benefite of abſolution unto them.

In the life of S. *Baſil*, fathered upon [u] *Amphilochius*, (of the credite whereof we have before ſpoken) a certain gentlewoman is brought in, comming unto S. *Baſil* for obtaining remiſſion of her ſins: who is ſaid there to have demanded this queſtion of her. *Haſt thou heard, O woman, that none can forgive ſinnes but God alone?* and ſhe to have returned him this anſwer. *I have heard it, Father: and therefore have I moved thee to make interceſſion unto our moſt merciful God for mee*, Which agreeth well with that which [x] *Alexander of Hales* and [y] *Bonaventure* doe maintaine: that the power of the keyes extend to the remiſsion of faults, by way of interſeſsion onely and deprecation, not by imparting anie immediate abſolution. And as in our private forgiving and praying one for another, S. *Auguſtine* well noteth, that [z] *it is our part, God giving us the grace, to uſe the miniſterie of charitie and humilitie; but it is his to heare us, and to cleanſe us from all pollution of ſinnes for Chriſt, and in Chriſt; that what we forgive unto others, that is to ſay, what wee looſe upon earth, may be looſed alſo in heaven:* ſo doth S. *Ambroſe* ſhew, that the caſe alſo ſtandeth with the miniſters of the Goſpell, in the execution of that commiſſion given unto them for the remitting of ſinnes, Ioh. 20. 23. [a] *They make*

t *Id. homil. 49. ex 50.* Agite pœnitentiam qualis agitur in Eccleſiâ, ut oret pro vobis Eccleſia.

u *Tom. 2. Vit. Sanct. ab Aloyſio Lipomano edit. Venet. ann. 1553. fol. 298. Vit. Patrum, ab Her. Roſweydo edit. Antuerp. an. 1615. pag. 160. Miſcellan. à Gerardo voſſio. edit. Mogũt. an. 1604. pag. 136.*

x *Alex. in Sum. part. 4. quæſt. 21. membr. 1.*

y *Bonaventur. in lib. 4. Sent. diſt. 18. art. 2. quæſt. 1.*

z Noſtrum eſt donante ipſo miniſterium charitatis & humilitatis adhibere: illius eſt exaudire, ac nos ab omni peccatorum cõtaminatione mundare per Chriſtum, & in Chriſto; ut quod aliis etiam dimittimus, hoc eſt, in terrâ ſolvimus, ſolvatur & in cœlo. *Auguſtin. in fine tract. 58. in evangel. Johann.*

a Iſti rogant, divinitas donat. Humanum enim obſequium, ſed munificentia ſupernæ eſt poteſtatis. *Ambroſ. de Spir. ſanct. lib. 3. cap. 19.*

requeſt,

requeſt, (ſaith hee) *the Godhead beſtoweth the gift: for the ſervice is done by man, but the bounty is from the power above.* The reaſon which hee rendreth thereof, is, becauſe in their miniſterie it is the holy Ghoſt that forgiveth the ſinne; and it is God only that can give the holy Ghoſt. [b] *For this is not an humane worke* (ſaith hee in another place) *neither is the holy Ghoſt given by man, but being called upon by the Prieſt, is beſtowed by God: wherein the gift is Gods, the miniſterie is the Prieſts. For if the Apoſtle Paule did judge, that he could not conferre the holy Ghoſt by his authoritie; but beleeved himſelfe to bee ſo farre unable for this office, that hee wiſhed we might be filled with the ſpirit from God: who is ſo great as dare arrogate unto himſelfe the beſtowing of this gift? Therefore the Apoſtle did intimate his deſire by prayer, he challenged no right by anie authoritie: hee wiſhed to obtaine it, he preſumed not to command it.* Thus farre S. *Ambroſe:* of whom *Paulinus* writeth, that whenſoever any penitents came unto him, [c] *the crimes which they confeſſed unto him, he ſpake of to none, but to God alone unto whom hee made interceſſion; leaving a good example to the Prieſts of ſucceeding ages, that they bee rather interceſſors for them unto God, than accuſers unto men.* The ſame alſo, and in the ſelf-ſame words, doth [d] *Ionas* write of *Euſtachius,* the ſcholler of *Columbanus* our famous countrey-man.

b Non enim humanum hoc opus, neque ab homine datur; ſed invocatus à Sacerdote, à Deo traditur: in quo Dei munus, miniſterium Sacerdotis eſt. Nam ſi Paulus Apoſtolus judicavit, quòd ipſe donare Spiritũ ſanctum ſuâ authoritate non poſſet; & intantum ſe huic officio imparem credidit, ut à Deo nos ſpiritu optaret impleri: quis tantus eſt, qui hujus traditionem muneris ſibi audeat arrogare? Iraque Apoſtolus votum precatione detulit, non jus authoritate aliquâ vindicavit: impetrare optavit, non imperare præſumpſit. *Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 7.* c Cauſas autem criminum, quas illi confitebantur, nulli niſi Domino ſoli, apud quem intercedebat, loquebatur: bonum relinquens exemplum poſteris ſacerdotibus, ut interceſſores apud Deum magis ſint, quàm accuſatores apud homines. *Paulinus, in vitâ S. Ambroſii.* d *Ionas, in vitâ S. Euſtachy Luxovienſis abbatis, cap. 1. apud Surium, tom. 2. Mart 29.*

Hitherto appertaineth that sentence cyted by [e] *Thomas Walden* out of S. *Hieroms* exposition upon the Psalmes: that the voice of God [f] *cutteth off daily in every one of us the flame of lust by confession and the grace of the holy Ghost, that is to say, by the praier of the Priest maketh it to cease in us.* and that which before hath been alledged out of *Leo*; of the confession offered first to God, and then to the Priest, [g] *who commeth as an intreater for the sinnes of the penitent* which hee more fully expresseth in another epistle, affirming it to bee [h] *verie profitable and necessarie, that the guilt of sinnes* (or *sinners*) *be loosed by the supplication of the Priest before the last day.* See S. [i] *Gregorie*, in his morall exposition upon 1. Sam. 2. 25. *Anastasius Sinaita* or *Nicænus*, in his answer to the 141 question (of *Gretsers* edition:) and *Nicolaus Cabasilas*, in the 29. chapter of his exposition of the Liturgie: where he directly affirmeth, that *remission of sinnes is given to the penitents by the praier of the Priests.* And therefore by the Order used of old in the Church of Rome, the Priest before hee began his worke, was required to use this praier. [k] *O Lord God almightie, be mercifull unto me a sinner, that I may worthily give thankes unto thee, who hast made mee an unworthie*

e *Tho. Waldens. tom. 2. de Sacramentis, cap. 147.*

f Quotidie in unoquoque nostrûm flammam libidinis per confessionem & gratiam Spiritus sancti intercidit, id est, per orationem Sacerdotis facit cessare. *Hieronym. in exposit. Psal. 28. in edit.*

g Qui pro delictis pœnitentium precator accedit. *Leo, in fin. epist. 80. ad episc. Campan.*

h Multũ enim utile ac necessarium est, ut peccatorũ reatus ante ultimum diem sacerdotali supplicatione solvatur. *Id epist. 91. ad Theodor. episc.*

i *Gregor. in 1. Reg. lib. 2. cap. 3. adillud*: Si peccaverit vir in virum, &c.

k Domine Deus omnipotens, propitius esto mihi peccatori, ut condignè possim tibi gratias agere, qui me indignum propter tuam misericordiarum ministrum fecisti sacerdotalis officii, & me exiguum humilemque mediatorem constituisti ad orandum & intercedendum ad Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, pro peccatoribus ad pœnitentiam revertentibus. Ideoque dominator Domine, qui omnes homines vis salvos fieri, & ad agnitionem veritatis venire, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur & vivat: suscipe orationem meam, quam fundo ante conspectum clementiæ tuæ, pro famulis & famulabus tuis, qui ad pœnitentiam & misericordiam tuam confugerunt. *Ordo Roman. antiqu. de officijs divinis pag. 18 edit. Rom. ann. 1591. Baptizatorum & Confitentium Ceremoniæ antiquæ, edit. Colon. an. 1530. Alcuin. de divin. offic. cap. 13.* in capite Iejunii.

unworthie

unworthie one, for thy mercies ſake, a miniſter of the Prieſtly office; and haſt appointed me a poore and humble mediator, to pray and make interceſsion unto our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, for ſinners that returne unto repentance. And therefore, O Lord the ruler, who wouldeſt have all men to be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, who doeſt not deſire the death of a ſinner, but that hee may be reconciled and live: receive my prayer, which I poure forth before the face of thy mercie, for thy ſervants and hand-maides, who have fled to repentance, and to thy mercie. Adde hereunto the prayer of *Damaſcen*, which is ſtill uſed in the Greeke Church before the receiving of the Communion. [k] *O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, our God, who alone haſt power to forgive ſinnes; in thy goodneſſe and loving kindneſſe paſſe by all the offences* of thy ſervant, whether done *of knowledge or of ignorance, voluntarie or involuntarie, in deed or word or thought*, and that which is uſed after, in the liturgie aſcribed to S. *Iames*; wherewith the Prieſt ſhutteth up the whole ſervice. * *I beſeech thee Lord God, heare my prayer in the behalfe of thy ſervants, and as a forgetter of injuries paſſe over all their offences. Forgive them all their exceſſe, both voluntarie and involuntarie: deliver them from everlaſting puniſhment. For thou art hee, who didſt command us, ſaying; Whatſoever yee ſhall binde on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and whatſoever yee ſhall looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in*

k Δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνῳ ἔξον ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, πάρες δὴ παντὰ τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ πλημμελήματα, τὰ ἑκόντα καὶ τὰ ἀκόντα, τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν. Euchолog. Græc. fol. 217.

* Καὶ δέσποτα Κύριε, εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου ὡσεὶ ἐπὶ δίκαιον σου, καὶ πάρεσαι ὡς ἀμνησίκακος τὰ ἐπ' ἀνομήματα αὐτῶν ἅπαντα· συγχώρησον αὐτοῖς πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον· ἀπόλλαξον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εἰπὼν ἡμῖν λέγων, ὅτι, ὅσα ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, θεὸς τοῦ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν καὶ ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· καὶ σοὶ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Liturg. Iacobi, in fine.

heaven. foraſmuch as thou art our God, a God who art able to ſhew mercie and ſave and forgive ſinnes: and glory becommeth thee, together with the Father who is without beginning, and the Spirit the author of life, now and ever and world without end. Amen.

Yea, in the daies of *Thomas Aquinas* there aroſe a learned man among the Papiſts themſelves, who found fault with that *indicative* forme of abſolution then uſed by the Prieſt, *I abſolve thee from all thy ſins*, and would have it delivered by way of *deprecation*, alledging, that this was not only the opinion of *Gulielmus Altiſiodorenſis*, *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Hugo Cardinalis*; but alſo that [1] *thirtie* yeares were ſcarce paſſed, ſince all did uſe this forme onely, *Abſolutionem & remiſſionem tribuat tibi omnipotens Deus, Almighty God give unto thee abſolution and forgiveneſſe.* What *Thomas* doth anſwer hereunto, may be ſeene in his little treatiſe *of the forme of abſolution*, which upon this occaſion hee wrote unto the Generall of his order. This onely will I adde, that as well in the ancient *Rituall's* and in the new [m] *Pontificall* of the Church of *Rome*, as in the preſent practice of the *Greeke* Church, I finde the abſolution expreſſed in the *third* perſon, as attributed wholly to God; and not in the *firſt*, as if it came from the Prieſt himſelfe. One ancient forme of [n] *Abſolution* uſed among the Latins, was this. *Almighty God be mercifull unto thee, and forgive thee all thy ſinnes, paſt, preſent, and to come, viſible and inviſible, which thou haſt committed*

1 Addit etiam objiciendo, quòd vix 30. anni ſunt, quòd omnes hâc ſolâ formâ utebantur; Abſolutionem & remiſſionem &c. *Thom. Opuſc. 22. cap. 5.*

m *Pontificale Roman. edit. Rom. an. 1595. pag. 567. 568.*

n *Abſoluio Criminum.* Miſereatur tui omnipotens Deus, & dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, præterita, præſentia & futura, quæ commiſiſti coram eo & ſanctis ejus, quæ confeſſus es, vel per aliquam negligentiam ſeu oblivionem vel malevolentiam abſcondiſti: liberet te Deus ab omni malo, hîc & in futuro, conſervet & confirmet te ſemper in omni opere bono: & perducat te Chriſtus filius Dei vivi ad vitam ſine fine manentem. *Conſitentium Ceremoniæ antiqu. edit. Colon. an. 1530.*

mitted before him and his Saints, which thou haſt confeſſed, or by ſome negligence or forgetfulneſſe or evill will haſt concealed: God deliver thee from all evill, here and hereafter, preſerve and confirme thee alwaies in everie good worke; and Chriſt the ſonne of the living God bring thee unto the life which remaineth without end. And ſo among the Grecians: [o] whatſoever ſinnes the penitent *for forgetfulneſſe or ſhamefaſtneſſe doth leave unconfeſſed, wee pray the mercifull and moſt pitifull God, that thoſe alſo may bee pardoned unto him, and wee are perſwaded that hee ſhall receive pardon of them from God*; ſaith *Ieremy* the late Patriarch of Conſtantinople. Where by the way you may obſerve, no ſuch neceſſitie to be here held of confeſſing every knowne ſinne unto a Prieſt, that if either for ſhame or for ſome other reſpect the penitent doe not make an intire confeſſion, but conceale ſomewhat from the notice of his ghoſtly father; his confeſſion ſhould thereby be made voyde, and hee excluded from all hope of forgiveneſſe. which is that engine, whereby the Prieſts of Rome have lift up themſelves into that height of domineering and tyrannyzing over mens conſciences, wherewith we ſee they now hold the poore people in moſt miſerable awe.

[o] ὅσα ἢ διὰ λήθην ἢ αἰδῶ ἀνεξομολόγητα ἐάσειεν, δι' ἣν μεθα τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ παντοικτίρμονα θεὸν καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ πεπείσμεθα τὴν συγχώρησιν τούτων ἐκ θεοῦ λήψεσθαι. Ierem. Patriarch. C.P. reſponſ. 1. ad Tubingenſes, cap. 11.

Alexander of *Hales* and *Bonaventure* in the forme of abſolution uſed in their time, [p] obſerve that *pra-*

[p] Secundùm quod aſcendit, habet ſe per modum inferioris & ſupplicantis: ſecundùm quod deſcendit, per modum ſuperioris & judicantis. Secundùm primum modum poteſt gratiam impetrare, & ad hoc eſt idoneus: ſecundùm ſecundum modum poteſt Eccleſiæ reconciliare. Et ideò in ſignum hujus, in formâ abſolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum, & ſubiungitur abſolutio per modum indicativum: & deprecatio gratiam impetrat; & abſolutio gratiam ſupponit. *Alexand. Halenſ. Summ. part. 4. quæſt. 21. membr. 1. & Bonaventur. in 4 ſentent. diſt. 18. art. 2. quæſt. 1.*

yer was premiſed in the optative, and abſolution adjoyned afterward in the Indicative mood. whence they gather, that the Prieſts *prayer obtaineth grace, his abſolution preſuppoſeth it:* that by the former he aſcendeth unto God, and procureth pardon for the fault, by the latter hee deſcendeth to the ſinner, & *reconcileth him to the Church.* for [q] *although a man be looſed before God* (ſaith the Maſter of the Sentences) *yet is hee not held looſed in the face of the Church but by the judgement of the Prieſt.* And this looſing of men by the judgement of the Prieſt, is by the *Fathers* generally accounted nothing elſe but a reſtoring of them to the peace of the Church, and an admitting of them to the Lords table againe: which therefore they uſually expreſſe by the tearmes of [r] *bringing them to the communion,* [s] *reconciling them to* or *with the communion,* [t] *reſtoring the communion to them,* [u] *admitting them to fellowſhip,* [x] *granting them peace,* &c. Neither doe wee finde that they did ever uſe any ſuch formall abſolution as this, *I abſolve thee from all thy ſinnes:* wherein our Popiſh Prieſts notwithſtanding doe place the very forme of their late deviſed *ſacrament* of Penance, nay, hold it to be ſo abſolute a forme, that (according to *Thomas Aquinas* his new divinitie) [y] it would not bee ſufficient to ſay, *Almighty God have mercie upon thee,* or, *God grant unto thee abſolution and forgiveneſſe.* becauſe,

q Quia etſi aliquis apud Deum ſit ſolutus, non tamen in facie Eccleſiæ ſolutus habetur, niſi per judicium Sacerdotis. *Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diſtinct. 18. Vid. Ivon. Carnotenſ. epiſt. 228. & Anſelm. in Luc. 17.*

r προσάγειν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ. Concil. Laodiden. can. 2.

ſ Communioni, *vel* communione reconciliari. *Concil. Eliberitan. can. 72.*

t Reddi *eis* communionem. *Amb. de Pœnitent. lib. 1 cap. 1. & lib. 2. cap. 9.*

u Ad communicationem admittere. *Cypr epiſt. 53.* communicationem dare. *Id. epiſt. 54.* tribuere communicationem. *Id. de lapſis.* x Pacem dare; concedere pacem. *Id. ibid.*

y In ſacramentali abſolutione non ſufficeret dicere, Miſereatur tui omnipotens Deus, vel, Abſolutionem & remiſſionem tribuat tibi Deus: quia per hæc verba Sacerdos abſolutionem non ſignificat fieri, ſed petit ut fiat. *Thom. part. 3, quæſt. 84. art. 3. ad 1.*

forſooth,

forſooth, *the Prieſt by theſe words doth not ſignifie that the abſolution is done, but intreateth that it may be done.* which how it will accord with the *Romane Pontificall*, where the forme of Abſolution is laid downe prayer-wiſe, the Ieſuites who follow *Thomas* may doe well to conſider.

I paſſe this over, that in the daies not onely of S. [z] *Cyprian*, but of [a] *Alcuinus* alſo (who lived 800. yeares after Chriſt) the reconciliation of Penitents was not held to be ſuch a proper office of the Prieſt; but that a Deacō, in his abſence, was allowed to performe the ſame. The ordinarie courſe that was held herein, [b] *according to the forme of the ancient Canons*, is thus laid down by the fathers of the third Councell of Toledo. that the Prieſt ſhould *firſt ſuſpend him that repented of his fault from the communion, and make him to have often recourſe unto impoſition of hands among the reſt of the penitents: then, when hee had fulfilled the time of his ſatisfaction, as the conſideration of the Prieſt did approve of it, hee ſhould reſtore him to the communion.* And this was a Conſtitution of old, fathered upon the Apoſtles: that Biſhops [c] *ſhould ſeparate thoſe who ſaid they repented of their ſinnes, for a time determined according to the proportion of their ſinne; and afterward receive them beeing penitent, as fathers would doe their children.* To this Penitentiall excommunication and abſolution, belongeth that laying either of S. *Ambroſe* or S. *Auguſtine* (for the ſame diſcourſe is attributed to them both)

z *Cyprian. epiſt.* 13.

a *Alcuin. de divin. Offic. cap.* 13. in capite Ieiunii.

b Vt ſecundùm formam Canonum antiquorum dentur pœnitentiæ, hoc eſt, ut priùs eum, quem ſui pœnitet facti, à communione ſuſpenſum, faciat inter reliquos pœnitentes ad manus impoſitionem crebrò recurrere; expleto autem ſatisfactionis tempore, ſicuti Sacerdotalis contemplatio probaverit, eum communioni reſtituat. *Concil. Toletan. III. cap.* 11.

c τοὺς ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις λέγοντας μετανοεῖν ἀφορίζειν χρόνον ὡρισμένον κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος· ἔπειτα μετανοοῦντας προσλαμβάνεσθαι, ὡς πατέρας τέκνα. Conſtitut. Apoſtolic. lib. 2. cap. 16.

both:) [d] *Hee who hath truely performed his repentance, and is looſed from that bond wherewith hee was tyed, and ſeparated from the bodie of Chriſt, and doth live well after his repentance: whenſoever after his reconciliation hee ſhall depart this life, hee goeth to the Lord, he goeth to reſt, he ſhall not bee deprived of the kingdome of God; and from the people of the Divell he ſhall be ſeparated.* and that which we reade in *Anaſtaſius Sinaita:* [c] *Binde him, and till thou haſt appeaſed God, doe not let him looſe; that he be not more bound with the wrath of God. for if thou bindeſt him not; there remaine bonds for him that cannot be broken. Neither do we enquire, whether the wound were often bound; but whether the binding hath profited. If it have profited, although in a ſhort time, uſe it no longer. Let the meaſure of the looſing be the profit of him that is bound.* and that exhortation which another maketh unto the Paſtors of the Church: [f] *Binde with ſeparation ſuch as have ſinned after baptiſme; and looſe them againe when they have repented, receiving them as brethren. for the ſaying is true: Woatſoever you ſhall looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.*

That this authoritie of *looſing* remaineth ſtill in the Church, we conſtantly maintain againſt the hereſie of the [g] *Montaniſts* and [h] *Novatians*, who (up-

d Qui egerit veraciter pœnitentiam, & ſolutus fuerit à ligamento quo erat conſtrictus, & à Chriſti corpore ſeparatus, & bene poſt pœnitentiam vixerit: poſt reconciliationem cùm defunctus fuerit, ad Dominum vadit, ad requiem vadit, regno Dei non privabitur, & à populo Diaboli ſeparabitur. *Ambroſ. in exhortat. ad Pœnitent. Auguſt. homil. 41. ex 50. & inter Cæſary Arelat. ſermones, homil. 43. & 44.*

c Δῆσον ἐν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἕως ἂν ἐξιλεώσῃ τὸν θεὸν, μὴ ἀφῇς λελυμένον, ἵνα μὴ πλέον δεθῇ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀργῇ· ἂν γὰρ μὴ δήσῃς, τὰ ἄρρηκτα αὐτὸν μένει δεσμά· &c. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πολλάκις ἐπεδέθη τὸ ζῶον, ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὤνησέ τι ὁ δεσμός; εἰ μὲν ὠφέλησε, καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ· κἂν μηκέτι χρησιμεύσῃ· καὶ ὅρα σοὶ ἔστω λύσεως τοῦ δεδεμένου τὸ κέρδος. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. quæſt. 6. f δήσατε ἀφορισμῷ τοὺς μὴ τὸ βάπτισμα διατηροῦντας, καὶ λύσατε αὐτοὺς πάλιν μετανοοῦντας, ὡς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδεχόμενοι· ἀληθὴς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος. Ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. *Homil. in illud.* Quæcunque ligaveritis &c. *inter opera Chryſoſt. tom. 7. edit. Savil. pag. 268.* g *Hieron. epiſt. 54. contra* Montanum, *& lib. 2. adverſ. Iovinian. Tertullianus* Montanizans, *in lib. de Pudicitiâ, cap. ult.* h *Ambroſ. lib. 1. de Pœnit. cap. 2. Socrat. lib. 1. hiſt. cap. 7. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 21.*

on

on this pretence among others, that God onely had power to remit ſinnes) tooke away the miniſteriall power of reconciling ſuch penitents as had committed haynous ſinnes; denying that the Church had anie warrant to receive them to her communion againe, and to the participation of the holy myſteries, notwithſtanding their repentance were ever ſo ſound. Which is directly contrarie to the doctrine delivered by S. *Paul*, both in the generall; that [i] *if a man bee overtaken in a fault, they who are ſpirituall ſhould reſtore ſuch a one in the ſpirit of meekeneſſe*: and in the particular, of the inceſtuous *Corinthian*, who though he had beene excommunicated for ſuch a crime [k] *as was not ſo much as named among ſt the Gentiles*; yet upon his repentance the Apoſtle telleth the Church, that they [l] *ought to forgive him, and comfort him, leſt he ſhould bee ſwallowed up with overmuch ſorrow*. Where that ſpeech of his is ſpecially noted and preſſed againſt the heretickes by S. [m] *Ambroſe*: [n] *To whom yee forgive anie thing, I forgive alſo: for if I forgave anie thing, to whom I forgave it, for your ſakes I forgave it, in the perſon of Chriſt.* [o] For as *in the name*, and *by the power of our Lord Ieſus*, ſuch a one was delivered to Satan; ſo [p] God having given unto him repentance, to recouer himſelf out of the ſnare of the Divell, in the ſame name and in the ſame power was he to be reſtored againe: the miniſters of *reconciliation* ſtanding [q] *in Chriſts ſtead*, and Chriſt himſelfe beeing [r] *in the mids of them that are thus gathered together in his name*, to binde or looſe in heaven whatſoever they according to his commiſsion ſhall binde or looſe on earth

i Galat. 6. 1.
k 1. Cor. 5. 1.
l 2. Cor. 2. 7.
m Ambroſ. de Pœnit. lib. 1. cap. 16.
n 2. Cor. 2. 10.
o 1. Cor. 5. 4, 5.
p 2. Tim. 2. 25, 26.
q 2. Cor. 5. 20.
r Matth. 18. 18, 20.

earth. And here it is to be noted, that *Anaſtaſius* (by ſome called *Nicænus*, by others *Sinaita* and *Antiochenus*) who is ſo eager againſt them which ſay that Confeſsion made unto men profiteth nothing at all; confeſſeth yet, that the miniſter in hearing the confeſſion, and inſtructing and correcting the ſinner, doth but give furtherance only thereby unto his repentance; but that the pardoning of the ſinne is the proper worke of God. [f] *For man* (ſaith he) *cooperateth with man unto repentance, and miniſtreth, and buildeth, and inſtructeth, and reproveth, in things belonging unto ſalvation, (according to the Apoſtle, and the Prophet:) but God blotteth out the ſinnes of thoſe that have confeſſed, ſaying: I am hee that blotteth out thine iniquities for mine owne ſake, and thy ſins, and will not remember them.*

[f] Ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ συνεργεῖ εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ παιδεύει, καὶ ἐλέγχει τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸν προφήτην. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐξαλείφει τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων, λέγων· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐξαλείφων τὰς ἀνομίας σου ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ. Anaſtaſ. quæſt. 6.

There followeth now another part of the *miniſterie of reconciliation*, conſiſting in the due adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*: which being the proper ſeales of the promiſes of the Goſpell (as the Cenſurers are of the threats) muſt therefore neceſſarily alſo have reference to the [t] *remiſsion of ſinnes*. And ſo we ſee, the ancient Fathers doe hold, that [u] the commiſſion *Ioh.* 20.23. *Whoſe ſinnes yee remit, they are remitted unto them*, &c. is executed by the miniſters of Chriſt, aſwel in the conferring of Baptiſme, as in the reconciling of Penitents: yet ſo in both theſe, and in all the ſacraments likewiſe of both the Teſtaments, that [x] the *miniſterie* onely is to be ac-

[t] *Act.* 2. 38. *Matth.* 26. 28.

[u] *Cyprian. epiſt.* 76. (*ſect.* 4. *edit. Pamely*, 8. *Goularty.*) *Cyrill. Alexandr. in Johann. lib.* 12. *cap.* 56. *Ambroſ. de Pœnitent. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *Chryſoſ. lib.* 3. *de Sacerdot. tom.* 6. *edit. Savil. pag.* 17. *lin* 25. *Vid. & tom.* 7. *pag.* 268. *lin* 37.

[x] *Auguſt. quæſt. in Levitic. cap* 84. *Optat. lib.* 5. *contra Donatiſt. Chryſoſt. in Mat.* 26. *homil.* 82. (*edit. Græc. vel* 83. *Latin.*) *in* 1. *Cor.* 3. *homil.* 8. *& in* 2. *Tim.* 1. *homil.* 2. (*circa finem.*)

counted

counted mans, but the *power* Gods. For, as S. *Auguſtine* well obſerveth, [y] *it is one thing to baptize by way of miniſterie, another thing to baptize by way of power:* [z] *the power of baptizing the Lord retaineth to himſelfe; the miniſterie he hath given to his ſervants:* [a] *the power of the Lords Baptiſme was to paſſe from the Lord to no man, but the miniſterie was; the power was to bee transferred from the Lord unto none of his miniſters, the miniſterie was both unto the good and unto the bad.* And the reaſon which hee aſſigneth hereof is verie good: [b] *that the hope of the baptized might be in him, by whom they did acknowledge themſelves to have beene baptized. The Lord therefore would not have a ſervant to put his hope in a ſervant.* And therefore thoſe Schoole-men argued not much amiſſe, that gathered this concluſion thence. [c] *It is a matter of equall power to baptize inwardly, and to abſolve from mortall ſinne. But it was not fit, that God ſhould communicate the power of baptizing inwardly unto anie; leſt our hope ſhould be repoſed in man. Therefore by the ſame reaſon it was not fit, that hee ſhould communicate the power of abſolving from actuall ſinne unto anie.* So *Bernard*, or whoſoever was the author of the booke intituled *Scala Paradiſi*: [d] *The office of baptizing the Lord granted unto manie, but the power and authoritie of remitting ſinnes in baptiſme hee retained unto himſelfe*

y Aliud enim eſt baptizare per miniſterium, aliud baptizare per poteſtatem. *Aug. in Evang. Ioan. tract. 5.*

z Sibi tenuit Dominus baptizandi poteſtatem, ſervis miniſterium dedit. *Id. ibid.*

a Poteſtatem dominici baptiſmi in nullum hominem à Domino tranſituram, ſed miniſterium plané tranſiturum; poteſtatem à Domino in neminem miniſtrorum, miniſterium & in bonos & in malos. *Id. ibid.*

b Hoc noluit ideò, ut in illo ſpes eſſet baptizatorum, à quo ſe baptizatos agnoſcerent. Noluit ergo ſervum ponere ſpem in ſervo. *Id. ibid.*

c Paris poteſtatis eſt interiùs baptizare, & à culpâ mortali abſolvere. Sed Deus non debuit poteſtatem baptizandi interiùs communicare; ne ſpes poneretur in homine: Ergo pari ratione nec poteſtatem abſolvendi ab actuali. *Alexand. de Hales. Summ. part. 4. quæſt. 21. memb. 1.*

d Officium baptizandi Dominus conceſſit multis, poteſtatem verò & authoritatem in baptiſmo remittendi peccata ſibi ſoli retinuit: unde Ioannes antonomaſticé & diſcretivé de eo dixit; Hic eſt qui baptizat in Spiritu ſancto. *Scal. Paradiſ. cap. 3. tom. 9. operum Auguſtini.*

ſelfe

selfe alone. whence Iohn, by way of singularitie and d.f. ferencing, said of him; Hee it is which baptizeth with the holy Ghost. And the *Baptist* indeed doth make a singular difference betwixt the conferrer of the externall, and the internall baptisme, in saying: [e] *I baptize with water*, but *it is hee which baptizeth with the holy Ghost.* While Iohn [f] *did his service, God did give, who faileth not in giving: and now when all others doe their service, the service is mans, but the gift is Gods*; saith *Optatus.* and *Arnaldus Bonævallensis* (the author of the twelve treatises *de Cardinalibus operibus Christi*, falsly ascribed to S. *Cyprian:*) touching the Sacraments in generall: [g] *Forgivenesse of sins, whether it be given by baptisme or by other sacraments, is properly of the holy Ghost; and the priviledge of effecting this remaineth to him alone.*

But the *word of reconciliation* is it, wherin the [h] Apostle doth especially place that *ministerie of reconciliation*, which the Lord hath committed to his Ambassadors here upon earth. This is that *key of knowledge:* which [i] doth both *open the conscience to the confession of sinne, and include therein the grace of the healthfull mysterie unto eternitie*; as *Maximus Taurinensis* speaketh of it. This is that powerfull meanes, which God hath sanctified for the washing away of the pollution of our soules. *Now ye are clean* (saith our [k] Saviour to his Apostles) *through the word which I have spoken unto you.* And whereas everie transgressor is [l] *holden with the cords of his owne sinnes:* the Apostles, according to the commis-

e *Mark.* 1. 8. *Ioh.* 1. 26, 33.

f Illo operante dabat Deus, qui dando non deficit. Et nunc operantibus cunctis, humana sunt opera, sed Dei sunt munera. *Optat. lib.* 5. *contra Donatist.*

g Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprié Spiritus sancti est; & ipsi soli huius efficientiæ privilegium manet. *Arnald. abbas Bonævallis, tract. de Baptismo Christi.*

h 2. *Cor.* 5. 18, 19.

i Clavis, quæ & conscientiam ad confessionem peccati aperit, & gratiam ad æternitatem mysterii salutaris includit. *Maxim. Taurin. de natali Petri & Pauli, hom.* 5. k *Ioh.* 15. 13. *Vid. Ephes.* 5. 26. *& August. in Evangel. Iohann. tract.* 80. l *Prover.* 5. 22.

sion

ſion given unto them by their Maſter, that *whatſoever they ſhould looſe on earth, ſhould be looſed in heaven*, did looſe thoſe cords *by the word of God, and the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and exhortation unto vertues*. as [m] ſaith S. *Hierome*. Thus likewiſe doth S. *Ambroſe* note, that [n] *ſinnes are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Levite was an interpreter and a kind of an executer*: and in that reſpect concludeth, that [o] *the Levite was a miniſter of this remiſsion*. As the Iewiſh Scribes therefore, by [p] *taking away the key of knowledge, did ſhut up the kingdome of heaven againſt men*: ſo [q] everie Scribe which is inſtructed unto the kingdome of heaven, by [r] opening unto his hearers the doore of faith, doth as it were unlocke that kingdome unto them; beeing the inſtrument of God herein [s] *to open mens eies, and to turne them from darkneſſe to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveneſſe of ſinnes, and inheritance amōg them which are ſanctified by faith in Chriſt*. And here are wee to underſtand, that the miniſters of Chriſt, by applying the word of God unto the conſciences of men both in publick & in private, do diſcharge that part of their function which concerneth forgiveneſſe of ſinnes, partly *operatively*, partly *declaratively*. *Operatively*: inaſmuch as God is pleaſed to uſe their preaching of the Goſpell as a meanes of [t] conferring his ſpirit upon the ſonnes of men, of [u] begetting them in Chriſt, and of [x] working faith and repentance in them; whereby the re-

m Funibus peccatorum ſuorum unuſquiſque conſtringitur. Quos funes atque vincula ſolvere poſſunt & Apoſtoli, imitantes magiſtrum ſuum qui eis dixerat: Quæcunque ſolveritis ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta & in cœlo. Solvunt autem eos Apoſtoli ſermone Dei, & teſtimoniis ſcripturarum, & exhortatione virtutum. *Hieronym. lib. 6. comment. in Eſai. cap.* 14.

n Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites interpres & quidam executor eſt. *Ambroſ. de Abel & Cain, lib. 2. cap.* 4.

o Levites igitur miniſter remiſſionis eſt. *Id. ibid.* p *Luk.* 11. 52. compared with *Matth.* 23. 13. q *Matth.* 13. 52. r *Act.* 14. 27. s *Act.* 26. 18. t *Act.* 10. 44. *Gal.* 3. 2. 2. *Cor.* 3. 6. u 1 *Cor.* 4. 15. *Gal.* 4. 19. x *Rom.* 10. 17. *Ioh.* 17. 20. 1. *Cor.* 3. 5. *Act.* 14 27. *& chap.* 26. *ver.* 18, 20.

miſſion

mission of sinnes is obtained. Thus Iohn [y] *preaching the Baptisme of repentance for the remission sinnes*, and teaching [z] *the people, that they should beleeve on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Iesus*; is said to [a] *turne manie of the Children of Israel to the Lord their God, and the disobedient to the wisedome of the just*, by [b] *giving knowledge of salvation to Gods people, unto the remission of their sinnes*. Not because he had properly anie power given him to turne mens hearts, and to worke faith and repentance for forgiveneſſe of sins when and where he thought good: but because hee was trusted with the ministerie of the [c] word of Gods grace, which is able to convert and quicken mens soules, & to give them an inheritance among all them which are sanctified. by the powerfull application of which word, [d] *he who converteth the sinner from the errour of his way*, is said to *save a soule from death, and to hide a multitude of sins*. For howsoever in true proprietie, [e] the covering of sinnes, the saving from death, and turning of men from their iniquities, is a priviledge peculiar to the Lord our God; unto whom alone it appertaineth to [f] *reconcile the world to himselfe, by not imputing their sinnes unto them*: yet inasmuch as he hath committed unto his ambassadors the [g] *word of reconciliation*, they in performing that worke of their ministerie, may bee as rightly said to bee imploied in reconciling men unto God, and procuring remission of their sins; as they are said to [h] *deliver a man from going downe into the pit*, when they *declare unto him his righteousnes*, and to [i] *save their hearers*, when they [k] *preach unto them the Gospell, by which they are saved*.

y *Mark.* 1. 4.
z *Act.* 19. 4.
a *Luk.* 1. 16. 17.
b *Ibid. vers.* 77.
c *Act.* 20. 32. *Psal.* 19. 7. *and* 119. *vers.* 50, 93.
d *Iam.* 5. 20.
e *Rom.* 4. 6. 7. *Iercm.* 31. 18. *Revel.* 1. 18. 1. *Thess.* 1. 10. *Act.* 3. 26. *Matth.* 1. 21.
f 2. *Cor.* 5. 19.
g *Ibid.*
h *Iob.* 33. 23, 24.
i 1. *Tim.* 4. 16.
k 1. *Cor.* 15. 1, 2, *Act.* 11. 14.

For

For as the word it ſelfe which they ſpeak, is ſaid to be [l] *their word,* which yet [m] *is in truth the word of God:* ſo the worke which is effectually wrought by that word in them that beleeve, is ſaid to bee their worke, though intruth it bee the proper worke of God. And as they that beleeve by their word, are ſaid to be *their Epiſtle,* 2. Cor. 3. 2. that is to ſay, *the Epiſtle of Chriſt miniſtred by them* (as it is expounded in the verſe following:) in like manner, forgiveneſſe of ſinnes and thoſe other great graces that appertaine to the beleevers, may be ſaid to bee their worke, that is to ſay, the worke of Chriſt miniſtred by them. For in verie deede (as *Optatus* ſpeaketh in the matter of Baptiſme) [n] *not the miniſter, but the faith of the beleever and the Trinitie doe bring theſe things unto everie man.* And where the preaching of the Goſpel doth prove [o] *the power of God unto ſalvation*; only the weakneſſe of the externall miniſterie muſt be aſcribed to men, but [p] *the excellencie of the power* muſt ever be acknowledged to bee *of God, and not of them:* [q] *neither he that planteth,* being here *any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increaſe.* For howſoever in reſpect of the former, ſuch as take paines in the Lords husbandrie may be accounted Θεοῦ συνεργοὶ, as the [r] Apoſtle termeth them, *labourers together with God* (though that little peece of ſervice it ſelfe alſo bee not performed by their owne ſtrength, but [ſ] *according to the grace of God which is given unto them:*) yet [t] *that which followeth, of giving the increaſe, God effecteth not by them,*

l *Ioh.* 17. 20.
m 1. *Theſſ.* 2. 13.
n Has res unicuique, non eiuſdem rei operarius, ſed credentis fides & Trinitas præſtat. *Optat. lib.* 5. *contra Donatiſt.*
o *Rom.* 1. 16. 1. *Cor.* 1. 18.
p 2. *Cor* 4. 7.
q 1. *Cor.* 3. 7.
r *Ibid. verſ.* 9.
ſ *Ibid. verſ.* 10.
t Iam verò quod ſequitur, Sed Deus incrementum dedit; non per illos, ſed per ſeipſum facit. Excedit hoc humanam humilitatem, excedit angelicam ſublimitatem, nec omninò pertinet niſi ad agricolam Trinitatem. *Aug. in Evangel. Ioann. tract.* 80.

but by himselfe. This (saith S. *Augustine*) *exceedeth the lowlinesse of man, this exceedeth the sublimitie of Angels; neither appertaineth unto anie but unto the husbandman the Trinitie.*

u 1. *Cor.* 12. 11. Now as the Spirit of God doth not only u *worke* diversities of graces in us, *distributing to everie man*
x 1. *Cor.* 2. 12. *severally as he will*; but also maketh us to x *know the things that are freely given to us of God*: so the mini-
y 1 *Cor.* 3. 6. sters of the New Testament, being y *made able ministers of the* same *spirit*, are not onely ordained to bee Gods instruments to worke faith and repentance in men, for the obtaining of remission of sinnes, but also to declare Gods pleasure unto such as beleeve and repent, and in his name to certifie them, and give assurance to their consciences, that their sinnes
z *Act.* 20. 24. are forgiven. they having z *received this ministrie of the Lord Iesus, to testifie the Gospell of the grace of God*; and so by their function beeing appointed to be *witnesses*, rather than *conferrers* of that grace. For it is here with them in the *loosing*, as it is in the *binding* part of their ministerie; where they are brought in, like unto those seven Angels in the booke of
a *Revel.* 16. 1. the Revelation, a which *poure out the vialls of*
b 2. *Cor.* 10. 6. *the wrath of God upon the earth*; b having *vengeance ready against all disobedience*, and a charge from God,
c *Ierem.* 15. 1. to c *cast men out of his sight*: not because they are pro-
d *Psal.* 94. 1. perly *the avengers* (for that d title God challengeth unto himselfe) or that *vengeance* did any way apper-
e *Rom.* 12. 19. taine unto them, (for e it is written: *Vengeance is*
Heb. 10. 30. *mine, I will repay*; *saith the Lord*) but because they were the *denouncers*, not the *inflicters* of this venge-
f *Ierem.* 18. 7. 9. ance. So though it bee the Lord that f *speaketh con-*

cerning

cerning a nation, to pluck up, and to pull downe, and to deſtroy, or on the other ſide, *to build and to plant* it; yet hee [g] in whoſe mouth God put thoſe words of his, is ſaid to be ſet by him *over the nations, and over the kingdomes, to roote out, and to pull downe, and to deſtroy, and to throw downe, to build, and to plant:* as if he himſelfe were a doer of thoſe great matters, who was onely [h] *ordained to be a Prophet unto the nations,* to ſpeake the things unto them which God had commanded him. Thus likewiſe in the thirteenth of Leviticus, where the Lawes are ſet downe that concerne the leproſie, which was a type of the pollution of ſinne, wee meet often with theſe ſpeeches: [i] *The Prieſt ſhall cleanſe him,* and, [k] *The Prieſt ſhall pollute him,* and in the 44. verſe, [l] *The Prieſt with pollution ſhall pollute him*: [m] not (ſaith S. *Hierome*) *that hee is the author of the pollution, but that hee declareth him to be polluted, who before did ſeeme unto many to have beene cleane.* Whereupon the Maſter of the Sentences (following herein S. *Hierome,* and being afterwards therein followed himſelfe by many others) obſerveth, that [n] *in remitting or retaining ſinnes, the Prieſts of the Goſpell have that right and office, which the Legall Prieſts had of old under the Law in curing of the lepers. Theſe therefore* (ſaith hee) *forgive ſinnes or retaine them, whiles they ſhew and declare that they are forgiven or retained by God. For the Prieſts put the name of the Lord upon the children of Iſrael, but it was hee himſelfe that bleſſed them, as it is*

g *Ierem.* 1. 9, 10.
h *Ibid. ver.* 5, 7.
i וטהרו הכהן
καθαριεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.
k וטמאו הכהן
μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.
l טמא וטמאנו הכהן
μιαίνει μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς.
m Contaminatione contaminabit eum, haud dubium quin Sacerdos: non quo contaminationis author ſit, ſed quo oſtendat eum contaminatum, qui priùs mundus plurimis videbatur. *Hieronym. lib. 7. in Eſai. cap.* 23.
n In remittendis vel in retinendis culpis id juris & officii habent Evangelici ſacerdotes, quod olim habebant ſub lege legales in curandis leproſis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimiſſa à Deo vel retenta indicant & oſtendunt. Ponunt enim ſacerdotes nomen Domini ſuper filios Iſrael, ſed ipſe benedixit, ſicut legitur in Numeris. *Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diſt.* 14. f.

read in Numbers. The place that hee hath reference unto, is in the sixt chapter of that booke, where the Priests are commanded to *blesse* the people, by saying unto them, *The Lord blesse thee*, &c. and then it followeth (in the last verse of that chapter:) *So they shall put my Name upon the children of Israel, and I will blesse them.*

o *Bellarmin. de Pœnitent. lib. 3. cap. 2. sect. ult.*

Neither doe wee grant hereupon, (as the o Adversarie falsely chargeth us) that *a lay-man, yea or a woman, or a childe, or any infidell, or the Divell* (the Father of all calumniators and lyars) *or a Parrat likewise, if hee be taught the words, may aswell absolve as the Priest.* as if p the *speech* were all the thing that here were to be considered, and not the *power*: where wee are taught, that *the kingdome of God is not in word, but in power.* Indeed if the Priests by their office brought nothing with them but the ministerie of the bare letter, a Parrat peradventure might bee taught to sound that letter as well as they: but wee beleeve, that q *God hath made them able ministers of the New Tastament, not of the letter, but of the spirit.* and that the Gospell ministred by them r *commeth unto us not in word onely, but also in power, and in the holy Ghost, and in much assurance.* For God hath added a speciall s beauty to *the feet of them that preach the Gospell of peace*, that howsoever others may bring glad tydings of good things to the penitent sinner as truely as they doe; yet neither can they doe it with the same authoritie, neither is it to be expected that they should doe it with such power, such assurance, and such full satisfaction to the afflicted conscience. The speech of everie Christian (we know) should

p 1. Cor. 4. 19, 20.

q 2. Cor. 3. 6.

r 1. Thess. 1. 5.

s Rom. 10. 15.

ſhould be employed [t] *to the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers*; and a private brother in his place may deliver ſound doctrine, reprehend vice, exhort to righteouſneſſe, very commendably: yet hath the Lord, notwithſtanding all this, for the neceſſarie uſe of his Church, appointed publicke officers to doe the ſame things, and hath given unto them a peculiar [u] *power for edification*, wherein they may boaſt above others; and in the due execution whereof God is pleaſed to make them inſtruments of miniſtring a more plentifull meaſure of grace unto their hearers, than may be ordinarily looked for from others. Theſe men are appointed to bee of Gods high commiſſion, and therefore they may [x] *ſpeake, and exhort, and rebuke with all authoritie*: they are *Gods* [y] *Angels* and [z] *Ambaſſadors for Chriſt*, and therefore in delivering their meſſage are to be [a] *received as an Angell of God*, yea, *as Chriſt Ieſus*. that looke how the Prophet *Eſay* was comforted, when the Angell ſaid unto him, [b] *Thine iniquitie is taken away, and thy ſinne purged*; and the poore woman in the Goſpell, when Ieſus ſaid unto her, [c] *Thy ſinnes are forgiven*: the like conſolation doth the diſtreſſed ſinner receive from the mouth of the Miniſter, when he hath compared the truth of Gods word faithfully delivered by him, with the worke of Gods grace in his owne heart. according to that of *Elihu*: [d] *If there be an Angell* or a meſſenger *with him, an Interpreter, one of a thouſand, to declare unto man his righteouſneſſe; then will* God *have mercie upon him, and ſay, Deliver him from going downe to the pit, I have received a reconciliation*. For as it is the office

t *Epheſ.* 4. 29.

u 2. *Cor.* 10. 8. & 13. 10.

x *Tit.* 2. 15.
y *Revel.* 1. 20.
z 2. *Cor.* 5. 20.

a *Gal.* 4. 14.

b *Eſay.* 6. 7.

c *Luke* 7. 48.

d *Iob* 33. 23. 24.

fice of this meſſenger and interpreter, to [e] *pray us in Chriſts ſtead, that wee would be reconciled to God*: ſo when wee have liſtened unto this motion, and ſubmitted our ſelves to the Goſpell of peace, it is a part of his office likewiſe to declare unto us in Chriſts ſtead, that wee are reconciled to God: and [f] *in him Chriſt* himſelfe muſt bee acknowledged to *ſpeake*, who *to us-ward* by this meanes *is not weake, but is mightie in us*.

e 2. Cor. 5. 20.

f 2. Cor. 13. 3.

But our new Maſters will not content themſelves with ſuch a miniſteriall power of forgiving ſinnes as hath beene ſpoken of; unleſſe wee yeeld that they have authoritie ſo to doe properly, directly, and abſolutely: that is, unleſſe wee acknowledge that their high Prieſt ſitteth in the temple of God as God, and all his creatures as ſo many demi-gods under him. For wee [g] *muſt ſay* (if wee will bee drunke with the drunken) *that in this high Prieſt there is the fulneſſe of all graces*; *becauſe hee alone giveth a full indulgence of all ſinnes: that this may agree unto him, which wee ſay of the chiefe prince our Lord, that of his fulneſſe all wee have received*. Nay wee muſt acknowledge, that the meaneſt in the whole armie of Prieſts that followeth this king of pride, hath ſuch fulneſſe of power derived unto him for the opening and ſhutting of heaven before men: that [h] *forgiveneſſe is denied to them, whom the Prieſt will not forgive*; and his Abſolution on the other ſide is a ſacramentall act, which conferreth grace *by the worke wrought*, that is, (as they [i] expound it) *actively, and immediately and inſtrumentally effecteth the grace of juſtification* in ſuch as

g Oportet dicere, in ſummo Pontifice eſſe plenitudinem omnium gratiarum; quia ipſe ſolus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum. ut competat ſibi, quod de primo principe Domino dicimus; quia de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus. *De regimine Principum, lib. 3. cap. 10. inter opuſcula Thomæ, num. 20.*

h Negatur remiſſio illis, quibus noluerint Sacerdotes remittere. *Bellar. de Pœnit. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

i Activé, & proximé, atque inſtrumentaliter efficit gratiam iuſtificationis. *Id. de Sacrament. in genere, lib. 2. cap. 1.*

receive

receive it. that [k] *as the winde doth extinguiſh the fire, and diſpell the clowdes; ſo doth the Prieſts abſolution ſcatter ſinnes, and make them to vaniſh away*; the ſinner being thereby immediately acquitted before God, howſoever that ſound converſion of heart bee wanting in him, which otherwiſe would be requiſite. for [l] a conditionall Abſolution, upon ſuch termes as theſe, *If thou doeſt beleeve and repent as thou oughteſt to doe*, is (in theſe mens judgement) to no purpoſe, and can give no ſecuritie to the penitent; ſeeing it dependeth upon an uncertaine condition. Have wee not then juſt cauſe to ſay unto them, as [m] *Optatus* did unto the Donatiſts? *Nolite vobis Majeſtatis dominium vendicare.* Intrude not upon the royall prerogative of our Lord and Maſter. No man may challenge this abſolute power of the keyes, but [n] *hee that hath the key of David, that openeth and no man ſhutteth, and ſhutteth and no man openeth*; hee to whom [o] the Father *hath given power over all fleſh*, yea, [p] *all power in heaven and in earth*; even the eternall Sonne of God, who hath in his hands [q] *the keyes of death*, and is able to [r] *quicken whom hee will.*

k Vt flatus extinguit ignem, & diſſipat nebulas; ſic etiam Abſolutio Sacerdotis peecata diſpergit, & evaneſcere facit. *Id. de Pœnitent. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

l *Id. ibid. ſect. penult.*

m *Optat. lib. 5.*

n *Revel. 3. 7.*

o *Joh. 17. 2.*

p *Matth. 28. 18.*

q *Revel. 1. 18.*

r *Ioh. 5. 21.*

The Miniſters of the Goſpell may not meddle with the matter of ſoveraigntie, and thinke that they have power to proclaime warre or conclude peace betwixt God and man, according to their owne diſcretion: they muſt remember that they are [s] *Ambaſſadors for Chriſt*, and therefore in this treatie are to proceed according to the inſtructions which they have received from their Soveraigne; which if they doe tranſgreſſe, they goe beyond their commiſsion, therein they doe not πρεσβεύειν but παραπρεσβεύειν, and

s *2. Cor. 5. 20.*

their authoritie for so much is plainely voyde. The Bishop (saith S. *Gregory*, and the Fathers in the Councell of *Aquisgran* following him) [t] *in loosing and binding those that are under his charge, doth follow oftentimes the motions of his owne will, and not the merit of the causes. Whence it commeth to passe, that he deprive th himselfe of this power of binding and loosing, who doth exercise the same according to his owne will, and not according to the manners of them which be subject unto him.* that is to say, hee maketh himselfe *worthy to be deprived* of that power, which he hath thus abused; (as the [u] Master of the Sentences, and [x] *Semeca* in his Glosse upon *Gratian*, would have S. *Gregories* meaning to be expounded) and *pro tanto* (as hath beene said) actually voydeth himselfe of this power; this unrighteous judgement of his given upon earth, being no waies ratified, but absolutely disannulled in the Court of heaven. For hee who by his office is appointed to be a minister of [y] *the word of truth*, hath no power given him to [z] *doe any thing against the truth, but for the truth:* neither is it to be imagined, that the sentence of *man*, who is subject to deceive and be deceived, should any waies prejudice the sentence of *God*, whose * judgement wee know to be alwaies according to the truth. Therfore doth *Pacianus*, in the end of his first epistle to *Sympronianus* the Novatian, shew, that at that time, absolution was [a] not so easily given unto penitents, as now adaies it is: but [b] *with great pondering of the matter*

t Sæpè in solvendis ac ligandis subditis suæ voluntatis motus, non autem caussarum merita sequitur. Vnde fit, ut ipsâ hâc ligandi & solvendi potestate se privet; qui hanc pro suis voluntatibus, & non pro subiectorum moribus exercet. *Greg. in evangel. hom. 26. Concil Aquisgran sub Ludovico Pio, cap. 37.*

u Qui indignos ligat vel solvit, propriâ potestate se privat, id est, dignum privatione se facit. *Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. dist. 18. C.*

x Privat, id est, meretur privari. *Io. Semeca. Gloss. Grat. caus. 11. quæst. 3. cap. 60.* Ipse ligandi.

y *Ephes.* 1. 13. *Iam.* 1. 18. z 2. *Cor.* 13. 8. * *Rom.* 2. 2. a Scio frater, hanc ipsam pœnitentiæ veniam non passim omnibus dari, *&c. Pacian. epist.* 1. b Magno pondere magnoque libramine, post multos gemitus effusionemque lachrymarum post totius Ecclesiæ preces, ita veniam veræ pœnitentiæ non negari, ut iudicaturo Christo nemo præiudicet. *Ibid.*

and

and with great deliberation, after many ſighes and ſhedding of teares, after the prayers of the whole Church, pardon was ſo not denyed unto true repentance; that Chriſt being to judge, no man ſhould prejudge him. and a little before, ſpeaking of the Biſhop by whoſe miniſterie this was done: [c] *Hee ſhall give an account* (ſaith hee) *if hee have done anie thing amiſſe, or if hee have judged corruptly and wickedly. Neither is there any prejudice done unto God, whereby hee might not undoe the workes of this evill builder: but in the meane time if that adminiſtration of his be godly, hee continueth a helper of the workes of God.* Wherein hee doth but tread in the ſteps of S. *Cyprian*, who at the firſt riſing of the Novatian hereſie, wrote in the ſame manner unto *Antonianus*. [d] *Wee doe not prejudice the Lord that is to judge, but that hee, if hee finde the repentance of the ſinner to bee full and juſt, hee may then ratifie that which ſhall be here ordained by us: but if any one doe deceive us with the ſemblance of repentance, God (who is not mocked, and who beholdeth the heart of man) may judge of thoſe things which wee did not well diſcerne, and the Lord may amend the ſentence of the ſervants.*

Hereupon S. *Hierome*, expounding thoſe words *Daniel* 4. 24. *It may be God will pardon thy ſinnes*; reproveth thoſe men of great raſhneſſe, that are ſo peremptorie and abſolute in their abſolutions. [e] *When bleſſed Daniel* (ſaith hee) *who knew things to come, doth doubt of the ſentence of God, they doe a raſh deed,*

c Reddet quidem ille rationem, ſi quid perperàm fecerit, vel ſi corrupté & impié judicârit. Nec præjudicatur Deo, quo minùs mali ædificatoris opera reſcindat: interea, ſi pia illa adminiſtratio eſt, adiutor Dei operum perſeverat *Id. ibid.*

d Neque enim præiudicamus Domino iudicaturo, quo minùs ſi pœnitentiam plenam & iuſtam peccatoris invenerit, tunc ratum faciat quod a nobis fuerit hîc ſtatutum. ſi verò nos aliquis pœnitentiæ ſimulatione deluſerit; Deus, qui non deridetur, & qui cor hominis intuetur, de his quæ nos minùs perſpeximus iudicet, & ſervorum ſententiam Dominus emendet. *Cypr. epiſt.* 52. *ſect.* 11. (*edit. Goulart.*)

e Cùm beatus Daniel, præſcius futurorum, de ſententiâ Dei dubitet: rem temerariam faciunt, qui audacter peccatoribus indulgentiam pollicentur. *Hieronym. in Daniel. cap.* 4.

that

that boldly promiſe pardon unto ſinners. S. *Baſil* alſo reſolveth us, that [f] *the power of forgiving is not given abſolutely; but upon the obedience of the penitent, and his conſent with him that hath the care of his ſoule.* For it is in looſing, as it is in binding. [g] *Thou haſt begun to eſteeme thy brother as a publican,* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine:*) *thou bindeſt him upon earth. But looke that thou bindeſt him juſtly. For unjuſt bonds juſtice doth breake.* So when the Prieſt ſaith, *I abſolve thee: Maldonat* confeſſeth, that hee meaneth no more thereby but, [h] *As much as in mee lieth, I abſolve thee:* and *Suarez* acknowledgeth, that it implicitly includeth this condition, [i] *Vnleſſe the receiver put ſome impediment;* for which hee alledgeth the authoritie of *Hugo de S. Victore, lib. 2. de Sacramentis, pag. 14. ſ. 8.* affirming, [k] *that this forme doth rather ſignifie the power and vertue, than the event* of the abſolution. And therefore doth the Maſter of the Sentences rightly obſerve, that [l] *God doth not evermore follow the judgement of the Church: which ſometimes judgeth by ſurreption and ignorance; whereas God doth alwaies judge according to the truth.* So the Prieſts [m] *ſometime declare*

f Ἡ ἐξουσία τῦ ἀφιέναι ἐκ ἀπολύτως ἔσται· ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπακοῇ τῦ μετανοοῦντος, καὶ συμφωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον αὐτῦ τῆς ψυχῆς. Baſil. regul. brevior. qu. 15.

g Cœpiſti habere fratrem tuum tanquam publicanum: ligas illum in terrâ. Sed ut juſtè alliges, vide. Nam injuſta vincula dirumpit iuſtitia. *Auguſt. de verbis Domini, ſerm.* 16. *c.* 4.

h Quantum in me eſt, ego te abſolvo. *Maldonat. tom. 2. de penitent. part. 3. theſ. 5.*

i Niſi ſuſcipiens obicem ponat. *Fr. Suarez. in Thom. tom. 4. diſp. 19. ſect. 2. num. 20.*

k Hanc formam magis ſignificare virtutem ſuam, quàm eventum. *Hugo.*

l Ita & hîc apertè oſtenditur, quòd non ſemper ſequitur Deus Eccleſiæ iudicium: quæ per ſurreptionem & ignorantiam interdum iudicat; Deus autem ſemper iudicat ſecundùm veritatem. *Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. 4. diſtinct. 18. f.*

m Aliquando enim oſtendunt ſolutos vel ligatos, qui ita non ſunt apud Deum: & pœnâ ſatisfactionis vel excommunicationis interdum indignos ligant vel ſolvunt; & indignos ſacramentis admittunt, & dignos admitti arcent. Sed intelligendum eſt hoc in illis, quorum merita ſolvi vel ligari poſtulant. Tunc enim ſententia Sacerdotis iudicio Dei & totius cœleſtis curiæ approbatur & confirmatur, cùm ita ex diſcretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Quoſcunque ergo ſolvunt vel ligât, adhibentes clavem diſcretionis reorum meritis, ſolvuntur vel ligantur in cœlis, id eſt, apud Deum: quia divino iudicio Sacerdotis ſententia ſic progreſſa approbatur & confirmatur. *Idibid. b. Vid. Gabriel Biel, in eand. diſtinct. 18. quæſt. 1. lit. b.*

men

men to be looſed or bound, who are not ſo before God: with the penaltie of ſatisfaction or excommunication they ſometime bind ſuch as are unworthie, or looſe them; they admit them that be unworthie to the Sacraments, and put backe them that be worthy to be admitted. That ſaying therefore of Chriſt muſt be underſtood to be verified *in them* (ſaith hee) *whoſe merits doe require that they ſhould bee looſed or bound. For then is the ſentence of the Prieſt approved and confirmed by the judgement of God and the whole Court of heaven, when it doth proceed with that diſcretion, that the merits of them who be dealt withall doe not contradict the ſame. whomſoever therefore they doe looſe or binde, uſing the key of diſcretion according to the parties merits, they are looſed or bound in heaven, that is to ſay, with God: becauſe the ſentence of the Prieſt, proceeding in this manner, is approved and confirmed by divine judgement.* Thus farre the Maſter of the Sentences: who is followed herein by the reſt of the Shoolemen; who generally agree, that the power of binding and looſing, committed to the Miniſters of the Church, is not abſolute, but muſt be limitted with *Clave non errante*, as being then onely of force [n] when matters are carried with right judgement, and no error is committed in the uſe of the keyes.

Our Saviour therefore muſt ſtill have the priviledge reſerved unto him, of being the abſolute Lord *over his owne houſe*: it is ſufficient for his officers that they bee eſteemed as *Moſes* was, [o] *faithfull in all his houſe as ſervants*. The place wherein they ſerve, is a *Stewards* place: and the Apoſtle telleth them, [p] *that it is required in Stewards, that the man be found faithfull.*

n Quod in terrâ Sacerdos clave non errante, & recto iudicio procedens retinet, nec dimittit; Deus etiam in cœlo retinet, nec dimittit. *Tolet. comment. in Iohan. 20.*

o *Hebr. 10. 5, 6.*

p *1. Cor. 4. 2.*

full. They may not therefore carry themſelves in their office, as the [q] *unjuſt Steward* did, and preſume to ſtrike out their Maſters debt without his direction, and contrarie to his liking. Now wee know that our Lord hath given no authoritie unto his Stewards, to grant an acquittance unto anie of his debtors, that bring not unfained faith and repentance with them. [r] *Neither Angell nor Archangell can,* neither yet *the Lord himſelfe, (who alone can ſay; I am with you) when wee have ſinned, doth releaſe us, unleſſe wee bring repentance with us:* ſaith S. *Ambroſe.* and *Eligius* Biſhop of *Noyon,* in his Sermon unto the Penitents: [ſ] *Before all things it is neceſſarie you ſhould know, that howſoever you deſire to receive the impoſition of our hands; yet you cannot obtaine the abſolution of your ſinnes, before the divine piety ſhall vouchſafe to abſolve you by the grace of compunction.* To thinke therefore that it lieth in the power of any Prieſt truely to abſolve a man from his ſinnes, without implying the condition of his *beleeving and repenting as hee ought to doe;* is both preſumption and madneſſe in the higheſt degree. Neither dareth Cardinall *Bellarmine,* who cenſureth this conditionall abſolution in us for idle and ſuperfluous, when hee hath conſidered better of the matter, aſſume unto himſelfe, or communicate unto his brethren, the power of giving an abſolute one. For hee is driven to confeſſe with other of his fellowes, that when the Prieſt [t] *ſaith, I abſolve thee,* hee *doth not affirme that hee doth*

q *Luk.* 16. 6, 7, 8.

r Nec angelus poteſt, nec archangelus: Dominus ipſe, (qui ſolus poteſt dicere; Ego vobiſcum ſum) ſi peccaverimus, niſi pœnitentiam deferentibus, non relaxat. *Ambr. epiſt.* 28. *ad Theodoſium Imp.*

ſ Ante omnia autem vobis ſcire neceſſe eſt; quia licèt impoſitionem manuum noſtrarum accipere cupiatis, tamen abſolutionem peccatorum veſtrorum conſequi non poteſtis, antequàm per compunctionis gratiam divina pietas vos abſolvere dignabitur. *Eligius Noviomenſ. homil.* 11. *tom.* 7. *Biblioth. Patr. pag.* 248. *edit. Colon.*

t Nam qui dicit; Ego te baptizo, vel abſolvo, non affirmat ſe abſolutè baptizare vel abſolvere, cùm non ignoret, multis modis fieri poſſe, ut neque baptizet, neque abſoluat, licèt ea verba pronunciet: nimirum ſi is, qui Sacramentum ſuſcipere videtur, fortè non habeat ſuſci-

abſolve

abſolve abſolutely; as not being ignorant, that it may many waies come to paſſe that hee doth not abſolve, although hee pronounce thoſe words: namely if hee who ſeemeth to receive this ſacrament (for ſo they call it) *peradventure hath no intention to receive it, or is not rightly diſpoſed, or putteth ſome block in the way. Therefore the Miniſter* (ſaith hee) *ſignifieth nothing elſe by thoſe words, but that hee, as much as in him lieth, conferreth the ſacrament of reconciliation or abſolution, which in a man rightly diſpoſed hath vertue to forgive all his ſinnes.*

piendi intentionem, vel non ſit rite diſpoſitus, aut obicem ponat. Igitur Miniſter illis verbis nihil aliud ſignificat, niſi ſe, quod in ſe eſt, Sacramentum reconciliationis vel abſolutionis impendere, quod vim habet in homine diſpoſito peccata omnia dimittendi. *Bellarmin. de Pœnitent. lib. 2. cap. 14. ſect. penult.*

Now that *Contrition* is at all times neceſſarily required for obtaining remiſſion of ſinnes and juſtification, is a matter determined by the Fathers of [u] *Trent*. But marke yet the myſterie. They equivocate with us in the terme of *Contrition*: and make a diſtinction thereof into *perfect* and *imperfect*. The former of theſe is *Contrition* properly: the latter they call *Attrition*. which howſoever in it ſelfe it be not true Contrition, yet when the Prieſt with his power of forgiving ſinnes interpoſeth himſelfe in the buſineſſe, they tell us that [x] *attrition by vertue of the keyes is made contrition*: that is to ſay, that a ſorrow ariſing from a ſervile feare of puniſhment, and ſuch a fruitleſſe [y] *repentance* as the reprobate may carry with them to hell, by vertue of the Prieſts abſolution, is made ſo fruitfull, that it ſhall ſerve the turne for obtaining forgiveneſſe of ſinnes; as if it had beene that [z] *godly ſorrow which worketh repentance to ſalvation not to be repented of*. By which ſpirituall cooſenage, many poore ſoules are moſt miſerably deluded, while they perſwade themſelves, that upon

u *Concil. Tridentin. ſeſſ. 14. cap. 4.*

x Attritio virtute clauium fit contritio. *Romani Correctores Gloſſ. Gratiani, De pœnitent. diſtinct. 1. in principio: & aly paſſim.*

y *Matth. 27. 3, 4, 5.*

z *2. Cor. 7. 10.*

upon the receipt of the Prieſts acquittance upon this carnall ſorrow of theirs, all skores are cleered untill that day: and then beginning upon a new reckoning: they ſinne and confeſſe, confeſſe and ſinne afreſh, and tread this round ſo long, till they put off all thought of ſaving repentance; and ſo the [a] blind following the blinde, both at laſt fall into the pit.

[b] *Evill and wicked, carnall, naturall, and divelliſh* men (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *imagine thoſe things to be given unto them by their ſeducers, which are onely the gifts of God, whether ſacraments; or any other ſpirituall workes, concerning their preſent ſalvation.* But ſuch as are thus ſeduced, may do well to liſten a little to this grave admonition of S. *Cyprian.* [c] *Let no man deceive, let no man beguile himſelfe: it is the Lord alone that can ſhew mercie. Hee alone can grant pardon to the ſins committed againſt him, who did himſelfe beare our ſins, who ſuffered griefe for us, whom God did deliver for our ſinnes. Man cannot be greater than God; neither can the ſervant by his indulgence remit or pardon that which by hainous treſpaſſe is committed againſt the Lord: leſt to him that is falle this yet be added as a further crime, if hee be ignorant of that which is ſaid; Curſed is the man that putteth his truſt in man.* Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* ſticketh not to ſay, that good miniſters doe conſider that [d] *they are but miniſters, they would not be held for Iudges, they abhorre that any truſt ſhould be put in them:* and that the power of remitting and retai-

[a] *Matt.* 15. 14.

[b] Mali & facinoroſi, carnales, animales, diabolici, à ſeductoribus ſuis ſibi dari arbitrantur, quæ non niſi munera Dei ſunt, ſive ſacramenta, ſive ſpirituales aliquas operationes, circa præſentem ſalutem. *Auguſt. de Baptiſm. contra Donatiſt. lib. 3. cap. ult.*

[c] Nemo ſe fallat, nemo ſe decipiat: ſolus Dominus miſereri poteſt. Veniam peccatis, quæ in ipſum commiſſa ſunt, ſolus poteſt ille largiri, qui peccata noſtra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis noſtris. Homo Deo eſſe non poteſt maior; nec remittere aut donare indulgentiâ ſuâ ſervus poteſt, quod in Dominum delicto graviore commiſſum eſt: ne adhuc lapſo & hoc accedat ad crimen, ſi nelciat eſſe prædictum; Maledictus homo qui ſpem habet in homine. *Cyprian. de lapſis* (*ſect. 7. edit. Pamel. 14. Goulart.*)

[d] Miniſtri enim ſunt, pro iudicibus haberi nolunt, ſpem in ſe poni exhorreſcunt. *Auguſt. in evangel. Iohan. tract. 5*

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ning ſinnes is committed unto the Church, to be diſpenſed therein, [e] *not according to the arbitrement of man, but according to the arbitrement of God.* Whereas our adverſaries lay the foundation of their *Babel* upon another ground: that [f] *Chriſt hath appointed Prieſts to be Iudges upon earth with ſuch power, that none falling into ſinne after baptiſme may be reconciled without their ſentence*; and hath [g] *put the authoritie of binding and looſing, of forgiving and retaining the ſins of men, in their arbitrement.*

Whether the Miniſters of the Goſpell may be accounted *Iudges* in ſome ſort, wee will not much contend: for wee diſlike neither that ſaying of S. *Hierome*, that [h] *having the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, they judge after a ſort before the day of judgement*; nor that other of S. *Gregory*, that the Apoſtles, and ſuch as ſucceed them in the governement of the Church, [i] *obtaine a principalitie of judgement from above, that they may in Gods ſtead retaine the ſinnes of ſome and releaſe the ſinnes of others.* All the queſtion is, in what ſort they doe judge, and whether the validitie of their iudgement doe depend upon the truth of the converſion of the penitent: wherein if our Romaniſts would ſtand to the iudgement of S. *Hierome* or S. *Gregory* (one of whom they make a Cardinall, and the other a Pope of their owne Church) the controverſie betwixt us would quickly be at an end. For S. *Hierome*, expounding that ſpeech of our Saviour, touching *the keyes of the kingdome of hea-*

e Non ſecundùm arbitrium hominum, ſed ſecundùm arbitrium Dei. *Id. de Baptiſm. contra Donatiſt. lib. 3. cap. 18.*

f Chriſtus inſtituit Sacerdotes judices ſuper terram cum eâ poteſtate, ut ſine ipſorum ſententiâ nemo poſt Baptiſmum lapſus reconciliari poſſit. *Bellarm. de Pœnit lib. 3. cap. 2.*

g Igitur in horum arbitrio munus ſolvendi & ligandi, remittendi & retinendi peccata hominum, à Chriſto Domino, per Spiritum Sanctum fuiſſe poſitum liquidò conſtat. *Baron. Annal. tom. 1. ann. 34. ſect. 197.*

h Qui claves regni cœlorum habentes, quodammodo ante judicii diem judicant. *Hieronym. Ep. 1. ad Heliodorum.*

i Principatum ſuperni judicii ſortiuntur, ut vice Dei quibuſdam peccata retineant, quibuſdam relaxent. *Gregor. homil. 26. in Evangel.*

ven, in the ſixteenth of S. Matthew; [k] *the Biſhops and Prieſts*, ſaith hee, *not underſtanding this place, aſſume to themſelves ſomewhat of the Phariſees arrogancie: as imagining, that they may either condemne the innocent, or abſolve the guilty; whereas it is not the ſentence of the Prieſts, but the life of the parties that is inquired of with God. In the booke of Leviticus we reade of the Lepers, where they are commanded to ſhew themſelves to the Prieſts; and if they ſhall have the leproſie, that then they ſhall be made uncleane by the Prieſt. not that the Prieſts ſhould make them leprous and uncleane, but that they ſhould take notice who was a leper, and who was not, and ſhould diſcerne who was cleane, and who uncleane. Therefore as there the Prieſt doth make the leper cleane or uncleane; ſo here the Biſhop or Prieſt doth binde or looſe: not binde the innocent, or looſe the guiltie; but when according to his office hee heareth the variety of ſinnes, hee knoweth who is to be bound, and who to be looſed.* Thus farre S. *Hierome*.

S. *Gregory* likewiſe in the very ſame place from whence the Romaniſts fetch that former ſentence, doth thus declare in what manner that principalitie of iudgement, which hee ſpake of, ſhould be exerciſed: being therein alſo followed ſtep by ſtep, by the fathers of the Councell of *Aquiſgran*. [l] *The cau-*

[k] Iſtum locum Epiſcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid ſibi de Phariſæorum aſſumunt ſupercilio; ut vel damnent innocentes, vel ſolvere ſe noxios arbitrentur: cùm apud Deum non ſententia Sacerdotum, ſed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leproſis, ubi iubentur ut oſtendant ſe Sacerdotibus, & ſi lepram habuerint, tunc à Sacerdote immundi fiant: non quò Sacerdotes leproſos faciant & immundos; ſed quò habeant notitiam leproſi & non leproſi, & poſſint diſcernere qui mundus quive immundus ſit. Quomodo ergo ibi leproſum Sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit; ſic & hîc alligat vel ſolvit Epiſcopus & Presbyter, non eos qui inſontes ſunt vel noxii, ſed pro officio ſuo, cùm peccatorum audierit varietates, ſcit qui ligandus ſcit quive ſolvendus. *Hieronym. commentar. in Matth. cap.* 16.

[l] Cauſſæ ergo penſandæ ſunt, & tunc ligandi atque ſolvendi poteſtas exercenda. Videndum eſt quæ culpa, aut quæ ſit pœnitentia ſecuta poſt culpam: ut quos omnipotens Deus per compunctionis gratiam viſitat, illos Paſtoris ſententia abſolvat. Tunc enim vera eſt abſolutio præſidentis cùm æterni arbitrium ſequitur Iudicis. *Gregor. in Evangel. homil.* 26. *Concil. Aquiſgran. cap.* 37.

ſes

ſes ought to be weighed, and then the power of binding and looſing exerciſed. It is to be ſeene what the fault is, and what the repentance is that hath followed after the fault: that ſuch as almightie God doth viſite with the grace of compunction, thoſe the ſentence of the Paſtor may abſolve. For the abſolution of the Prelate is then true, when it followeth the arbitrement of the eternall Iudge. And this doe they illuſtrate by that which wee reade in the Goſpell of the raiſing of *Lazarus*, Ioh. 11. 44. that *Chriſt* did firſt of all give life to him that was dead by himſelfe, and then commanded others to *looſe him* and let him goe. [m] *Behold* (ſay they) *the Diſciples doe looſe him being now alive; whom their Maſter had raiſed up being dead. For if the Diſciples had looſed Lazarus being dead; they ſhould have diſcovered a ſtinche more than a vertue. By which conſideration wee may ſee, that by our Paſtorall authoritie wee ought to looſe thoſe, whom wee know that our Authour and Lord hath revived with his quickning grace.* The ſame application alſo doe wee finde made, not onely by [n] *Peter Lombard*, and other of the Schoolemen, but alſo by *Iudocus Clichtoveus*, not long before the time of of the Councell of Trent. [o] *Lazarus* (ſaith *Clichtoveus*) *firſt of all came forth alive out of the Sepulchre, and then was commandement given by our Lord, that hee ſhould be looſed by the Diſciples, and*

m Ecce illum diſcipuli jam viventem ſolvunt: quem magiſter reſuſcitaverat mortuum. Si enim diſcipuli Lazarum mortuum ſolverent: fœtorem magis oſtenderent quàm virtutem. Ex quâ conſideratione intuendum eſt, quòd illos nos debemus per paſtoralem auctoritatem ſolvere, quos auctorem noſtrum cognoſcimus per ſuſcitantem gratiam vivificare. *Idem ibidem. & Eligius Noviomenſ. homil. 11. tom. 7. Bibliothec. Patr. pag. 248. edit. Colon.*

n *P. Lombard. lib. 4. Sent. diſt. 18. lit. f.*

Alexand. de Hales, Summ. part. 4. queſt. 21. membr. 1. &c.

o Sed ante prodiit redivivus Lazarus ex ſepulchro, & deinde ut ſolveretur à diſcipulis, & ſineretur abire à Domino iuſſum eſt: quia peccatorem etiam conſuetudine committendi reatus gravatum, priùs Dominus intrinſecùs per ſeipſum vivificat, poſtea verò eundem per Sacerdotum miniſterium abſolvit. Nullus quippe peccator abſolvendus eſt, antequam per dignam pœnitentiam correctus, et intrinſecùs appareat vivificatus. Vivificare autem interiùs peccatorem ſolius Dei munus eſt, qui per Prophetam dicit: Ego ſum qui deleo iniquitates veſtras. *Clichtov. in Evangel. Ioann. lib. 7. cap. 23. inter opera Cyrilli.*

ſuffered to goe his way: becauſe the Lord doth firſt inwardly by himſelfe quicken the ſinner, and afterwards abſolveth him by the Prieſts miniſterie. For no ſinner is to be abſolved, before it appeareth that hee be amended by due repentance, and be quickned inwardly. But inwardly to quicken the ſinner, is the office of God alone, who ſaith by the prophet: I am hee that blotteth out your iniquities.

The truth therefore of the Prieſts abſolution, dependeth upon the truth & ſincerity of Gods quickning grace in the heart of the Penitent: which if it bee wanting, all the abſolutions in the world will ſtand him in no ſtead. For example, our Saviour ſaith: [p] *If yee forgive men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you; but, if yee forgive not men their treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive your treſpaſſes.* and in this reſpect (as is obſerved by *Sedulius*) [q] *in other mens perſons wee are either abſolved or bound:*

p *Matth.6.14, 15. & cap. 18. 35.*

q In aliorum perſonis aut abſolvimur aut ligamur. *Sedul. lib. 2. Paſchalis Operis, cap. 11.*

[r] *——— graviuſque ſoluti*
Nectimur, alterius ſi ſolvere vincla negamus.

r *Id. lib. 2. Paſchal. Carm.*

Suppoſe now, that a man who cannot finde in his heart to forgive the wrong done unto him by another, is abſolved here by the Prieſt from all his ſins (according to the uſuall forme of Abſolution:) are wee to thinke that what is thus looſed upon earth, ſhall bee looſed in heaven? and that Chriſt, to make the Prieſts word true, will make his owne falſe? And what wee ſay of charitie toward man, muſt much more be underſtood of the loue of God, and the love of righteouſneſſe: the defect whereof is not to be ſupplyed by the abſolution of anie Prieſt. It hath

beene

beene alwaies obſerved for a ſpeciall difference betwixt good and bad men, that the one [f] hated ſinne for the love of vertue, the other onely for the feare of puniſhment. The like difference doe our Adverſaries make betwixt *Contrition* and *Attrition*: [t] that the hatred of ſinne, in the one proceedeth from the love of God and of righteouſneſſe; in the other, from the feare of puniſhment. and yet teach for all this, that [u] *Attrition* (which they confeſſe would not otherwiſe ſuffice to juſtifie a man) being ioyned with the Prieſts Abſolution, is ſufficient for that purpoſe: hee that was *attrite*, being by vertue of this Abſolution made *contrite*, and iuſtified, that is to ſay, hee that was led onely by a ſervile feare, and conſequently was to be ranked among diſordered and evill perſons, being by this meanes put in as good caſe for the matter of the forgiveneſſe of his ſinnes, as hee that loveth God ſincerely. For they themſelves do grant, that [x] ſuch as have this ſervile feare, from whence Attrition iſſueth, are to be accounted evill and diſordered men, by reaſon of their want of charitie: to which purpoſe alſo they alledge that ſaying of *Gregory*, *Recti diligunt te, non recti adhuc timent te. Such as be righteous loue thee, ſuch as be not righteous as yet feare thee.*

[f] Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore. *Horat. lib. 1. epiſt. 16.*

[t] Fatemur enim perfectum odium peccati eſſe illud quod ex amore Dei, iuſtitiæque procedit; & ideò dolorem, ſive odium ex timore pœnæ conceptum, non Contritionem, ſed Attritionem nominamus. *Bellarm. lib. 2. de Pœnitent. cap. 18.*

[u] *Id. ibid.*

[x] Argumentum rectè probat eos, qui timorem ſervilem habent, inordinatos ac malos eſſe, &c. *Id. ibid.*

But they have taken an order notwithſtanding, that *non recti* ſhall ſtand *recti in curiâ* with them: by aſſuming a ſtrange authoritie unto themſelves of iuſtifying the wicked (a thing, wee know, that hath the curſe of [y] God and [z] man threatned unto it) and making men friends with God, that have not the love of God dwelling in them. For although wee be

[y] *Prov. 17. 15.*

[z] *Prov. 24. 24.*

taught by the word of God, that [a] *perfect love caſteth out feare*; that we [b] *have not received the ſpirit of bondage to feare againe, but the ſpirit of adoption whereby wee cry Abba father*; that mount *Sinai* (which [c] maketh thoſe that come unto it to *feare and quake*) [d] engendreth to bondage, and is to be caſt out with her children, from inheriting the promiſe; & that [e] without *love*, both wee our ſelves are *nothing*, and all that wee have doth *profit us nothing*: yet theſe wonderfull men would have us beleeve, that by their word alone they are able to make ſomething of this nothing; that feare without love ſhall make men capable of the benefite of their pardon, as well as love without feare; that whether men come by the way of mount *Sinai* or mount *Sion*, whether they have *Legall* or *Evangelicall* repentance, they have authoritie to abſolve them from all their ſinnes. as if it did lye in their power, to confound Gods Teſtaments at their pleaſure, and to give unto a *ſervile* feare not the benefite of *manumiſsion* only, but the priviledge of *adoption* alſo; by making the children of the bondwoman children of the promiſe, and giving them a portion in that bleſſed inheritance together with the children of her that is free.

a 1. Ioh. 4. 18.
b Rom. 8. 15.
c Heb. 12. 18, 21.
d Gal. 4. 24, 25, 31.
e 1. Cor. 13. 2, 3.
Vid. authorem libri de verâ & falsâ pœnitentiâ, cap. 17. inter opera Auguſtini, tom. 4.

[f] Repentance from dead workes, is one of the foundations & principles of the doctrine of Chriſt. [g] *Nothing maketh repentance certaine, but the hatred of ſinne, and the love of God.* and without true repentance all the Prieſts under heaven are not able to give us a diſcharge from our ſinnes, and deliver us from the wrath to come. [h] *Except yee be converted, yee ſhall not enter into the kingdome of heaven.* [i] *Except*

f Heb. 6. 1.
g Pœnitentiam certam non facit, niſi odium peccati & amor Dei. *Auguſt. ſerm. 7. de Tempore.*
h Matth. 18. 3.
i Luk. 13. 3, 5.

yee

yee repent, yee ſhall all periſh: is the Lords ſaying in the new Teſtament. and in the old: [k] *Repent, and turne from all your tranſgreſsions: ſo iniquitie ſhall not bee your ruine. Caſt away from you all your tranſgreſsions, whereby yee have tranſgreſſed, and make you a new heart and a new ſpirit: for why will yee die, O houſe of Iſrael?* Now put caſe one commeth to his ghoſtly father, with ſuch ſorrow of minde as the terrours of a guilty conſcience uſually doe produce, and with ſuch a reſolution to caſt away his ſinnes, as a man hath in a ſtorme to caſt away his goods; not becauſe hee doth not love them, but becauſe hee feareth to looſe his life if he part not with them: doth not he betray this mans ſoule, who putteth into his head, that ſuch an extorted repentance as this, which hath not one graine of love to ſeaſon it withall, will qualifie him ſufficiently for the receiving of an abſolution, by I know not what ſacramentall facultie that the Prieſt is furniſhed withall to that purpoſe? For all do confeſſe with S. *Auguſtine*, that [l] *this feare which loveth not juſtice, but dreadeth puniſhment, is ſervile, becauſe it is carnall, and therefore doth not crucifie the fleſh. For the willingneſſe to ſinne liveth, which then appeareth in the work, when impunity is hoped for: but when it is beleeved that puniſhment will follow, it liveth cloſely, yet it liveth. For it would wiſh rather, that it were lawfull to doe that which the Law forbiddeth, and is ſorry that it is not lawfull: becauſe it is not ſpiritually delighted with the good thereof, but carnally feareth the evill which it doth threaten.*

k *Ezech.* 18. 30, 31.

l Timor namque iſte quo non amatur juſtitia, ſed timetur pœna, ſervilis eſt, quia carnalis eſt, & ideò non crucifigit carnem. Vivit enim peccandi voluntas, quæ tunc apparet in opere, quando ſperatur impunitas. Cum verò pœna creditur ſecutura, latenter vivit, vivit tamen. Malle enim licere, & dolet non licere quod lex vetat: quia non ſpiritaliter delectatur ejus bono, ſed carnaliter malum metuit quod minatur. *Aug. in Pſalm.* 118. *conc.* 25.

What man then, doe wee thinke, will take the paines to get him *a new heart and a new ſpirit*, and undertake the toylſome worke of *crucifying the fleſh* with the luſts thereof; if without all this adoe, the Prieſts abſolution can make that other imperfect or rather equivocall contrition, ariſing from a carnall and ſervile feare, to bee ſufficient for the blotting out of all his ſinnes? Or are we not rather to thinke that this *ſacramentall penance* of the Papiſts is a device invented by the enemie to hoodwinke poore ſoules, and to divert them from ſeeking that *true repentance* which is onely able to ſtand them in ſtead? and that ſuch as take upon them to helpe lame dogs over the ſtile after this manner, by ſubſtituting *quid pro quo*, attrition in ſtead of contrition, ſervile feare in ſtead of filiall love, carnall ſorrow in ſtead of godly repentance; are phyſicians of no value, nay ſuch as miniſter poyſon unto men under colour of providing a ſoveraigne medcine for them? He therefore that will have care of his ſoules health, muſt conſider that much reſteth here in the good choice of a skilfull phyſician; but much more, in the paines that muſt bee taken by the patient himſelfe. For, that every one who beareth the name of a Prieſt, is not fit to be truſted with a matter of this moment; their owne *Decrees* may give them faire warning, where this admonition is [m] twiſe laid downe, out of the author that wrote of true and falſe repentance. [n] *He who will*

m *Decret. de Pœnit. diſtinct.* 1. *ca.* 82. Quem pœnitet. *& diſt.* 6. *c.* 1. Qui vult.

n Qui confiteri vult peccata, ut inveniat gratiam, quærat Sacerdotem ſcientem ligare & ſolvere: ne, cùm negligens circa ſe extiterit, negligatur ab illo, qui eum miſericorditer monet & petit, ne ambo in foveam cadant, quam ſtultus evitare noluit. *Lib. de ver. & falſ. pœnitent. cap.* 10. *inter opera Auguſtini, tom.* 4.

confeſſe

confeſſe his ſinnes, that he may finde grace, let him ſeeke for a Prieſt that knoweth how to binde and looſe: leſt, while hee is negligent concerning himſelfe, hee be neglected by him who mercifully admoniſheth and deſireth him, that hee fall not into the pit, which the foole would not avoid. And when the skilfulleſt Prieſt that is, hath done his beſt: S. *Cyprian* will tell them, that [o] *to him that repenteth, to him that worketh, to him that prayeth, the Lord of his mercie can grant a pardon; hee can make good that which for ſuch men eyther the Martyrs ſhall requeſt, or the Prieſt ſhall doe.*

o Pœnitenti, operanti, roganti poteſt clementer ignoſcere; poteſt in acceptum referre, quidquid pro talibus & petierint martyres, & fecerint ſacerdotes. *Cyprian. de lapſis.* (*ſect.* 13. *edit. Pamel.* 29. *Goulart.*)

If wee inquire, who they were that firſt aſſumed unto themſelves this exorbitant power of forgiving ſinnes: we are like to finde them in the Tents of the ancient hereticks and ſchiſmaticks; who [p] *promiſed unto others libertie, when they themſelves were the ſervants of corruption.* [q] How many (ſaith S. *Hierome*) *which have neither bread nor apparell, when they themſelves are hungry and naked, and neither have ſpirituall meates, nor preſerve the coat of Chriſt intire; yet promiſe unto others food and rayment, and being full of wounds themſelves, bragge that they be phyſicians: and doe not obſerve that of Moſes* (Exod. 4. 13.) *Provide another whom thou mayeſt ſend; and that other commandement* (Eccleſiaſtic. 7. 6.) *Doe not ſeeke to bee made a Iudge, leſt peradventure thou be not able to take away iniquity. It is Ieſus alone, who healeth all ſickneſſes and infirmities: of whom it is written,* (Pſal. 147. 4.) *Hee healeth*

p 2. *Pet.* 2. 19.

q Quanti panem non habentes & veſtimenta, cùm ipſi eſuriant & nudi ſint, nec habeant ſpirituales cibos, neq; Chriſti tunicam integram reſervârint; aliis & alimonia & veſtimenta promittunt & pleni vulneribus medicos eſſe ſe iactant: nec ſervant illud Moſaicum, Provide alium quem mittas; aliudque mandatum, Ne quæras iudex fieri, ne fortè non poſſis auferre iniquitates. Solus Ieſus omnes languores ſanat & infirmitates: de quo ſcriptum eſt; Qui ſanat contritos corde, & alligat contritiones eorum. *Hieronym. lib. 2. comment. in Eſai. cap. 3.*

the contrite in heart, and bindeth up their ſores. Thus farre S. *Hierome.*

The Rhemiſts in their marginall note upon Luke 7. 49. tell us, that *as the Phariſees did alwaies carpe Chriſt for remiſsion of ſinnes in earth, ſo the Hereticks reprehend his Church that remitteth ſinnes by his authoritie.* But S. *Auguſtine*, treating upon the ſelfe ſame place, might haue taught them, that hereby they bewrayed themſelves to be the off-ſpring of hereticks, rather than children of the Church. For whereas our Saviour there had ſaid nnto the penitent woman, *Thy ſinnes are forgiven*; and they that ſate at meate with him began to ſay within themſelves, *Who is this that forgiveth ſinnes alſo?* S. *Auguſtine* firſt compareth their knowledge and the knowledge of the woman thus together: [r] *Shee knew that hee could forgive ſinnes; but they knew that a man could not forgive ſins. And wee are to beleeve that all, that is, both they which ſate at table, & the woman which came to our Lords feet, they all knew that a man could not forgive ſinnes. Seeing all therefore knew this, ſhee who beleeved that hee could forgive ſinnes, underſtood him to be more than a man.* and a little after: [s] *That doe you know well, that doe you hold well*; ſaith that learned Father. *Hold, that a man cannot forgive ſinnes. Shee who beleeved that her ſinnes were forgiven her by Chriſt, beleeved that Chriſt was not onely man, but God alſo.* Then doth hee proceed to compare the knowledge of the *Iewes* then with the opinion of the *Heretickes* in his daies. *Herein*

r Noverat ergo illum poſſe dimittere peccata: illi autem noverant hominem non poſſe peccata dimittere. Et credendum eſt, quòd omnes, id eſt, & illi diſcumbentes, & illa mulier accedens ad pedes Domini, omnes hi noverant hominem non poſſe peccata dimittere. Cùm ergo omnes hoc noſſent: illa quæ credidit eum poſſe peccata dimittere, plus quàm hominem eſſe intellexit. *Auguſt. hom. 23. ex 50. cap. 7.*

[s] Tamen illud bene noſtis, bene tenetis. Tenete, quia homo non poteſt peccata dimittere. Illa quæ ſibi à Chriſto peccata dimitti credidit, Chriſtum non hominem tantùm, ſed & Deum credidit. *Id. ibid.*

(ſaith

(ſaith [t] hee) *the Phariſee was better than theſe men: for when hee did thinke that Chriſt was a man, hee did not beleeve that ſinnes could be forgiven by a man. It appeared therefore that the Iewes had better underſtanding than the Hereticks. The Iewes ſaid; Who is this that forgiveth ſinnes alſo? Dare a man challenge this to himſelfe? What ſaith the Heretick on the other ſide? I doe forgive, I doe cleanſe, I doe ſanctifie. Let Chriſt anſwer him, not I: O man, when I was thought by the Iewes to bee a man, I aſcribed the forgiveneſſe of ſinnes to faith. Not I, but Chriſt doth anſwer thee. O Heretick, Thou when thou art but a man, ſayeſt; Come woman, I doe make thee ſafe. I when I was thought to bee but a man, ſaid; Goe woman, thy faith hath made thee ſafe.*

The Hereticks at whom S. *Auguſtine* here aymeth, were the *Donatiſts*: whom *Optatus* alſo before him did thus roundly take up for the ſame preſumption. [u] *Vnderſtand at length, that you are ſervants, and not Lords. And if the Church bee a vineyard, and men bee appointed to bee dreſſers of it: why doe you ruſh into the dominion of the houſholder? Why doe you challenge unto your ſelves that which is Gods?* [x] *Give leave unto God to performe the things that belong unto himſelfe. For that gift cannot bee given by man, which is divine. If you thinke ſo, you labour to fruſtrate the words of the Prophets, and the promiſes of God, by which it is pro-*

t Sed in eo melior Phariſæus; quia cùm putaverat hominem Chriſtum, non credebat ab homine poſſe dimitti peccata. Melior ergo Iudæis quàm hæreticis apparuit intellectus. Iudæi dixerunt, Quis eſt hic qui etiam peccata dimittit? Audet ſibi homo uſurpare? Quid contrà Hæreticus? Ego mundo, ego ſanctifico. Reſpondeat illi, non ego, ſed Chriſtus. O homo, quando ego à Iudæis putatus ſum homo, dimiſſionem peccatorum fidei dedi. Non ego, reſpondet tibi Chriſtus. O Hæretice, tu cùm ſis homo, dicis: Veni

mulier, ego te ſalvam facio. Ego cùm putarer homo, dixi, Vade mulier, fides tua te ſalvam fecit. *Id. ibid. cap.* 8. u Intelligite vos vel ſerò operarios eſſe, non dominos. Etſi Eccleſia vinea eſt, ſunt homines & ordinati cultores. Quid in dominium patrisfamilias irruiſtis? Quid vobis, quod Dei eſt, vindicatis? *Optat. lib.* 5. *contra Donatiſt.* x Concedite Deo, præſtare quæ ſua ſunt. Non enim poteſt munus ab homine dari, quod divinum eſt. Si ſic putatis, Prophetarum voces, & Dei promiſſa inanire contenditis, quibus probatur, quia Deus lavat, non homo. *Id. ibid.*

ved.

ved that God waſheth (away ſinne) *and not man.* It is noted likewiſe by *Theodoret*, of the *Audian* hereticks: that [y] *they bragged they did forgive ſinnes.* The maner of *Confeſſion* which hee ſaith was uſed among them, was not much unlike that which *Alvarus Pelagius* acknowledgeth to have beene the uſuall practice of them that made greateſt profeſsion of religion and learning in his time. [z] *For ſcarce at all* (ſaith hee) *or very ſeldome doth any of them confeſſe otherwiſe than in generall tearmes: ſcarce doe they ever ſpecifie any grievous ſinne. What they ſay one day, that they ſay another, as if every day they did offend alike.* The manner of *Abſolution* was the ſame with that, which *Theodoricus de Niem* noteth to have beene practiſed by the pardoners ſent abroad by Pope *Boniface* the ninth: who [a] *releaſed all ſinnes to them that confeſſed, without any penance* (or *repentance*;) *affirming that they had for their warrant in ſo doing, all that power which Chriſt gave unto Peter of binding and looſing upon earth.* juſt as *Theodoret* reporteth the *Audians* were wont to doe: who preſently [b] *after confeſſion granted remiſſion; not preſcribing a time for repentance, as the lawes of the Church did require, but giving pardon by authoritie.*

The lawes of the Church preſcribed a certaine time unto Penitents, [c] wherein they ſhould give proofe of the ſoundneſſe of their repentance: and gave order that afterwards they ſhould bee [d] forgi-

y ἔτοι ϑ' ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτημάτων ποιεῖσϑαι νεανιεύονται. Theodor. hæret. fabul. lib. 4.

z Vix enim aut rariſſimè aliquis talium confitetur niſi per verba generalia: vix unquam aliquod grave ſpecificant. Quod dicunt unâ die, dicunt & alterâ: ac ſi in omni die æqualiter offendant. *Alvar. de Planct. eccleſ. lib. 2. artic. 78. A.*

a Omnia peccata etiam ſine pœnitentiâ ipſis confitentibus relaxârunt; ſuper quibuſlibet irregularitatibus diſpenſârunt interventu pecuniæ: dicentes ſe omnem poteſtatem habere ſuper hoc, quam Chriſtus Petro ligandi & ſolvendi contuliſſet in terris. *Niem de ſchiſmate, lib. 1. cap. 68.*

b ἔϊτα τοῖς ὁμολογήσασι τὴν ἄφεσιν, οὐ χρόνον ὁρίζόμενοι εἰς μετάνοιαν, καθὰ κελεύουσιν οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόμοι, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίᾳ ποιούμενοι τὴν συγχώρησιν. Theodor. hæret. lib. 4.

c *Auguſt. Enchirid. ad Laur. cap. 65.*

d 2. *Cor.* 2. 7.

ven

ven and comforted, leſt they ſhould be ſwallowed up with overmuch heavineſſe. So that firſt their penance was injoyned unto them, and thereby [e] they were held to bee *bound*: after performance whereof they received their abſolution, by which they were *looſed* againe. But the *Audian* hereticks, without any ſuch tryall taken of their repentance, did of their owne heads give them abſolution preſently upon their confeſſion: as the Popiſh Prieſts uſe to doe now adaies. Onely the *Audians* had one ridiculous ceremonie more than the Papiſts; that having placed the Canonicall bookes of Scripture upon one ſide, and certaine Apocryphall writings on the other, they cauſed their followers to paſſe betwixt them, and in their paſſing to make confeſſion of their ſinnes: as the *Papiſts*, another idle practice more than they; that after they have given abſolution, they injoyne penance to the partie abſolved, that is to ſay, (as they of old would have interpreted it) they firſt looſe him, and preſently after binde him. which howſoever they hold to be done in reſpect of the temporall *puniſhment* remaining due after the remiſſion of the *fault*: yet it appeareth plainely, that the penitentiall workes required in the ancient Church, had reference to the *fault* it ſelfe; and that no abſolution was to be expected from the Miniſter for the one, before all reckonings were ended for the other. Onely where the danger of death was imminent, the caſe admitted ſome exception: reconciliation being not denied indeed unto them that deſired it at ſuch a time; yet ſo granted, that it was left verie doubtfull, whether it would ſtand the parties in

[e] *Vid. Nomocanonem Neſtenitæ in Theod. Balſamonis collect. Canon. edit. Pariſ. an. 1620. pag. 1101. lin. ult. & Niconis epiſt. ad Encliſtium, ibid. pag. 1096. 1097. & Anaſtaſ. Sinait. queſt. 6. pag. 64. edit. Grecolat. Greiſeri.*

in any great stead or no. [f] *If any one being in the last extremitie of his sickneſſe,* saith S. *Auguſtine, is willing to receive penance, and doth receive it, and is preſently reconciled, and departeth hence: I confeſſe unto you, wee doe not denie him that which hee asketh, but wee doe not preſume that hee goeth well from hence. I doe not preſume, I deceive you not, I doe not preſume.* [g] *Hee who putteth off his penance to the laſt, and is reconciled; whether hee goeth ſecure from hence, I am not ſecure. Penance I can give him, ſecuritie I cannot give him.* [h] *Doe I ſay, hee ſhall be damned? I ſay not ſo. But doe I ſay alſo, hee ſhall be freed? No. What doeſt thou then ſay unto mee? I know not: I preſume not, I promiſe not, I know not. Wilt thou free thy ſelfe of the doubt? wilt thou eſcape that which is uncertaine? Doe thy penance while thou art in health.* [i] *The penance which is asked for by the infirme man, is infirme. The penance which is asked for onely by him that is adying, I feare leſt it alſo dye.*

But with the matter of penance we have not here to deale: thoſe formall abſolutions and pardons of courſe, immediately granted upon the hearing of mens confeſſions, is that which wee charge the Romiſh Prieſts to have learned from the *Audian* hereticks. [k] *Some require penance to this end, that they might preſently have the communion reſtored unto them: theſe men deſire, not ſo much to looſe themſelves, as to binde the Prieſt*; ſaith S. *Ambroſe*. If this be true, that

f Si quis poſitus in ultimâ neceſſitate ægritudinis ſuæ, voluerit accipere pœnitentiam, & accipit, & mox reconciliatur, & hinc vadit: fateor vobis, non illi negamus quod petit, ſed non præſumimus quia bene hinc exit. Non præſumo, non vos fallo, non præſumo. *Auguſt. homil. 41. ex 50. Ambroſ. exhort. ad pœnitent.*

g Agens pœnitentiam ad ultimum, & reconciliatus, ſi ſecurus hinc exit, ego non ſum ſecurus. &c. Pœnitentiam dare poſſum, ſecuritatem dare non poſſum. *Ibid.*

h Nunquid dico, damnabitur? Non dico. Sed dico etiam, liberabitur? Non. Et quid dicis mihi? Neſcio: non præſumo, non promitto, neſcio. Vis te de dubio liberare? vis quod incertũ eſt evadere? Age pœnitentiam dum ſanus es. *Ibid.*

i Pœnitentia quæ ab infirmo petitur, infirma eſt. Pœnitentia quæ à morientе tantùm petitur, timeo ne ipſa moriatur. *Auguſtin ſerm. 57. de Tempore.*

k Nonnulli ideo poſcunt pœnitentiam, ut ſtatim ſibi reddi communionem velint: hi non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt, quàm Sacerdotem ligare. Suam enim conſcientiam non exuunt, Sacerdotis induunt. *Ambr. de Pœnit. lib. 2. cap. 9.*

the

the Prieſt doth binde himſelfe, by his haſtie and unadviſed looſing of others: the caſe is like to go hard with our Popiſh Prieſts, who ordinarily in beſtowing their abſolutions, uſe to make more haſte than good ſpeed. Wherein, with how little judgement they proceed, who thus take upon them the place of Iudges in mens conſciences, may ſufficiently appeare by this: that whereas the maine ground, whereupon they would build the neceſſitie of Auricular confeſſion, and the particular enumeration of all knowne ſinnes, is pretended to bee this, that the ghoſtly Father, having taken notice of the cauſe, may judge righteous judgement, and diſcerne who ſhould bee bound, and who ſhould bee looſed; the matter yet is ſo carried in this court of theirs, that everie man commonly goeth away with his abſolution, and all ſorts of people uſually receive one and the ſelfe-ſame judgement. [1] *If thou ſeparate the pretious from the vile, thou ſhalt be as my mouth:* ſaith the Lord. Whoſe mouth then may wee hold them to be, who ſeldome put any difference betweene theſe, and make it their ordinarie practice to pronounce the ſame ſentence of abſolution aſwell upon the one as upon the other?

1 Ierem. 15. 19.

If wee would know, how late it was before this trade of pardoning mens ſinnes after this manner was eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome: wee cannot diſcover this better, than by tracing out the doctrine publickly taught in that Church touching this matter, from the time of Satans looſing untill his binding againe by the reſtoring of the puritie of the Goſpell in our daies. And here *Radulphus Ardens* doth

doth in the firſt place offer himſelfe: who toward the beginning of that time preached this for ſound divinitie. [m] *The power of releaſing ſinnes belongeth to God alone. But the miniſterie (which improperly alſo is called a power) hee hath granted unto his ſubſtitutes; who after their maner do binde & abſolve, that is to ſay, doe declare that men are bound or abſolved. For God doth firſt inwardly abſolve the ſinner by compunction: and then the Prieſt outwardly, by giving the ſentence, doth declare that hee is abſolved. Which is well ſignified by that of Lazarus: who firſt in the grave was raiſed up by the Lord, and afterward by the miniſterie of the Diſciples was looſed from the bands wherewith hee was tied.* Then follow both the *Anſelmes*, ours of *Canterbury*, and the other of *Laon* in France: who in their expoſitions upon the ninth of S. Matthew, cleerely teach, that none but God alone can forgive ſinnes. *Ivo* Biſhop of *Chartres* writeth, that [n] *by inward contrition the inward judge is ſatisfied, and therefore without delay forgiveneſſe of the ſinne is granted by him, unto whom the inward converſion is manifeſt: but the Church, becauſe it knoweth not the hidden things of the heart, doth not looſe him that is bound, although hee bee rayſed up, untill hee be brought out of the tombe, that is to ſay, purged by publick ſatisfaction.* and if preſently upon the inward converſion God be pleaſed to forgive the ſinne; the abſolution of the Prieſt, which followeth, cannot in any ſort properly bee accoun-

m Poteſtas peccata relaxandi ſolius Dei eſt. Miniſterium verò, quod improprié etiam poteſtas vocatur, vicariis ſuis conceſſit; qui modo ſuo ligant vel abſolvunt, id eſt, ligatos vel abſolutos eſſe oſtendunt. Priùs enim Deus interiùs peccatorem per compunctionem abſolvit; Sacerdos verò exteriùs, ſententiam proferendo, eum eſſe abſolutum oſtendit. Quod bene ſignificatur per Lazarum, qui priùs in tumulo à Domino ſuſcitatur, & poſt, miniſterio diſcipulorum, à vitiis (*ſort.* vittis) quibus ligatus fuerat, abſolvitur. *Rad. Ardens, homil. Dominic. 1. poſt Paſcha.*

n Per internum gemitum ſatisfit interno judici, & idcirco indilata datur ab eo peccati remiſſio, cui manifeſta eſt interna converſio. Eccleſia verò, quia occulta cordis ignorat, non ſolvit ligatum, licèt ſuſcitatum, niſi de monumento elatum, id eſt, publicâ ſatisfactione purgatum. *Ivo Carnotenſ. epiſt. 228.*

ted

ted a remiſſion of that ſinne, but a further manifeſtation only of the remiſſion formerly granted by God himſelfe.

The Maſter of the Sentences after him, having propounded the divers opinions of the Doctors touching this point, demandeth at laſt, o *In this ſo great varietie what is to be held?* and returneth for anſwer; *Surely this wee may ſay and thinke: that God alone doth forgive and retaine ſinnes, and yet hath given power of binding and looſing unto the Church; but He bindeth and looſeth one way, and the Church another. For he only by himſelfe forgiveth ſinne, who both cleanſeth the ſoule from inward blot, and looſeth it from the debt of everlaſting death. But this hath hee not granted unto Prieſts: to whom notwithſtanding hee hath given the power of binding and looſing, that is to ſay, of declaring men to be bound or looſed. Whereupon the Lord did firſt by himſelfe reſtore health to the leper, and then ſent him unto the Prieſts, by whoſe judgement hee might bee declared to bee cleanſed: ſo alſo hee offered Lazarus to his diſciples to be looſed, having firſt quickned him.* In like manner *Hugo Cardinalis* ſheweth, that it is p onely God that forgiveth ſinnes: and that q *the Prieſt cannot binde or looſe the ſinner with or from the bond of the fault, and the puniſhment due thereunto; but onely declare him to bee bound or looſed: as the Leviticall*

o In hâc tantâ varietate quid tenendum? Hoc ſanè dicere ac ſentire poſſumus; quòd ſolus Deus dimittit peccata & retinet, & tamen Eccleſiæ contulit poteſtatem ligandi & ſolvendi: ſed aliter ipſe ſolvit vel ligat, aliter Eccleſia. Ipſe enim per ſe tantùm dimittit peccatum, qui & animam mundat ab interiori maculâ, & à debito æternæ mortis ſolvit. Non autem hoc Sacerdotibus conceſſit: quibus tamen tribuit poteſtatem ſolvendi & ligandi, id eſt, oſtendi homines ligatos vel ſolutos. Vnde Dominus leproſum ſanitati priùs per ſe reſtituit, deinde ad Sacerdotes miſit, quorum judicio oſtenderetur mundatus. Ita etiam Lazarum jam vivificatum obtulit diſcipulis ſolvendum. *Petr. Lombard. lib. 4. Sentent. diſtinct. 18. e.f.*

p Solius Dei eſt dimittere peccata. *Hugo Card. in Luc. 5.* q Vinculo culpæ & pœnæ debitæ, non poteſt eum Sacerdos ligare vel ſolvere; ſed tantùm ligatum vel abſolutum oſtendere. Sicut Sacerdos Leviticus non faciebat vel mundabat leproſum; ſed tantùm inſectum vel mundum oſtendebat. *Id. in Matth. 16.*

Priest did not make nor cleanse the leper, but onely declared him to be infected or cleane. And a great number of the Schoolemen afterward shewed themselves to bee of the same judgement: that to pardon the fault and the eternall punishment due unto the same, was the proper worke of God; that the Priests absolution hath no reall operation that way, but presupposeth the partie to bee first justified and absolved by God. Of this minde were, [r] *Gulielmus Altisiodorensis*, [s] *Alexander of Hales*, [t] *Bonaventure*, [u] *Ockam*, [x] *Thomas de Argentinâ*, [y] *Michael de Bononiâ*, [z] *Gabriel Biel*, [a] *Henricus de Huecta*, [b] *Iohannes Maior*, and others.

r *Altisiodorens. Summ. lib. 4. cap.* de generali usu clavium.
s *Alexand. Halens. Summ part. 4. quæst. 21. membr. 1.*
t *Bonavent. in 4. dist. 18. art. 2. quæst 1. & 2.*
u *Guil. Ockam. in 4. Sent. quæst. 9. lit. Q.*
x *Argentin. in 4. Sent. dist. 18. art. 3.*
y *Mich. Angrian. in Psal. 29. & 31.*
z *Biel. in 4. Sent. dist. 14. quæst. 2. d. n. & dist. 18. quæst. 1. k.*
a *Henr. de Oyta (al. Iota.) in propositionio. apud Illyricum, in catal. test. veritat.*

To lay downe all these words at large would bee too tedious. In generall, *Hadrian* the *sixt* (one of their owne Popes) acknowledgeth, that [c] *the most approved Divines were of this minde, that the keyes of the Priesthood doe not extend themselves to the remission of the fault*: and [d] *Major* affirmeth, that this is *the common Tenet of the Doctors*. So likewise is it avouched by *Gabriel Biel*, that [e] *the old Doctors commonly* follow the opinion of the Master of the Sentences; that Priests doe forgive or retaine sinnes, while they judge and declare that they are forgiven by God or retained. But all this notwithstanding, *Suarez* is bold to tell us, that [f] *this opinion of the Master is false, and now at this time erroneous*. It was not held so the other day, when *Ferus* preached at *Mentz*, that

b *Maior in 4. Sent. dist. 18. quæst. 1.* c *Hadrian. in Quodlibetic. quæst. 5. art. 3. b.* d *Maior in 4. dist. 14. qu. 2. concl. 3.* e *Et illam opinionem communiter sequuntur doctores antiqui. Biel. in 4. dist. 14. quæst. 2. d.* f *Veruntamen hæc sententia Magistri falsa est, & jam hoc tempore erronea. Fr. Suarez in Thom. tom. 4. disp. 19 sect. 2. num. 4.*

man

g *man did not properly remit ſinne, but did declare and certifie that it was remitted by God. ſo that the Abſolution received from man, is nothing elſe than if he ſhould ſay: Behold, my ſonne, I certifie thee that thy ſinnes are forgiven thee, I pronounce unto thee that thou haſt God favourable unto thee; and whatſoever Chriſt in Baptiſme and in his Goſpell hath promiſed unto us, hee doth now declare and promiſe unto thee by mee. Of this ſhalt thou have mee to bee a witneſſe: goe in peace, and in quiet of conſcience.* But *jam hoc tempore* the caſe is altered: theſe things muſt bee purged out of h *Ferus*, as *erroneous*; the opinion of *the old Doctors* muſt give place to the ſentence of the *new Fathers of Trent*. And ſo wee are come at length to the end of this long queſtion in the handling whereof I have ſpent the more time, by reaſon our Prieſts doe make this facultie of pardoning mens ſinnes to bee one of the moſt principall parts of their occupation, and the particular diſcoverie thereof is not ordinarily by the writers of our ſide ſo much inſiſted upon.

g Non quòd homo proprié remittat peccatum; ſed quòd oſtendat ac certificet à Deo remiſſum. Neque enim aliud eſt Abſolutio, quam ab homine accipis, quàm ſi dicat: En fili, certifico te tibi remiſſa eſſe peccata, annuncio tibi te habere propitium Deum; & quæcunque Chriſtus in Baptiſmo & Evangelio nobis promiſit, tibi nunc per me annunciat & promittit. *Io. Ferus, lib. 2. comment. in Matth.*

cap. 9. edit. Mogunt. an. 1559. h *Fer. in Matth. edit. Antuerp. an. 1559. 1570. &c.*

OF *PVRGATORIE.*

FOr extinguiſhing the imaginarie flames of Popiſh *Purgatorie*, wee need not goe farre to fetch water: ſeeing the whole current of Gods word runneth mainly upon this; that a *the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt cleanſeth us from all ſinne*; that all Gods children b *dye in Chriſt*, and that ſuch as c *dye in him, doe reſt from their labours*; that, as they be d *abſent from the Lord while they are in the bodie*, ſo when they be *ab-*

a 1. *Iohn.* 1. 7.
b 1. *Cor.* 15. 18. 1. *Theſſ.* 4. 16.
c *Revel.* 14. 13.
d 2. *Cor.* 5. 6, 8.

ſent from the bodie they are preſent with the Lord; and in a word, that they [c] *come not into judgement, but paſſe from death unto life.* And if wee need the aſſiſtance of the ancient Fathers in this buſineſſe: behold they be here readie, with full buckets in their hands.

c *Joh.* 5. 24.

Tertullian, to begin withall, [f] counteth it injurious unto Chriſt, to hold that ſuch as be called from hence by him are in a ſtate that ſhould bee *pitied*, whereas they have obtained their *deſire* of being with Chriſt: according to that of the Apoſtle, Philip. 1. 23. *I deſire to depart, and to bee with Chriſt.* What pitie was it, that the poore ſoules in Purgatorie ſhould find no ſpokeſman in thoſe daies, to informe men better of their ruefull condition; nor no Secretarie to draw up ſuch another *ſupplication* for them as this, which of late yeares Sir *Thomas Moore* preſented in their name, [g] *To all good Chriſten people. In moſt piteous wiſe continually calleth and cryeth upon your devoute charitie and moſt tender pitie, for helpe, comfort and reliefe, your late acquaintance, kindred, ſpouſes, companions, playfellowes, and friends, and now your humble and unacquainted and halfe forgotten ſuppliants, poore priſoners of God, the ſilly ſoules in Purgatorie, here abiding and enduring the grievous paines and hote clenſing fire*, &c. If S. *Cyprian* had understood but halfe thus much: doubtleſſe hee would have ſtrucken out the beſt part of that famous treatiſe which hee wrote of *Mortalitie* (to comfort men againſt death, in the time of a great plague) eſpecially ſuch paſſages as theſe are, which by no meanes can be reconciled with Purgatorie.

f Chriſtum lædimus, cùm evocatos quoſque ab illo, quaſi miſerandos non æquanimiter accipimus. Cupio, inquit Apoſtolus, recipi jam, & eſſe cum Chriſto. quantò melius oſtendit votum Chriſtianorum. Ergo votum ſi alios conſequutos impatienter dolemus, ipſi conſequi nolumus. *Tertul. lib. de Patient. cap.* 9.

g *The ſupplication of ſoules, made by Sir Thomas Moore. Which ſeemeth to bee made in imitation of Joh. Gerſons* Querela defunctorum in igne Purgatorio detentorum, ad ſuperſtites in terrâ amicos.

(*part.* 4. *Oper. edit. Pariſ. an.* 1606. *col.* 959.)

h It

[h] *It is for him to feare death, that is not willing to goe unto Christ: it is for him to bee unwilling to goe unto Christ, who doth not beleeve that he beginneth to raigne with Christ. For it is written, that the just doth live by faith. If thou bee just, and livest by faith, if thou dost truly beleeve in God, why, being to bee with Christ, and being secure of the Lords promise, doest not thou embrace the message whereby thou art called unto Christ, and rejoycest that thou shalt bee ridde of the Divell? Simeon* said; *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seene thy salvation.* [i] *proving* thereby, *and witnessing, that the servants of God then have peace, then injoy free and quiet rest; when being drawne from these storms of the world, wee arrive at the haven of our everlasting habitation and securitie, when this death being ended wee enter into immortalitie.* [k] *The righteous are called to a refreshing, the unrighteous are haled to torment: safety is quickly granted to the faithfull, and punishment to the unfaithfull.* [l] *Wee are not to put on black mourning garments here, when our friends there have put on white.* [m] *This is not a going out, but a passage, and, this temporall journey being finished, a going over to eternitie.* [n] *Let us* therefore *embrace the day that bringeth every one to his owne house, which having taken us away from hence, and loosed us from the snares of this world, retur-*

h Ejus est mortem timere, qui ad Christum nolit ire: ejus est ad Christum nolle ire, qui se non credat cum Christo incipere regnare. Scriptum est enim, Iustum fide vivere. Si justus es, & fide vivis, si verè in Deum credis; cur non cum Christo futurus, & de Domini pollicitatione securus, quòd ad Christum voceris, amplecteris, & quòd Diabolo careas, gratularis? *Cyprian. de mortalit. sect. 2. edit. Goulart.*

i Probans scilicet, atque contestans, tunc esse servis Dei pacem, tunc liberam, tunc tranquillam quietem; quando de istis mundi turbinibus extracti, sedis & securitatis æternæ portum petimus, quando expunctâ hâc morte ad immortalitatem venimus. *Ibid.*

k Ad refrigerium justi vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur injusti: datur velociùs tutela fidentibus, perfidis pœna. *Ibid. sect.* 11.

l Nec accipiendas esse hîc atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumpserint. *Ibid. sect.* 14.

m Non est exitus iste, sed transitus, & temporali itinere decurso, ad æterna transgressus. *Ibid. sect.* 15.

n Amplectamur diem, qui assignat singulos domicilio suo; qui nos istinc ereptos, & laqueis secularibus exsolutos, paradiso restituit & regno cœlesti. *Ibid. sect.* 18.

neth us to Paradiſe, and to the kingdome of heaven.

The ſame holy Father in his Apologie which hee wrote for Chriſtians unto *Demetrian* the proconſul of Africk, affirmeth in like manner; that [o] *the end of this temporall life being accompliſhed, wee are divided into the habitations of everlaſting either death or immortalitie.* [p] *When wee are once departed from hence, there is now no further place for repentance, neither any effect of ſatisfaction. here life is either loſt or obtained.* But if [q] *thou* (ſaith hee) *even at the verie end, and ſetting of thy temporall life, doſt pray for thy ſinnes, and call upon the onely true God with confeſſion and faith: pardon is given to thee confeſſing, and ſaving forgiveneſſe is granted by the divine pietie to thee beleeving; and at thy very death thou haſt a paſſage unto immortalitie. This grace doth Chriſt impart, this gift of his mercy doth hee beſtow; by ſubduing death with the triumph of his croſſe, by redeeming the beleever with the price of his bloud, by reconciling man unto God the Father, by quickening him that is mortall with heavenly regeneration.*

Where *Salomon* ſayeth, Eccleſiaſt. 12. 5. that *man goeth to his everlaſting houſe, and the mourners go about in the ſtreet:* S. *Gregory* of *Neocæſarea* maketh this paraphraſe upon thoſe words; [r] *The good man ſhall goe rejoycing unto his everlaſting houſe, but the wicked ſhall fill all with lamentations.* Therefore did the Fa-

o Donec ævi temporalis fine completo, ad æternæ vel mortis vel immortalitatis hoſpitia dividamur. *Id. ad Demetrian. ſect.* 16.

p Quando iſtinc exceſſum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus eſt, nullus ſatisfactionis effectus; hîc vita aut amittitur, aut tenetur. *Id. ibid. ſect.* 22.

q Tu ſub ipſo licet exitu & vitæ temporalis occaſu, pro delictis roges: & Deum, qui unus & verus eſt, confeſſione & fide agnitionis ejus implores; venia confitenti datur, & credenti indulgentia ſalutaris de divinâ pietate conceditur; & ad immortalitatem ſub ipsâ morte tranſitur. Hanc gratiam Chriſtus impertit, hoc munus miſericordiæ ſuæ tribuit; ſubigendo mortem trophæo crucis, redimendo credentem pretio ſanguinis ſui, reconciliando hominem Deo Patri, vivificando mortalem regeneratione cœleſti. *Ib.*

r Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς αἰώνιον οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χαίρων πορεύσεται· οἱ δὲ μοχθηροὶ, πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν ἐμπλήσουσι κοπετῶν. Greg. Neocæſar. metaphraſ. in Eccleſiaſt.

thers

thers teach, that men ſhould [r] *reioyce* at their death: and the ancient Chriſtians framed their practice accordingly; [t] *not celebrating the day of their nativitie* which they accounted to be *the entry of ſorrowes and temptations*, but *celebrating the day of death, as being the putting away of all ſorrowes, and the eſcaping of all temptations.* And ſo being filled with [u] *a divine rejoycing, they came to the extremitie of death as unto the end of their holy combates:* [x] where they did *more clearely behold the way that led unto their immortalitie, as being now made neerer; and did therefore praiſe the gifts of God, and were repleniſhed with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worſe; but knowing well, that the good things which they poſſeſſed, ſhall be firmely and everlaſtingly enjoyed by them.*

The author of the Queſtions and Anſwers attributed to *Iuſtin Martyr*, writeth thus of this matter. [y] *After the departure of the ſoule out of the bodie, there is preſently made a diſtinction betwixt the juſt and the uniuſt. For they are brought by the Angels to places fit for them: the ſoules of the righteous to Paradiſe, where they have the commerce and ſight of Angels and Archangels, &c. the ſoules of the uniuſt to the places in hell.*

r Δεῖ ἡ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ χαίρειν. Anton. Meliſſ. part. 1. ſerm. 58. &c.

t Nos non nativitatis diem celebramus, cùm ſit dolorum atque tentationum introitus: ſed mortis diem celebramus; utpote omnium dolorum depoſitionem, atque omnium tentationum effugationem. *Author lib. 3. in Iob, inter opera Origenis. Vide S. Baſil. homil. in Pſalm. 115. pag. 318. edit. Græcolat.*

u Ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ θείᾳ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἱέρων ἀγώνων. & paulo poſt. Ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντι κοίμησις ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀσαλεύτοις ἐλπίσιν εἰς τὸ τῶν θείων ἀγώνων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πέρας. Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. hierarch. cap. 7.

x Ἀλλ' ὅλως αὐτοὺς ἀπολήγεσθαι τῶν χειροειδῶν λήξεων εἰδότες, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας ἔλθωσι τῆς ἐνθάδε, πλησίον εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν αὐτῆς ὁδὸν, ὡς ἐγγυτέρω ἤδη γεγενημένοι, ἐμφανέστερον ὁρῶσι, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν ὑμνοῦσι, καὶ θείας ἡδονῆς ἀναπληροῦνται, τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω ἑρπόντων ἀνέτι ἀλγοῦσι, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὰ κτηθέντα καλὰ βεβαίως καὶ αἰωνίως ἔξουσιν. Ibid.

y Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον, εὐθεῖς γίνεται τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἡ διαστολή. ἄγονται γὰρ ἕκαστοι εἰς ἀξίους αὐτοῖς τόπους. τὰ μὲν τῶν δικαίων ψυχαὶ, εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἔνθα σωτυχία τε καὶ θέα ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, &c. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ψυχαὶ, εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ τόπους. Iuſtin. reſpon. ad Orthodox. quæſt. 75.

That [z] *is not death* (saith *Athanasius*) that befalleth *the righteous, but a translation: for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest: and as a man would goe out of a prison, so doe the Saints goe out of this troublesome life unto those good things that are prepared for them.* S. *Hilary*, out of that which is related in the Gospell of the *rich man* and *Lazarus*, observeth; that [a] as soone as this life is ended, every one without delay is sent over either to *Abrahams* bosome, or to the place of torment, and in that state reserved untill the day of judgement. S. *Ambrose* in his booke *of the good of death*, teacheth us, that death [b] *is a certaine haven to them, who being tossed in the great Sea of this life, desire a rode of safe quietnesse*: that *it maketh not a mans state worse, but such as it findeth in every one, such it reserveth unto the future judgement, and refresheth with rest.* that thereby [c] *a passage is made from corruption to incorruption, from mortalitie to immortalitie, from trouble to tranquillitie.* Therefore he saith, that where [d] *fooles doe feare death as the chiefe of evils, wise men doe desire it, as a rest after labours, and an end of their evils.* and upon these grounds exhorteth us, that [e] *when that day commeth, wee should goe without*

z Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ παρὰ τῆς δικαίοις θανάτου, ἀλλὰ μετάθεσις· μεταπέμπεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον ἀνάπαυσιν· καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ἀπὸ φυλακῆς ἐξέλθοι, ὅταν καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ἐξέρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίου τούτου εἰς τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα αὐτοῖς. Athanas. de Virginitate.

a Nihil illic dilationis aut moræ est. Iudicii enim dies, vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel pœnæ: tempus verò mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquenque aut Abraham reservat aut pœna. *Hilar. in Psalm.* 2.

b Et quia portus quidam est eorum qui magno vitæ istius jactati salo, fidæ quietis stationem requirunt: & quia deteriorem statum non efficit, sed qualem in singulis invenerit, talem judicio futuro reservat, & quiete ipsâ fovet, &c. *Ambros. de bono mortis, cap.* 4.

c Transitur autem à corruptione ad incorruptionem, à mortalitate ad immortalitatem, à perturbatione ad tranquillitatem. *Ibid.*

d Insipientes mortem quasi summum malorum reformidant: sapientes quasi requiem post labores & finem malorum expetunt. *Ib. cap.* 8.

e His igitur freti, intrepidé pergamus ad redemptorem nostrum Iesum, intrepidé ad Patriarcharum Concilium, intrepidé ad patrem nostrum Abraham, cùm dies advenerit, proficiscamur: intrepidé pergamus ad illum sanctorum cætum, justorumque conventum. Ibimus enim ad patres nostros, ibimus ad illos nostræ fidei præceptores: ut etiamsi opera desint, fides opituletur, defendat hæreditas. *Ib. cap.* 12.

feare

feare to Ieſus our redeemer, without feare to the Councell of the Patriarches, without feare to Abraham our father; that without feare wee ſhould addreſſe our ſelves unto that aſſembly of Saints, and congregation of the righteous. foraſmuch as wee ſhall goe to our fathers, wee ſhall goe to thoſe ſchoolemaſters of our faith; that albeit our workes faile us, yet faith may ſuccour us, & our title of inheritance defend us.

Macarius, writing of the double ſtate of thoſe that depart out of this life, affirmeth, that when the ſoule goeth out of the bodie; if it bee guiltie of ſinne, the Divell carrieth it away with him unto his place: but when the holy ſervants of God [f] *remove out of their body, the quyres of Angels receive their ſoules unto their owne ſide, unto the pure world, and ſo bring them unto the Lord.* and in another place, moving the queſtion concerning ſuch as depart out of this world ſuſtaining two perſons in their ſoule, to wit, of ſinne and of grace; whither they ſhall goe that are thus held by two parts? hee maketh anſwer, that thither they ſhall goe, where they have their minde and affection ſettled. For [g] *the Lord* (ſaith he) *beholding thy minde, that thou fighteſt, and loveſt him with thy whole ſoule, ſeparateth death from thy ſoule in one houre, (for this is not hard for him to do) and taketh thee into his owne boſome, and unto light. For hee plucketh thee away in the minute of an houre from the mouth of darkeneſſe, and preſently tranſlateth thee into his owne kingdome. For God can eaſily doe all theſe things in the minute of an houre; this provided onely, that thou beareſt loue unto him.*

f Ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος εἰς τὸ καθαρὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὺς προσάγωσι τῷ Κυρίῳ. Macar. Ægypt. homil. 22.

g Βλέπων ὁ Κύριος τὸν νοῦν σου, ὅτι ἀγωνίζῃ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷς αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, διαχωρίζει τὸν θάνατον ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου μιᾷ ὥρᾳ (οὐκ ὀξὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυσχερές) καὶ παραλαμβάνει σε εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸ φῶς. ἁρπάζει γάρ σε ἐν ῥοπῇ ὥρας ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ σκότους, καὶ εὐθέως μεταπέμπει σε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ δύναται ἐν ῥοπῇ ὥρας πάντα εὐχερῶς ποιῆσαι, μόνον ἵνα τὴν ἀγάπην ἔχῃς πρὸς αὐτόν. Id. hom. 26.

him than which, what can be more direct against the dreame of Popish Purgatorie? h *This present world is the time of repentance, the other of retribution: this of working, that of rewarding: this of patient suffering, that of receiving comfort:* saith S. *Basil.*

Gregory Nazianzen, in his funerall orations, hath manie sayings to the same purpose: being so farre from thinking of any purgatorie paines prepared for men in the other world, that hee plainely denieth, that i after the night of this present life *there is any purging* to bee expected. and therefore he telleth us, k *that it is better to be corrected and purged now, than to bee sent unto the torment there, where the time of punishing is, and not of purging.* S. *Hierome* comforteth *Paula* for the death of her daughter *Blæsilla*, in this manner. l *Let the dead bee lamented; but such a one, whom Gehenna doth receive, whom Hell doth devoure, for whose paine the everlasting fire doth burne. Let us, whose departure a troupe of Angells doth accompanie, whom Christ commeth forth to meet, be more grieved, if wee doe longer dwell in this tabernacle of death; because, as long as we remaine here, we are pilgrims from God.*

By all that hath beene said, the indifferent Reader may easily discerne, what may be thought of the craking *Cardinall*, who would face us downe, that m *all the ancients, both Greeke and Latine, from the verie time of the Apostles, did constantly teach that there*

h ἔστι ὁ αἰὼν ἡ μετανοίας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀνταποδόσεως. ἔστι ἡ ἐργασίας, ἐκεῖνος δὲ μισθαποδοσίας· ἔστι ἡ ὑπομονῆς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ παρακλήσεως. Basil. Procem. in Regulas fusiùs disputat.

Ἐργασίας γὰρ ὁ παρὼν χρόνος, ὁ δὲ μέλλων ἀνταποδόσεως. Greg. Nazianz. orat 9 ad Iulianum πῆξισώτιλω.

i Μηδὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ νύκτα ταύτην ἔστι τὶς κάθαρσις. Nazianzen. orat. 42. in Pascha.

k ὡς κρεῖττον τῇ νῦν παιδευθῆναι καὶ καθαρθῆναι, ἢ τῇ ἐκεῖσε βασάνῳ παραπεμφθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ἀκολάστως κολάζῃς, καὶ καθάρσεως. Id. orat 15. in plagam grandinis. indeque in locis communib. Maximi, serm. 45. & Antonii, part. 2. serm. 94.

l Lugeatur mortuus; sed ille, quem gehenna suscipit, quem tartarus devorat; in cujus pœnam æternus ignis æstuat. Nos, quorum exitum Angelorum turba comitatur, quibus obviam Christus occurrit, gravemur magis, si diutiùs in tabernaculo isto mortis habitemus. Quia quamdiu hic moramur, peregrinamur a Domino. *Hieronym. epist. 25.*

m Omnes veteres Græci & Latini ab ipso tempore Apostolorum constanter docuerunt Purgatorium esse. *Bellarmin. de Purgat. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

was a Purgatory. Whereas his owne partners could tell him in his eare, that [n] *in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of Purgatorie, especially in the Greeke writers; and therefore that by the Grecians it is not beleeved untill this day*. Hee alledgeth indeed a number of authorities to bleare mens eyes withall: which being narrowly looked into, will be found either to bee counterfeit stuffe, or to make nothing at all to the purpose; as belonging either to the point of *praying for the dead* onely, (which in those ancient times had no relation to *Purgatorie*; as in the handling of the next article we shall see) or unto the fire of affliction in this life, or to the fire that shall burne the world at the last day, or to the fire prepared for the Divell and his Angels, or to some other fire than that which hee intended to kindle thereby. This benefite onely have wee here gotten by his labours: that hee hath saved us the paines of seeking farre for the forge, from whence the first sparkles of that purging fire of his brake forth. For the ancientest memoriall that hee bringeth thereof, (the places which he hath abused out of the Canonicall and Apocryphall Scriptures onely excepted) [o] is out of *Plato* in his *Gorgias* and *Phædo*, *Cicero* in the end of his fiction of *the dreame of Scipio*, and *Virgil* in the sixt booke of his *AEneids*: and next after the Apostles times, [p] out of *Tertullian* in the seventeenth chapter of his booke *de Animâ*, and *Origen* in divers places. Onely hee must give us leave to put him in minde, with what spirit *Tertullian* was ledd, when hee wrote that booke *de Animâ*: and with what authoritie he strengtheneth that conceipt of mens paying

n *Alphons. de Castro adverss. hæres. lib. 8. tit.* Indulgentia. *Jo. Roffens. Assert. Lutheran. Confutat. artic.* 18. *Polydor. Virgil. de invent. rer. lib. 8. cap.* 1.

o *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11.

p *Id. Ibid. cap.* 7. *&* 10.

ing in hell for their ſmall faults before the reſurrection, namely of ¶ the *Paraclete*; by whom if hee meane *Montanus* the arch-hereticke (as there is ſmall cauſe to doubt that hee doth) wee neede not much envy the Cardinall, for raiſing up ſo worſhipfull a patron of his Purgatory.

¶ Hoc etiam Paracletus frequentiſſimè commendavit; ſi quis ſermones ejus ex agnitione promiſſorum charismatum admiſerit. *Tertullian. de animâ cap. ult.*

But if *Montanus* come ſhort in his teſtimonie, *Origen* I am ſure payes it home with full meaſure, not preſſed downe onely and ſhaken together, but alſo running over. For hee was one of thoſe (as the [r] *Cardinall* knoweth full well) *who approved of Purgatorie ſo much that hee acknowledged no other paines after this life but purgatorie penalties* onely: and therefore in his judgement Hell and Purgatorie being the ſelfeſame thing; ſuch as blindely follow the *Cardinall*, may doe well to looke, that they ſtumble not upon Hell, while they ſeeke for Purgatorie. The *Grecians* profeſſe, [r] that they are afraid to tell their people of any temporary fire after this life; leſt it ſhould breed in them a ſpice of *Origens* diſeaſe, and put out of their memorie the thought of eternall puniſhment; and by this meanes occaſioning them to bee more careleſſe of their converſation, make them indeed fit fuell for thoſe everlaſting flames. Which feare of theirs, wee may perceive not to have beene altogether cauſeleſſe; when the Purgatorie of *Origen* reſembleth the Purgatorie of the *Pope* ſo neerely, that the wiſeſt of his Cardinalls is ſo ready to miſtake the one for the other. And, to ſpeake the truth, the one is

r Non defuerunt, qui adeò Purgatorium probârint, ut nullas pœnas niſi purgatorias poſt hanc vitam agnoverint. Ita Origenes ſenſit. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

[r] Εἰ ἢ γυῖ ὁπ νῦν χ᾽ πρόπαλαι ὁμολογεῖται πῦρ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι περὶ τὸ αἰώνιον, χ᾽ πᾶν ἥλιον τοῦτο νομίσωσι πῦρ, κἂν τεῦθεν τὰ Ὠριγένους νοσήσωσι, χ᾽ ἢ αἰωνίως κολάσεως μνήμιον ἢ ψυχῶν ὀνοκλίσωσιν, τέλεον κολάσεως ἀμέμπτους. ὅθεν ὡς πολλὰ μὲ ἐψεῦσται ἄτοπα, πολλῷ ἢ ὀπτεύξονται τοῦ τὸν οἰκεῖον πολιτείαν ἀμαύρωσαν, χ᾽ πολλῷ χορηγήσουσιν ὕλην τῇ αἰωνίῳ κολάσει, ὑδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. Graeci, in lib. de Purgatorio igne, à Bon. Vulcanio edit.

but

but an unhappie ſprig cut off from the rotten trunck of the other: which ſundry men long ſince endevoured to graffe upon other ſtockes, but could not bring unto any great perfection; untill the Popes followers tryed their skill upon it, with that ſucceſſe which now wee behold. Some of the ancient that put their hand to this worke, extended the benefite of this fiery purge unto all men in generall: others thought fit to reſtraine it unto ſuch as ſome way or other bare the name of Chriſtians; others to ſuch Chriſtians onely as had one time or other made profeſſion of the Catholicke faith; and others to ſuch alone as did continue in that profeſſion untill their dying day.

Againſt all theſe, S. *Auguſtine* doth learnedly diſpute; proving that wicked men, of what profeſſion ſoever, ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting perdition. And whereas the defenders of the laſt opinion did ground themſelves upon that place in the third chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, which the Pope alſo doth make the principall foundation of his Purgatorie (although it be a [t] *probatory*, and not a *purgatory* fire that the Apoſtle there treateth of) S. *Auguſtine* maketh anſwer, that [u] this ſentence of the Apoſtle is verie obſcure, and to bee reckoned among thoſe things which S. *Peter* ſaith are hard to bee underſtood in his writings, which men ought not to pervert unto their owne deſtruction: & freely [x] confeſſeth, that in this matter hee would rather heare more intelligent and more learned men than himſelfe. Yet this hee delivereth for his opinion: that by *wood, hay, and ſtubble*, is underſtood that over-

t Vniuſcujuſque opus quale ſit, ignis probabit. 1. Cor. 3. 13.

u *Auguſtin. de fide & operib. cap.* 15.

x *Id. ibid. cap.* 16.

great

great love which the faithfull beare to the things of this life; and by *fire*, that temporall tribulation which causeth griefe unto them by the losse of those things upon which they had too much placed their affections. But [y] *whether in this life onely* (saith hee) *men suffer such things, or whether some such judgements also doe follow after this life; the meaning which I have given of this sentence, as I suppose, abhorreth not from the truth.* And againe. [z] *Whether they finde the fire of transitorie tribulation (burning those secular affections, which are pardoned from damnation) in the other world onely, or whether here and there, or whether therefore here, that they may not finde them there; I gainsay it not, because peradventure it is true.* And in another place. [a] *That some such thing should be after this life, it is not incredible, and whether it be so it may be inquired, and either be found or remaine hidden; that some of the faithfull by a certaine purgatorie fire, by how much more or lesse they have loved these perishing goods, are so much the more slowly or sooner saved.* Wherein the learned Father dealeth no otherwise, than when in disputing against the same men, he is content, if they would acknowledge that the wrath of God did remaine everlastingly upon the damned, to give them leave to thinke that their paines might some way or other be lightned or mitigated. Which yet notwithstanding (saith [b] hee) *I doe not therefore affirme, because I oppose it not.*

What the Doctors of the next succeeding ages

y Sive ergo in hâc vitâ tantùm homines ista patiuntur, sive etiam post hanc vitam talia quædam judicia subsequuntur; non abhorret, quantum arbitror, à ratione veritatis iste intellectus hujus sententiæ *Id. ibid. cap. 16.*

z Sive ibi tantùm, sive hîc & ibi, sive ideò hîc ut non ibi, secularia (quâvis à damnatione venialia) concremantem ignem transitoriæ tribulationis inveniant; non redarguo, quia fortitan verum est. *Id. lib. 21. de Civit. Dei. cap. 26.*

a Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, & utrum ita sit quæri potest, & aut inveniri aut latere; nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minùsve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardiùs citiusve salvari. *Id. in Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 69.*

b Quod quidem non ideò confirmo, quoniam non refello. *Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. 21. cap. 24.*

taught

taught herein, may appeare by the writings of S. *Cyrill, Gennadius, Olympiodorus,* and others. S. *Cyrill,* from thoſe laſt words of our Saviour upon the Croſſe, *Father into thy hands I commend my ſpirit,* [c] delivereth this as the certaine ground and foundation of our hope. *Wee ought to beleeve, that the ſoules of the Saints, when they are departed out of their bodies, are commended unto Gods goodneſſe, as unto the hands of a moſt deare Father; and doe not remaine in the earth (as ſome of the vnbeleeuers have imagined) untill they haue had the honour of buriall; neither are carried, as the ſoules of the wicked bee, unto a place of unmeaſurable torment, that is, unto Hell: but rather flye to the hands of the Father: this way being firſt prepared for us by Chriſt. For hee delivered up his ſoule into the hands of his Father, that from it, and by it a beginning being made, wee might have certaine hope of this thing; firmely beleeving, that after death wee ſhall bee in the hands of God, and ſhall live a farre better life for ever with Chriſt. for therefore Paul deſired to bee diſſolved, and to bee with Chriſt. Gennadius,* in a booke wherein hee purpoſely taketh upon him to reckon up the particular points of doctrine received by the Church in his time, when he commeth to treat of the ſtate of ſoules ſeparated from the body, maketh no mention at all of Purgatorie; but layeth downe this for one of his poſitions. [d] *After the aſcenſion of our Lord into heauen,*

c Quod nobis magnæ ſpei fundamentum atque originem præbet. Credere namque debemus, quum à corporibus ſanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus chariſſimi patris, bonitati divinæ commendari; nec, ut quidam infideliū credideruntin terris converſari, quouſque ſepulturæ honoribus affectæ ſint; nec, ut peccatorum animæ, ad immenſi cruciatus locum, id eſt, ad Inferos, deferri; itinere hoc nobis à Chriſto primùm præparato: ſed in manus potiùs patris evolare. Tradidit enim animam ſuam manibus genitoris, ut ab illâ & per illam facto initio, certam huius rei ſpem habeamus: firmiter credentes, in manibus Dei nos poſt mortem futuros, vitamque multo meliorem ac perpetuò cum Chriſto victuros. ideò enim Paulus deſideravit reſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto. *Cyrill. Alexandr. in Iohann. lib.* 12. *cap.* 36. d Poſt aſcenſionem Domini ad cœlos, omnium ſanctorum animæ cum Chriſto ſunt, & exeuntes de corpore ad Chriſtum vadunt, expectantes reſurrecti-

the

the ſoules of all the Saints are with Chriſt, and departing out of the body, goe unto Chriſt, expecting the reſurrection of their bodie, that together with it they may bee changed unto perfect and perpetuall bleſſednesſe: as the ſoules of the ſinners alſo, being placed in Hell under feare, expect the reſurrection of their body, that with it they may bee thruſt unto everlaſting paine. In like manner *Olympiodorus*, expounding that place of Eccleſiaſtes, [c] *If the tree fall toward the South or toward the North, in the place where the tree falleth, there it ſhall bee*; maketh this inference thereupon. [f] *In whatſoever place therefore, whether of light or of darkeneſſe, whether in the worke of wickednesſe or of vertue, a man is taken at his death, in that degree and ranke doth hee remaine; either in light with the juſt and Chriſt the King of all, or in darkeneſſe with the wicked and the prince of this world.*

The firſt whom wee finde directly to haue held, that [g] *for certaine light faults there is a purgatorie fire* provided before the day of judgement; was *Gregory* the *firſt*, about the end of the ſixt age after the birth of our Saviour *Chriſt*. It was his imagination, that the end of the world was then at hand; and that [h] *as when the night beginneth to bee ended, and the day to ſpring, before the riſing of the Sunne, the darkeneſſe is in ſome ſort mingled together with the light, untill the remaines of the departing night bee turned into the light*

onem corporis ſui, ut ad integram & perpetuam beatitudinem cum ipſo pariter immutentur: ſicut & peccatorum animæ, in inferno ſub timore poſitæ, expectant reſurrectionem ſui corporis, ut cum ipſo ad pœnam detrudantur æternam. *Gennad. de Eccleſiaſtic. dogmatib. cap. 79.*

c *Eccleſ.* 11. 3.

f Ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ τόπῳ, εἴτε τῷ φωτὸς εἴτε τῷ σκότους, εἴτε τῷ τῆς χειρίας ἔργῳ, εἴτε τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς, καταλαμβάνῃ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει ἢ ἐν φωτὶ μὴ ἢ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τοῦ παμβασιλέως Χριστοῦ, ἢ ἐν τῷ σκότει μὴ ἢ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος. Olympiodor. in Eccleſiaſt. cap. 11.

g Sed tamen de quibuſdam levibus culpis eſſe ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus eſt. *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 39.*

h Quemadmodum cùm nox finiri & dies incipit oriri, ante Solis ortum ſimul aliquo modo tenebræ cum luce commixtæ ſunt, quouſque diſcedentis noctis reliquiæ in luce diei ſubſequentis perfectè vertantur: ita hujus mundi finis jam cum futuri ſæculi exordio permiſcetur, atque ipſæ reliquiarum tenebræ quàdam jam rerum ſpiritalium permixtione tranſlucent. *Id. ibid. cap. 41.*

of

of the following day; ſo the end of this world was then intermingled with the beginning of the world to come, and the very darkeneſſe of the remaines thereof made tranſparent by a certaine mixture of ſpirituall things. And this hee aſſigneth for the reaſon, [i] *why in thoſe laſt times ſo many things were made cleare touching the ſoules, which before lay hid; ſo that by open revelations and apparitions the world to come might ſeeme to bring in and open it ſelfe* unto them. But as wee ſee that hee was plainely deceived in the one of his conceits; ſo have wee juſt cauſe to call into queſtion the veritie of the other. the Scripture eſpecially having informed us, that a people for enquirie of matters ſhould not have recourſe to [k] *the dead*, but to *their God, to the Law, and to the Teſtimony*: it being not Gods manner to ſend men [l] *from the dead* to inſtruct the living, but to remit them unto *Moſes and the Prophets*, that they may *heare them.* And the reaſon is well worth the obſervation which the author of the Queſtions to *Antiochus* rendreth, why God would not permit the ſoule of any of thoſe that departed from hence to returne backe unto us againe, and to declare the ſtate of things in Hell unto us: leſt [m] *much errour might ariſe from thence unto us in this life. For many of the Divels* (ſaith hee) *might transforme themſelves into the ſhapes of thoſe men that were deceaſed, and ſay that they were riſen from the dead; aad ſo might ſpread many falſe matters and doctrines of the things there, unto our ſeduction and deſtruction.*

Neither is it to bee paſſed over, that in thoſe apparitions and revelations, related by *Gregory*, there

πόλεων. *Ad Antioch. queſt. 35. inter opera Athanaſii.*

i Quid hoc eſt, quæſo te, quòd in his extremis temporibus tam multa de animabus clareſcunt, quæ antè latuerunt; ita ut apertis revelationibus atque oſtenſionibus venturum ſæculum inferre ſe nobis, atque aperire videatur. *Ibid. cap.* 40.

k *Iſai.* 8. 19. 20.

l *Luc.* 16. 29. 30.

m Πολλὴ ἐντεῦθεν πλάνη ἐν τῷ βίῳ πίπτειν ἔμελλεν· πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐν σώμασιν ἀνθρώπων εἶχον μεταμορφοῦσθαι τῶν κοιμηθέντων, καὶ ἔμελλον ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἐγηγέρθαι αὐτοὺς λέγειν, καὶ πολλὰ ψευδῆ πράγματα, καὶ δόγματα περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ εἶχον ἡμῖν ἐγκατασπεῖραι περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν πλάνης καὶ ἀ-

is no mention made of any common lodge in Hell appointed for purging of the dead (which is that which the Church of Rome now ſtriveth for) but of certaine ſoules onely, that for their puniſhment were confined to [n] *bathes* and other ſuch places here upon earth; which our Romaniſts may beleeve if they liſt, but muſt ſeeke for the purgatorie they looke for ſome where elſe. And yet may they ſave themſelves that labour, if they will bee adviſed by the Biſhops aſſembled in the Councell of *Aquiſgran* (243. yeares after theſe viſions were publiſhed by *Gregory*) who will reſolve them out of the word of God, how ſins are puniſhed in the world to come. [o] *The ſinnes of men* (ſay they) *are puniſhed three manner of wayes: two in this life, and the third in the life to come. Of thoſe two the Apoſtle ſaith: If wee would judge our ſelves, we ſhould not be judged of the Lord. This is the puniſhment, wherewith (by the inſpiration of God) every ſinner, by repenting for his offences, taketh revenge upon himſelfe. But where the Apoſtle conſequently adioyneth; When we are judged, wee are chaſtened of the Lord, that wee ſhould not bee condemned with this world; this is the puniſhment, which almighty God doth mercifully inflict upon a ſinner, according to that ſaying; Whom God loveth, he chaſteneth, and hee ſcourgeth every ſonne that hee receiveth. But the third is verie fearefull and terrible, which by the moſt juſt judgement of God ſhall bee executed, not*

n *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 40. & 55.*

o Tribus itaque modis peccata mortalium vindicantur: duobus in hâc vitâ, tertio in futurâ vitâ. De duobus ita Apoſtolus inquit: Si noſmetipſos judicaverimus, à Domino non judicabimur. Hæc eſt vindicta, quam inſpirante Deo omnis peccator, pro ſuis admiſſis pœnitendo, in ſeipſo vindicat. Quod autem proſecutus idem Apoſtolus infert; Cùm judicamur autem, à Domino corripimnr, ut non cum mundo damnemur: hæc eſt vindicta quam omnipotens Deus miſericorditer peccatori irrogat, juxta illud: Deus quem amat, corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. Tertia autem extat valde pertimeſcenda atque terribilis, quæ non in hoc ſed in futuro, juſtiſſimo Dei judicio, fiet ſæculo, quando juſtus judex dicturus eſt: Diſcedite à me maledicti in ignem æternum, qui paratus eſt diabolo & angelis ejus. *Capitul. Aquiſgran. Concil. ad Pipinum miſſ. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

in this world, but in that which is to come, when the just Iudge shall say: Depart from mee yee cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the Divell and his Angels. Adde hereunto the saying of the author of the bookes *De vanitate seculi* and *De rectitudine Catholicæ conversationis* (wrongly ascribed to S. *Augustine:*) p *Know, that when the soule is separated from the body, presently it is either placed in Paradise for his good workes, or cast headlong into the bottom of hell for his sinnes.* as also of the second sermon *De consolatione mortuorum.* * *When the soule departeth, which cannot bee seene with carnall eyes, it is received by the Angels, and placed, either in the bosome of Abraham, if it bee faithfull, or in the custody of the prison of Hell, if it bee sinfull; untill the day appointed come, wherein it is to receive the body, and render an account of the workes thereof at the tribunall of Christ the true Iudge.* and that in the daies of *Otto Frisingensis* himselfe (who wrote in the yeare of our Lord MCXLVI.) the doctrine of Purgatorie was esteemed onely a private assertion held by some, and not an article of faith generally received by the whole Church. (for why should hee else write of it in this manner? q *That there is in Hell a place of Purgatorie, wherein such as are to bee saved, are either onely troubled with darkenesse, or decocted with the fire of expiation,* SOME *doe affirme.*) and lastly, that the Purgatorie wherewith the *Romish* Clergie doth now delude the world, is a new device, never heard of in the Church of God, for the space of a

p Scitote, quòd cùm anima à corpore evellitur, statim aut in paradiso pro meritis bonis (*as it is in the one, or* pro bonis operibus, *as it is in the other booke: both importing the selfe same thing*) collocatur, aut certè pro peccatis in inferni tartara præcipitatur. *Lib. de vanit. seculi, cap. 1. & de rectitud. Catholic. conversat. tomo 9. Operum Augustini.*

* Recedens anima, quæ carnalibus oculis videri non potest, ab Angelis suscipitur; & collocatur aut in sinu Abrahæ, si fidelis est, aut in carceris inferni custodiâ, si peccatrix est: donec veniat statutus dies, quo suum recipiat corpus, & apud tribunal Christi iudicis veri reddat suorum operum rationem. *Serm. 2. de consolat. mortuor. Ibid.*

q Esse apud inferos locum purgatorium, in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantùm afficiantur, vel expiationis igne decoquatur, QVIDAM affirmant. *Otto Fris. l. 8. Chron. c. 36*

thousand years after the birth of our Saviour *Christ*.

For, the *Gregorian* Purgatorie, which reached no further than to the expiation of [r] *small and very light faults*, would not serve these mens turne; whoverie providently considered, that little use could be made of that fire, if it had no other fuell but this to maintaine it. For such *peccadilloes* as these (they say) may bee taken away in this life [s] by knocking the breast, by receiving the Bishops blessing, by being sprinkled with holy water, and by such other easie remedies; that if this were all the matter to be cared for, men needed not greatly to stand in feare of Purgatorie. Yea, admit they should bee so extreamely negligent in their life time, that they forgat to use any of these helpes: they might for all this at the time of their death bee more afraid than hurt; yea this [t] *feare alone* (if there were nothing else) might prove a meanes to *purge their soules, at the very departing, from those faults of the lighteſt kinde*; if *Gregory* may bee credited. Nay, which is more, diverse of their owne [u] elder Divines (to whom wee may adioyne Cardinall [x] *Cajetan* also in these latter daies) have taught; that all the remaines of sinne in Gods children are quite abolished by finall grace, at the very instant of their dissolution; so that the staine of the least sinne is not left behinde to bee carried unto the other world.

Now *Purgatorie* (as *Bellarmine* describeth it) is a

r Sed tamen hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est; sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, &c. *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap 39.*

s *Sext. Prœm. in Glossâ, verb.* Benedictionem. *Francisc. à Victoriâ in Summâ sacramentor. Eccles. num. 110. Iacob. de Graffijs, decis. cas. conscient. part. 1. lib. 1. cap. 6. num. 10.*

t Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pavor egredientes iustorum animas purgat. *Gregor. Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 46.*

u Deler gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsâ dissolutione corporis & animæ; &c. Hoc ab antiquis dictum est. sed nunc communiter tenetur, quòd peccatum veniale cùm hinc deferatur à multis, etiam quantum ad culpam, in Purgatorio purgatur. *Albert. Magn. in compend. Theologicæ veritat. lib. 3. c. 13. Vid. Alexand. Halens. Summa part. 4. quæst. 15. membr. 3. artic. 3. Durand. lib. 4. dist. 45. quæst. 1. &c.* x *Caietan. Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 23. de Purgator. quæst. 1.*

y certaine

y certaine place, in which as in a priſon thoſe ſoules are purged after this life, which were not fully purged in this life; that being ſo purged, they may bee able to enter into heaven, whereinto no uncleane thing can enter. And of this, ſaith hee, *is all the controverſie.* If that bee ſo: their owne Doctors, you ſee, will quickly bring this controverſie unto an end. For if the ſoules bee fully purged here from all ſpot of ſinne: what need have they to bee ſent unto any other Purgatorie after this life? Yes, ſay they, although the fault bee quite remitted, and the ſoule clearely freed from the pollution thereof: yet may there remaine a temporall puniſhment due for the verie mortall ſinnes that have beene committed; which (if reliefe doe not otherwiſe come, by the helpe of ſuch as are alive) muſt be ſoundly laid on in *Purgatory*. But why in *Purgatory*, ſay wee; ſeeing here there is no more purging worke left? for the fault and the blot being taken away already; what remaineth yet to bee purged? The puniſhment onely they ſay is left behinde: and puniſhment, I hope, they will not hold to bee the thing that is purged away by puniſhment. Againe, wee deſire them to tell us, what Father or ancient Doctor did ever teach this ſtrange divinity? that a man being cleerely purged from the blot of his ſinne, and fully acquitted here from the fault thereof; ſhould yet in the other world be puniſhed for it with ſuch grievous torments as the tongue of man is not able to expreſſe. And yet, as new and as abſurd a doctrine as it is, the Pope and his adherents have builded thereupon both their guilefull *Purgatory* (with which it ſuteth as evill-favouredly as may bee) and their gain-

y Locus quidam, in quo tanquam in carcere poſt hanc vitam purgantur animæ, quæ in hâc non plenè purgatæ fuerunt; ut nimirùm ſic purgatæ in cœlum ingredi valeant, quò nihil intrabit coinquinatum. De hoc eſt tota controverſia. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

full *Indulgences*; which, by their owne doctrine, [z] free not a man from the guilt of any fault, either mortall or veniall, but onely from the guilt of the temporall punishment, which remaineth after the fault hath beene forgiven.

z *Id. de indulgent. lib. 1. cap. 7. propos. 1.*

When *Thomas Aquinas* & other Friars had brought the frame of this new building unto some perfection, and fashioned all things therein unto their owne best advantage: the Doctors of the *Greeke* Church did publickely oppose themselves against it. *Matthæus Quæstor* by name wrote against *Thomas* herein: whose booke is still preserved in the Emperours Librarie at *Vienna*. So *Athanasius* his disputation against purgatorie is (or lately was) to be seene in the French Kings Librarie: and the like of *Germanus* (Patriarch of *Constantinople*) and others else-where. The Apologie of the *Grecians* touching the same subject, is commonly to bee had: which was penned by [a] *Marcus Eugenicus* Archbishop of *Ephesus*, and [b] presented to Cardinall *Cusanus* and the deputies of the Councell of *Basil*, in the yeare MCCCCXXXVIII. the 14. of Iune; [c] the very same day, wherein *Bessarion* Archbishop of *Nice* disputed with the *Latines* of the same matter in the Councell assembled at *Ferrara*. In that Apologie, the *Grecians* begin their disputation with this proposition. [d] *A purgatorie fire, and a punishment by fire which is temporall, and shall at last have an end; neither have wee received from our Doctors, neither doe wee know that the Church of the*

a *Sixt. Senens. lib. 6. Biblioth. Sanct. annotat. 259.*

b Responsio Græcorum ad positionem Latinorum, opinionem ignis purgatorii fundantium & probantium. Quæ lecta & data fuit reverendiss. & reverendis patribus, & Dominis deputatis, die sabbati, XIIII. mensis Iunij, 1438. in sacristiâ fratrum minorum, Basilex. Præsentata Nicolao Cusano. *Martin. Crusius in Turco-Græciâ, pag. 186. ex libro M. S. Ioann. Capnionis.*

c *Act. Concil. Florentin.*

d Πῦρ καθαρτήριον καὶ κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς προσκαιρον καὶ τέλος ἔχουσαν ἔλεγεν; ἡμεῖς οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων διδασκάλων, οὔτε ἄλλοθεν ἐπιστάμεθα ἐκκλησίας ἴσμεν ταῦτα. Apolog. Græcor. de Purgator. à Bonav. Vulcan. edit.

East

East doth maintaine. They adde further. [e] *Neither have we received it from any of our Doctors; and moreover, no small feare doth trouble us, lest by admitting a temporary fire both penall and purgatory, wee should destroy the full consent of the Church.* And thereupon they conclude very peremptorily. [f] *For these reasons therefore, neither have wee ever hitherto affirmed any such thing, neither will wee at all affirme it.*

Yet within a yeare after, the Pope and his ministers prevailed so farre with them in the Councell at *Florence*, that they were content for peace sake to yeeld, that [g] *the middle sort of soules were in a place of punishment; but whether that were fire, or darkenesse and tempest, or something else, they would not contend.* And accordingly was the pretended *Vnion* betwixt them and the *Latines* drawne up: that, [h] *if such as bee truely penitent dye in Gods favour, before they have satisfied for their sinnes of commission and omission by worthy fruits of penance, their soules are purged after death with purgatory punishments*; neither fire, nor any other kinde of punishment being specified in particular. But neither would *Marcus* the Bishop of *Ephesus* (who was one of the Legates of the Patriarches of *Antioch* and of *Ierusalem*) consent to this union: neither could the *Greeke* Church afterwards by any meanes be drawne to yeeld unto it. And so unto this day, the *Romish* Purgatorie is rejected as well by the *Grecians*, as by the *Muscovites* and *Russians*, the *Cophtites* and *Abassines*, the *Georgians* and *Armenians*, together with the *Syrians* and *Chaldæans* that are subject

e Ὅπι μήτε παρὰ τινὸς τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν, ἔτι τε καὶ φόβος ὁ μικρὸς ὑποδύεται ἡμᾶς, μὴ πῦρ εἰσκομίσωμεν καθαρτήριον παράδεικόν τι καὶ καθαστήριον, τῇ πάντῃ λυμηνάμεθα τὴν ἐκκλησίας πληρώματι. Ibid.

f Διὰ ταῦτα ἂν οὐδέποτε μέχρι τῆς νῦν εἰρήκαμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐροῦμεν. Ibid.

g αἱ δὲ μέσαι ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ἐν βασανιστηρίῳ, καὶ εἴτε πῦρ ἐστὶν, εἴτε ζόφος καὶ θύελλα, εἴτέ τι ἕτερον, οὐ διαφερόμεθα. Concil. Florentin. Sess. 25.

h Si verè pœnitentes in Dei charitate decesserint, antequam dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus de commissis satisfecerint & omissis; eorum animas pœnis purgatoriis post mortem purgari. *Eugenij* IV. *Bulla Vnionis. ibid.* Cuius αὐτόγραφον etiam inter κειμήλια Cottoniana vidimus.

ject to the Patriarches of *Antioch* and *Babylon*, from *Cyprus* and *Palæstina* unto the *East-Indies*. And this may ſuffice for the diſcoverie of this new found creeke of Purgatorie.

OF *PRAYER FOR* THE DEAD.

PRayer for the dead, as it is uſed in the Church of *Rome*, doth neceſſarily ſuppoſe Purgatory: and therefore whatſoeuer hath been alledged out of the Scriptures and Fathers againſt the one, doth ſtand in full force againſt the other. ſo that here we need not *actum agere*, and make a new worke of overthowing that which hath been ſufficiently beaten down alreadie. But on the other ſide, the admittall of Purgatory doth not neceſſarily infer Prayer for the dead: nay, if we ſhall ſuppoſe (with our Adverſaries) that Purgatorie is the [a] *Priſon*, from whence none *ſhall come out, untill they haue paid the utmoſt farthing*; their owne *paying*, and not other mens *praying*, muſt be the thing they are to truſt unto, if ever they look to be delivered out of that jaile. Our *Romaniſts* indeed do commonly take it for granted, that [b] *Purgatory & praier for the dead be ſo cloſely linked together, that the one doth neceſſarily follow the other*: but in ſo doing, they reckon without their hoſte, and greatly miſtake the matter. For howſoeuer they may deale with their own devices as they pleaſe, and linke their Praiers with their Purgatory as cloſely as they liſt: yet ſhall they never be able to ſhew, that the commemoration and praiers

[a] *Mat.5.26.*

[b] *Biſhop againſt Perkins reform. Catholick, part. 2. pag.149.*

for

for the dead, uſed by the ancient Church, had any relation unto their Purgatory; and therefore whatſoever they were, Popiſh praiers we are ſure they were not. I eaſily foreſee, that the ful opening of the judgement of the Fathers in this point, will hardly ſtand with that brevity which I intend to uſe in treating of theſe queſtions: the particulars be ſo many, that neceſſarily doe incurre into the handling of this argument. But I ſuppoſe the Reader wil be content rather to diſpence with mee in that behalfe; than be ſent away unſatisfied in a matter, wherein the Adverſary beareth himſelfe confident beyond meaſure, that the whole ſtreame of antiquitie runneth clearely upon his ſide.

That the truth then of things may the better appear: we are here prudently to diſtinguiſh the original inſtitution of the Church, from the priuate opinions of particular Doctors which waded further herein than the generall intendment of the Church did give them warrant; and diligently to conſider, that the memorials, oblations and praiers made for the dead at the beginning, had reference to ſuch as reſted from their labours, and not unto any ſoules which were thought to be tormented in that *Vtopian* Purgatorie, whereof there was no newes ſtirring in thoſe daies. This may be gathered, firſt, by the practice of the ancient Chriſtians, laid downe by the author of the Commentaries upon *Iob*, (which are wrongly aſcribed unto *Origen*) in this manner. [c] *We obſerve the*

intended

[c] Propterea & memorias ſanctorũ facimus, & parentum noſtrorum vel amicorum in fide morientium devotè memoriam agimus; tam illorum refrigerio gaudentes quàm etiam nobis piam conſummationem in fide poſtulantes. Celebramus nimirùm, religioſos cum ſacerdotibus convocantes, fideles unà cum clero; invitantes adhuc egenos & pauperes, pupillos & viduas ſatiantes: ut fiat feſtivitas noſtra in memoriam requiei defunctis animabus, nobis autem efficiatur in odorem ſuavitatis in conſpectu æterni Dei. *Lib. 3. commentar. in Iob, inter opera Origenis.*

memorials of the Saints, and devoutly keepe the remembrance of our parents or friends which die in the faith; as wel rejoicing for their refreshing, as requesting also for our selues a godly consummation in the faith. Thus therfore do we celebrate the death, not the day of the birth: becauſe they which die ſhall liue for ever. and we celebrate it, calling together religious perſons with the Prieſts, the faithfull with the Clergie; inuiting moreouer the needy and the poore, feeding the Orphanes and Widowes: that our feſtivitie may be for a memoriall of reſt to the ſoules departed, whoſe remembrance we celebrate, and to us may become a ſweete ſauour in the ſight of the eternall God.

d Sacrificia pro eis ſemper, ut meminiſtis, offerimus; quoties martyrum paſſiones & dies anniverſaria commemoratione celebramus. Cyprian. epiſt. 34.

Secondly, by that which S. *Cyprian* writeth of *Laurentinus* & *Ignatius*: whō he acknowledgeth to have received of the Lord *palmes and crownes* for their famous martyrdome, and yet preſently addeth. d *Wee offer ſacrifices alwaies for them, when we celebrate the paſſions and daies of the Martyrs with an anniverſarie commemoration.* Thirdly, by that which we reade in the author of the *Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie*, ſet out under the name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*. For where the partie deceaſed is deſcribed by him to have departed out of this life e *repleniſhed with divine joy, as now not fearing any change to worſe*, being come unto the end of all his labours; and to have beene both privately acknowledged by his friends, & publickly pronounced by the miniſters of the Church, to be a happy man, and to be verily admitted into the f *ſocietie of the Saints that have been from the beginning of the world*: yet doth hee declare, that the Biſhop made praier for him, (upon what ground we ſhall afterward heare) that g *God would forgiue him all the ſinnes*

ἓ ὡς κοινωνὸν ὄντως ὄντα τῆς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀγγέλων ἱερᾶς ἀπαυγασμοῦ. Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. hierarch. cap. 7.

ζ Ἡ μὲν ἔτι εὐχὴ, τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος δεῖται πάντα μὲν ἀφεῖναι τὰ δι' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἡμαρτημένα τῷ κοινωνήσαντι· κατατάξαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χώρᾳ ζώντων, εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τόπῳ ὃθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός. Ibid.

ſinnes that he had committed through humane infirmity, and bring him into the light and the land of the living, into the boſomes of Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, into the place from whence paine and ſorrow and ſighing flieth. Fourthly, by the funerall ordinances of the Church, related by S. *Chryſoſtome:* which were appointed to admoniſh the living, that the parties deceaſed were in a ſtate of joy, and not of griefe. [h] *For tell me* (ſaith he) *what do the bright lampes meane? do we not accompanie them therewith as champions? What meane the Hymnes?* [i] *Conſider what thou doſt ſing at that time. Returne my ſoule unto thy reſt; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. and againe: I will feare no evill, becauſe thou art with me. and againe: Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compaſſeth me. Conſider what theſe Pſalmes meane.*

h Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι τί βάλλονται αἱ λαμπάδες αἱ φαιδραί; ἐχ' ὡς ἀθλητὰς αὐτοὺς προπέμπουσι; τί ᾄδει ὕμνοι; Chryſoſt. in epiſt ad Hebr. hom. 4.

i Ἐννόησον τί ψάλλεις καὶ τί χαμεῦνον ἐκεῖνον. Ἐπίστρεφον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε. καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ. καὶ πάλιν, Σὺ μοῦ εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με. ἐννόησον τί βάλλονται ὅτοι οἱ ψαλμοί. Id. ibid.

Fiftly, by the formes of the prayers that are found in the ancient Liturgies. as in that of the Churches of *Syria*, attributed unto S. *Baſil:* [k] *Bee mindefull, O Lord, of them which are dead, and are departed out of this life, and of the Orthodoxe Biſhops which from Peter and Iames the Apoſtles untill this day have clearely profeſſed the right word of Faith; and namely, of Ignatius, Dionyſius, Iulius, and the reſt of the Saints of worthy memory. Bee mindefull, O Lord, of them alſo which have ſtood unto bloud for Religion, and by righteouſneſſe and holineſſe have fed thy holy Flocke.* and in the Liturgie

k Memento etiam Domine eorum qui deceſſerunt migraruntque ex hâc vitâ, & Epiſcoporum orthodoxorum qui inde à Petro & Iacobo Appoſtolis ad hunc uſque dieni, rectum Fidei verbum clarè ſunt profeſſi; & nominatim Ignatij, Dionyſij, Iulij, ac reliquorum Divorum laudabilis memoriæ. Memento Domine eorum quoque qui uſque ad ſanguinem pro Religione ſteterunt, & Gregem tuum ſacrum per iuſtitiam & ſanctitatem paverunt, &c. *Baſilij Anaphora, ab Andr. Maſio, ex Syriaco converſa.*

fathered

fathered upon the Apostles: [l] *Wee offer unto thee for all the Saints which have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, Patriarches, Prophets, just men, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Priests, Deacons,* &c. and in the Liturgies of the Churches of *AEgypt*, which carry the title of S. *Basil, Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*. [m] *Bee mindefull, O Lord, of thy Saints: vouchsafe to remember all thy Saints, which have pleased thee from the beginning, our holy Fathers, the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Preachers, Evangelists, and all the soules of the just, which have dyed in the faith: and especially, the holy, glorious, the evermore Virgin, Mary the mother of God; and S. John the fore-runner, the Baptist and Martyr; S. Stephen the first Deacon and Martyr; S. Marke the Apostle, Evangelist and Martyr*; &c. and in the Liturgie of the Church of *Constantinople*, ascribed to S. *Chrysostome*: [n] *Wee offer unto thee this reasonable service, for those who are at rest in the faith, our Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarches, Prophets, and Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith. but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the mother of God and aye-virgin Mary.* which kinde of oblation *for* the Saints sounding somewhat harsh-

l Ἐπ προσφέρομέν σοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ὁσίων, προεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, &c. Constitut. Apostolic. lib. 8. cap. 12.

m Memento Domine sanctorum tuorum: dignare ut recorderis omnium sanctorum tuorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio, Patrum nostrorum sanctorum, Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, Evangelizantium, Evangelistarum, & omnium spirituum iustorum, qui obierunt in fide: & inprimis sanctæ, gloriosæ semperque virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ; & sancti Iohannis Præcursoris, Baptistæ & Martyris; Sancti Stephani protodiaconi & protomartyris; Sancti Marci Apostoli, Evãgelistæ & Martyris; &c. *Litur Ægyptiac. Basil. Greg. & Cyrilli, à Victorio Scialach ex Arabico convers. pag.* 22, 47. & 60. *edit. Augusti. ann.* 1604.

n Ἐπ προσφέρομέν σοι τὸν λογικὸν τοῦτον λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων, προπατόρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατευσαμένων, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου. ἐξαιρέτως δὲ παναγίας, ἀχράντου, καὶ ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας. Chrysost. Liturg. Græc.

ly

ly in the eares of the Latines, *Leo Thuscus* in his translation thought best to expresse it to their better liking after this manner. [o] *Wee offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithfully deceased, for our fathers and fore-fathers; the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all the Saints interceding* for them. As if the phrase of [p] *offering for the Martyrs*, were not to bee found in S. *Chrysostoms* owne workes: and more universally [q] *for the just, both the Fathers, and the Patriarches, the Prophets and Apostles, and Evangelists and Martyrs and Confessors, the Bishops and such as led a solitarie life, and the whole order*; in the suffrages of the Church, rehearsed by *Epiphanius*. yea and in the Westerne Church it selfe: [r] *for the spirits of those that are at rest, Hilary, Athanasius, Martin, Ambrose, Augustine, Fulgentius, Leander, Isidorus*, &c. as may bee seene in the *Muzarabicall* office used in *Spaine*.

Sixtly, this may bee confirmed out of the funerall orations of S. *Ambrose*: in one whereof, touching the Emperour *Valentinian* and his brother *Gratian*, thus hee speaketh. [s] *Let us beleeve that* Valentinian *is ascended from the desert, that is to say, from this dry and unmanured place unto those flowry delights; where being conjoyned with his brother, hee enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are you both: if my orizons*

o Adhuc offerimus tibi rationabile hoc obsequium pro fideliter dormientibus, pro patribus & proavis nostris; intervenientibus Patriarchis, Prophetis, Apostolis, Martyribus, Confessoribus & omnibus Sanctis. *Chrysost. Liturg. Latin.*

p Τί ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ μαρτύρων προσφέρεται; Chrysostom. homil. 21. in Act. tom. 4. edit. Savil. pag. 736. & tom. 7. pag. 928.

q Ὑπὲρ ὁσίων, καὶ πατέρων καὶ πατριάρχων, προφήτων καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν καὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος. Epiphan hæres 75.

r Pro spiritibus paulantium, Hilarii, Athanasii, Martini, Ambrosii, Augustini, Fulgentii, Leandri, Isidori, &c. *Offic. Muzarab. apud Eugen. Roblesium, in vitâ Francisci Ximeny.*

s Credamus quia ascendit à deserto, hoc est, ex hoc arido & inculto loco ad illas florulentas delectationes, ubi cum fratre coniunctus æternæ vitæ fruitur voluptate. Beati ambo: si quid meæ orationes valebunt; nulla dies vos silentio præteribit. Nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio. Nulla nox non donatos aliquâ precum mearum contexione transcurret. Omnibus vos oblationibus frequentabo. *Ambros. de obitu Valentiniani Imp.*

shall

ſhall prevaile any thing; no day ſhall overſlip you in ſilence. no oration of mine ſhall paſſe you over unhonoured. no night ſhall runne by, wherein I will not beſtow upon you ſome portion of my prayers. With all oblations will I frequent you. In another, he prayeth thus unto God: [t] *Give reſt unto thy perfect ſervant Theodoſius, that reſt which thou haſt prepared for thy Saints.* and yet he had ſaid before of him: [u] *Theodoſius, of honourable memory, being freed from doubtfull fight, doth now enjoye verlaſting light and continuall tranquillitie; and for the things which hee did in this body, hee rejoyceth in the fruits of Gods reward: becauſe hee loved the Lord his God, hee hath obtained the ſociety of the Saints.* and afterward alſo. [x] *Theodoſius remaineth in light, and glorieth in the company of the Saints.* In a third, he prayeth thus for his brother *Satyrus*: [y] *Almightie God, I now commend unto thee his harmeleſſe ſoule, to thee doe I make my oblation; accept mercifully and graciouſly the office of a brother, the ſacrifice of a Prieſt.* although hee had directly pronounced of him before, that [z] *he had entred into the kingdome of heaven, becauſe hee beleeved the word of God,* and excelled in many notable vertues. Laſtly, in one of his Epiſtles hee comforteth *Fauſtinus* for the death of his ſiſter, after this manner. [a] *Doe not the carcaſes of ſo many halfe-ruined ci-*

t Da requiem perfecto ſervo tuo Theodoſio, requiem quam præparâſti ſanctis tuis. *Id. de Obitu Theodoſii Imp.*

u Abſolutus igitur dubio certamine, fruitur nunc auguſtæ memoriæ Theodoſius luce perpetuâ, tranquillitate diuturnâ; & pro ijs quæ in hoc geſſit corpore, muneration is divinæ fructibus gratulatur. Ergo quia dilexit auguſtæ memoriæ Theodoſius Dominum Deum ſuum, meruit ſanctorum conſortia. *Id. ibid.*

x Manet ergo in lumine Theodoſius, & ſanctorum cætibus gloriatur. *Ibid.*

y Tibi nunc omnipotens Deus innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hoſtiam meam offero: cape propitius ac ſerenus fraternum munus, ſacrificium ſacerdotis. *Id. de obitu fratris.* z Intravit in regnum cœlorum, quoniam credidit Dei verbo, *&c. Id. ibid.* a Tot igitur ſemirutarum urbium cadavera, terrarumque ſub eodem conſpectu expoſita funera; non te admonent unius, ſanctæ licèt & admirabilis fœminæ deceſſionem conſolabiliorem habendam? præſertim cùm illa in perpetuum proſtrata ac diruta ſint; hæc autem ad tempus quidem erepta nobis meliorem illic vitam exigat. Itaque non tam deplorandam, quàm proſequendam orationibus reor: nec mœſtificandam lachrymis tuis, ſed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino commendandam arbitror. *Id. epiſt.* 8.

ties,

ties, and the funeralls of ſo much land expoſed under one view, admoniſh thee; that the departure of one woman, although a holy and an admirable one, ſhould bee borne with great conſolation? eſpecially ſeeing they are caſt downe and overthrowne for ever; but ſhee, being taken from us but for a time, doth paſſe a better life there. I therefore thinke, that ſhee is not ſo much to bee lamented, as to bee followed with prayers; and am of the mind, that ſhee is not to bee made ſad with thy teares, but rather that her ſoule ſhould bee commended with oblations unto the Lord. Thus farre S. *Ambroſe*. Vnto whom wee may adjoyne *Gregory Nazianzen* alſo: who, in the funerall oration that hee made vpon his brother *Cæſarius*, having acknowledged that hee had [b] *received thoſe honours that did befit a new created ſoule, which the Spirit had reformed by water* (for hee had beene but lately baptized before his departure out of this life) doth notwithſtanding pray, [c] that the Lord would bee pleaſed to *receive* him.

b πῆς νεοκτίτε ψυχῆς, ᾧ τὸ πνεῦμα δι' ὕδατος ἀνεμόρφωσεν, ἄξια τὰ γέρα χαρισάμενος. Greg. Nazianz. in fun. Cæſarij, orat. 10.

c Νῦν μὲν δεξάσθω Καισάριον. Ibid.

Diverſe inſtances of the like practice in the ages following, I have produced in another [d] place: to which I will adde ſome few more, to the end that the Reader may from thence obſerve, how long the primitive inſtitution of the Church did hold up head among the tares that grew up with it, and in the end did quite choake and extinguiſh it. Our *Engliſh Saxons* had learned of *Gregory* to pray for reliefe of thoſe ſoules that were ſuppoſed to ſuffer paine in Purgatorie: and yet the introducing of that novelty was not able to juſtle out the ancient uſage of making prayers and oblations for them which were not doubted to have beene at reſt in Gods kingdome.

d *Diſcourſe of the Religion profeſſed by the ancient Iriſh.*

And

And therefore the brethren of the Church of *Hexham*, in the anniverſarie commemoration of the obite of *Oſwald* King of Northumberland, uſed [e] *to keepe their Vigiles for the health of his ſoule*; and having ſpent the night in prayſing of God with pſalmes, *to offer for him in the morning the ſacrifice of the ſacred oblation*, as *Beda* writeth: who telleth us yet withall, that [f] he *reigned with God in heaven*, and by his prayers procured many miracles to be wrought on earth. So likewiſe doth the ſame *Bede* [g] report, that when it was diſcovered by two ſeverall viſions, that *Hilda* the Abbeſſe of *Streanſheale* (or *Whitby* in *Yorkſhire*) was carried up by the Angels into heaven; they which heard thereof preſently cauſed prayers to bee ſaid for her ſoule. And *Osberne* relateth the like of *Dunſtan*: that being at *Bathe*, and [h] beholding in ſuch another viſion the ſoule of one that had beene his ſcholler at *Glaſtenbury*, to bee carried up into *the palace of heaven*; hee *ſtraightway commended the ſame into the hands of the divine pietie*, and intreated the Lords of the place where hee was to doe ſo likewiſe.

Other narrations of the ſame kinde may be found among them that have written of Saints lives: and particularly in the Tome publiſhed by *Moſander*, pag. 69. touching the deceaſe of *Bathildis* Queene of France; and pag. 25. concerning the departure of

e Vigilias pro ſalute animæ ejus facere, plurimaque pſalmorum laude celebratâ, victimam pro eo manè ſacræ oblationis offerre. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 2.*

f *Id. ibid. cap. 12. & 14.*

g *Id. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 23.*

h Repentè ad ſuperna raptus cujuſdam diſcipuli nobiliter à ſe apud Gleſtoniam educati animam innumerâ Angelorum frequentiâ hinc inde ſtipatam, atque immenſi luminis fulgore perfuſam, ad cœli palatium provehi conſpexit. Moxque in manus divinæ pietatis eam commendans, dominos quoque loci ad commendandum invitat. *Osbernus, in vitâ S. Dunſtani. M. S. in Bibliothec. Cottonianâ & Bodleianâ. Notandum verò, in Io. Capgravy Legendâ (in quâ prior narrationis huius pars ad verbum ex Osberno, ut alia de Dunſtano complura, deſcripta cernitur) poſteriorem hanc ſententiam omitti penitùs: in Eadmero verò (ex quo, non autem ex Osberto vel Osberto, Vita Dunſtani quæ Mai. 19. apud Surium legitur eſt deſumpta) ita tantummodò referri.* Qui pro tantâ gloriâ fratris ultrà quàm dici queat exultans, & immenſas corde & ore Deo cunctipotenti gratias agens; ſocijs quid acciderit manifeſtâ voce expoſuit, & diem ac horam tranſitus ejus notari præcepit.

Godfry

Godfry Earle of *Cappenberg*. who is ſaid there to have appeared unto a certaine Abbeſſe, called *Gerbergis*, and to have acqainted her, [i] *that hee was now without all delay, and without all danger of any more ſevere triall, gone unto the palace of the higheſt King; and as the ſonne of the immortall King, was cloathed with bleſſed immortalitie.* and the Monke that writ the Legend, addeth, that [k] ſhee preſently thereupon *cauſed the ſacrifice of the Maſſe to bee offered for him.* which how fabulous ſoever it may bee for the matter of the viſion, yet doth it ſtrongly prove, that within theſe 500. yeares (for no longer ſince it is, that this is accounted to have beene done) the uſe of offering for the ſoules of thoſe that were beleeved to bee in heaven, was ſtill retained in the Church. The letters of *Charles* the great unto *Offa* King of *Mercia*, are yet extant; wherein he [l] wiſheth, that *interceſſions* ſhould bee made *for the ſoule of* Pope *Adrian* then lately deceaſed: *not having any doubt at all* (ſaith hee) *that his bleſſed ſoule is at reſt; but that wee may ſhew faithfulneſſe and love unto our moſt deare friend. even as Saint Auguſtine alſo giveth direction, that interceſſions ought to bee made for all men of Eccleſiaſticall piety: affirming, that to intercede for a good man, doth profit him that doeth it.* Where the two ends of this kinde of interceſſion are to bee obſerved: the one, to ſhew their love to their friend; the other, to get profit to themſelves thereby, rather than to the partie deceaſed. Laſtly, Pope *Innocent* the *third* (or the *ſecond* rather)

i Noueris, ait, me modò ſine ullâ dilatione, aut ullo ſeverioris examinis periculo, ad ſummi Regis palatium commigrâſſe, atque tanquàm Regis immortalis filium beatâ immortalitate veſtitum. *Vit. Godefrid. cap. 13. à Iac. Moſandro edit. Colon. an. 1581.*

k Mox fratribus Cappenbergenſibus indicavit beati viri obitum, & pro eo Miſſæ ſacrificium offerendum curavit. *Ibid.*

l Deprecantes ut diligenter jubeatis intercedere pro animâ illius: nullam habentes dubitationem, beatam illius animam in requie eſſe; ſed ut fidem & dilectionem oſtendamus in amicum nobis chariſſimum. ſicut & beatus præcipit Auguſtinus, pro omnibus Eccleſiaſticæ pietatis interceſſiones fieri debere: afferens, pro bono intercedere, facienti proficere. *Carol. M. epiſt. ad Offam, inter epiſtolas Alcuini MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ. Vid. Guil. Malmesburienſ. de geſt. reg. Anglor. lib. 1. cap. 4. & Matth. Weſtmonaſter. am. Dom. 797.*

being

being inquired of by the Bishop of *Cremona*, concerning the state of a certaine Priest that dyed without baptisme; resolveth him out of S. *Augustine* and S. *Ambrose*, that [m] *because hee continued in the faith of the holy mother the Church, and the confession of the name of Christ; hee was assoyled from originall sinne, and had attained the joy of the heavenly country.* Vpon which ground at last hee maketh this conclusion: [n] *Ceasing therefore all questions, hold the sentences of the learned Fathers; and command continuall prayers and sacrifices to bee offered unto God in thy Church for the foresaid Priest.*

Now having thus declared, unto what kinde of persons the Commemorations ordained by the ancient Church did extend: the next thing that commeth to consideration, is, what we are to conceive of the primarie intention of those prayers that were appointed to bee made therein. And here we are to understand, that first prayers of Praise and Thanksgiving were presented unto God for the blessed estate that the partie deceased was now entred upon: whereunto were afterwards added prayers of Deprecation and Petition, that God would be pleased to forgive him his sins, to keepe him from Hell, and to place him in the kingdome of Heaven. which kinde of intercessions, howsoever at first they were well meant (as we shall heare) yet in processe of time they proved an occasion of confirming men in divers errors; especially when they began once to be applyed not only to the good, but to evill livers also, unto whom by the first institution they never were intended.

m Quia in sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ fide, & Christi nominis confessione perseveravit; ab originali peccato solutum, & cœlestis patriæ gaudium esse adeptum, asserimus incunctanter. *Decretal. lib. 3. tit. 43. de presbytero non baptizato, cap. 2. Apostolicam. & Collect. 1. Bernardi Papiensis, lib. 5. tit. 35. cap. 2.*

n Sopitis igitur quæstionibus, doctorum patrum sententias teneas: & in Ecclesiâ tuâ juges preces hostiasque Deo offerri jubeas pro presbytero memorato *Ibid.*

The

The tearm of εὐχαριστήριον εὐχὴ *a thanksgiving prayer*, I borrow from the writer of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchie*: who, in the description of the funeral observances used of old in the Church, informeth vs, first, that the friends of the dead ° *accounted him to bee (as he was) blessed, because that according to his wish he had obtained a victorious end*: and thereupon *sent forth Hymnes of thankesgiving to the author of that victorie; desiring withall, that they themselves might come unto the like end.* and then that ᵖ the Bishop likewise offered up *a prayer of thankesgiving* unto God; when the dead was afterward ᵠ brought unto him, to receive as it were at at his hands a *sacred coronation.* Thus at the funerall of *Fabiola*, the prayfing of God by singing ʳ of *Psalmes*, and resounding of *Halleluia*, is specially mentioned by S *Hierome*: and the generall practice and intention of the Church therein is expressed and earnestly urged by S. *Chrysostome* in this maner. ˢ *Do not we praise God, and give thankes unto him, for that he hath now crowned him that is departed, for that he hath freed him from his labours, for that quitting him from feare, he keepeth him with himselfe? Are not the Hymnes for this end? Is not the singing of Psalmes for this purpose? All these be tokens of rejoicing.* Wherupon he thus presseth them that used immoderate mourning for the dead. ᵗ *Thou sayest; Returne,*

° ὁ αὐτὸν τεθεὸς τὶς (vel οἷός) ἐστὶ μακαρίζων, θεοῖς τὸ νικήσοντος ἐν εὐκταίως ἀφικέσθαι τέλος, καὶ τῷ τῆς νίκης αἰτίῳ χαριστηρίους ὠδὰς ἀναπέμπουσι, θεσπέσιόν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίαν εὐχὴν ἀνευφημῆσαι λῆξιν. Dionys. Eccleſiaſt. Hierarch. cap. 7.

ᵖ Εἶτα τελεῖ τῷ θεῷ θεὸν εὐχαριστήριον εὐχὴν ὁ ἱεράρχης. ibid.

ᵠ Λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ὅτε τὸ ἱεράρχου ἄγγελον, ὡς ὅτι θεοφανῆ ἱερῶν ὕμνων. ibid.

ʳ Sonabant Psalmi; & aurata tecta templorum, reboans in sublime quatiebat Alleluia. *Hieronym. in epitaphio Fabiolæ, epist. 30.*

ˢ Οὐχὶ τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζομεν καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἀπελθόντα ὅτι τῶν πόνων ἀπήλλαξεν ὅτι τῆς δεσμωτηρίας ἐβάλετο ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῷ; διὰ τοῦτο ὕμνοι; διὰ τοῦτο ψαλμῳδίαι; ταῦτα πάντα χαιρόντων ἐστίν. Chrysost. in epist. ad Hebr. hom. 4.

ᵗ Ἐπίστρεψον ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε, λέγεις καὶ δακρύεις, καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ταῦτα δεῖ; οὐχ ὑποκρισις; εἰπὲ γὰρ ὄντως πιστεύεις οἷς λέγεις, πιστεύεις πάντες· εἰ δὲ παίζεις καὶ ὑποκρίνῃ καὶ μύθους αὐτὰ εἶναι νομίζεις, τί καὶ φάλλεις; τί καὶ ἔρχῃ τῆς παρεγινομένων; διὰ τί μὴ ἀπελαύνεις τοὺς ψάλλοντας, Id. ibid.

O my ſoule, unto thy reſt, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee: and doſt thou weepe? Is not this a ſtage-play? is it not meere ſimulation? For if thou doſt indeede beleeve the things that thou ſaieſt, thou lamenteſt idlely: but if thou plaieſt, and diſſembleſt, and thinkeſt theſe things to be fables; why doſt thou then ſing: why doeſt thou ſuffer thoſe things that are done? Wherefore doeſt thou not drive away them that ſing? and in the end hee concludeth ſomewhat prophetically; that hee

u Καὶ γὰρ μείζονας δέδοικα μοὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χαλεπὴν τὴν νόσον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπεισελθεῖν Ibid.

u *very much feared, leſt by this means ſome grievous diſeaſe ſhould creepe in upon the Church.*

Whether the doctrine now maintained in the Church of Rome, that the children of God, preſently after their departure out of this life, are caſt into a lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, bee not a ſpice of this diſeaſe, and whether their practice in chanting of Pſalmes (appointed for the expreſſion of joy & thankfulneſſe) over them whom they eſteeme to be tormented in ſo lamentable a faſhion, bee not a part of that ſcene and pageant at which S. *Chryſoſtome* doth ſo take on: I leave it unto others to judge. That his feare was not altogether vaine, the event it ſelfe doth ſhew. For howſoever in his daies, the fire of the *Romiſh* Purgatorie was not yet kindled: yet were there certaine ſtickes then a gathering, which miniſtred fuell afterwards unto that flame. Good S. *Auguſtine* (who then was alive, and lived three and twenty yeares after S. *Chryſoſtoms* death) declared himſelfe to be of this minde: that the x oblations & almes uſually offered in the Church *for all the dead that received baptiſme, were thankſgivings for ſuch as were verie good, propitiations for ſuch as were not very bad; but*

x Cùm ſacrificia ſive altaris ſive quarumcunq; eleemoſynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur; pro valdè bonis gratiarum actiones ſunt, pro non valdè malis propitiationes ſunt, pro valdè malis etſi nulla ſunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualeſcunque vivorum conſolationes ſunt. *Auguſtin. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap.* 110.

as for

as for ſuch as were very evill, although they were no helps of the dead, yet were they ſome kinde of conſolations of the living. Which although it were but a private expoſition of the Churches meaning in her prayers and oblations for the dead; and the opinion of a Doctor too, that did not hold Purgatorie to bee any article of his Creed: yet did the *Romaniſts* in times following greedily take hold thereof, and make it the maine foundation upon which they laid the hay and ſtubble of their deviſed Purgatorie.

A private expoſition I call this: not onely becauſe it is not to bee found in the writings of the former Fathers, but alſo becauſe it ſuteth not well with the generall practice of the Church which it intendeth to interpret. It may indeed fit in ſome ſort that part of the Church-ſervice, wherein there was made a ſeverall commemoration, firſt, of the *Patriarches, Prophets, Apoſtles* and *Martyrs*, after one manner; and then of the other dead, after another: which, together with the conceit that [y] *an injury was offered to a Martyr, by praying for him*, was it that firſt occaſioned S. [z] *Auguſtine* to thinke of the former diſtinction. But in the [a] *ſupplications for the ſpirits of the dead, which the Church under a generall commemoration was accuſtomed to make for all that were deceaſed in the Chriſtian and Catholicke communion:* to imagine, that one and the ſame act of praying ſhould bee a *petition* for ſome, and for others a *thankeſgiving* onely, is ſomewhat too harſh an interpretation. eſpecially where wee finde it propounded by way of petition, and

y *Auguſtin. de Verbis Apoſtoli, ſerm.* 17.

z *Id. ibid. & in Evang. Iohan. tractat.* 84.

a Non ſunt prætermittendæ ſupplicationes pro ſpiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in Chriſtianâ & Catholicâ ſo-

cietate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, ſub generali commemoratione ſuſcepit Eccleſia. *Id. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap.* 4.

the intention thereof directly expreſſed, as in the Greeke Liturgie, attributed to S. *Iames*, the brother of our Lord: [b] *Bee mindefull (O Lord God of the ſpirits and of all fleſh) of ſuch as wee have remembred, and ſuch as wee have not remembred, being of right beleefe, from Abel the juſt untill this preſent day. Doe thou cauſe them to reſt in the land of the living, in thy kingdome, in the delight of Paradiſe, in the boſomes of Abraham and Iſaac and Iacob, our holy fathers: whence griefe and ſorrow and ſighing are fled, where the light of thy countenance doth viſit them, and ſhine for ever.* and in the Offices compiled by *Alcuinus*: [c] *O Lord, holy Father, almightie and everlaſting God, wee humbly make requeſt vnto thee for the ſpirits of thy ſervants and handmaides, which from the beginning of this world thou haſt called unto thee: that thou wouldeſt vouchſafe, O Lord, to give unto them a lightſome place, a place of refreſhing and eaſe, and that they may paſſe by the gates of hell, and the wayes of darkeneſſe, and may abide in the manſions of the Saints, and in the holy light which thou didſt promiſe of old unto Abraham and his ſeed.*

So the *Commemoration of the faithfull departed*, retained as yet in the *Romane* Miſſall, is begun with this orizon: [d] *Eternall reſt grant unto them, O Lord: and let everlaſting light ſhine unto them.* Whereunto wee may adde theſe two prayers (to omit a great num-

b Μνήσθητι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθημεν, ὀρθοδόξων, ἀπὸ Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀνάπαυσον ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός· ἔνθα ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ καταλάμπει διὰ παντός. Iacob. Liturg.

c Te, Domine ſancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, ſupplices deprecamur pro ſpiritibus famulorum & famularum tuarum, quos ab origine ſeculi hujus ad te accerſire præcepiſti: ut digneris, Domine, dare eis locum lucidum, locum refrigerij & quietis; & ut liceat eis tranſire portas infernorum, & vias tenebrarum, maneantque in manſionibus Sanctorum, & in luce ſanctâ quam olim Abrahæ promiſiſti & ſemini ejus. *Alcuin. Offic. per ferias. col.* 228. *Oper. edit. Pariſ. ann.* 1617. d Requiem æternam dona eis Domine: & lux perpetua luceat eis. *Introitus Miſſæ, in commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum. Agenda mortuorum, in Antiphonario Gregory, circa finem.*

ber

ber more of the like kinde) uſed of old in the ſame Church.[e] *Receive, O holy Trinitie, this oblation, which wee offer unto thee for all that are departed in the confeſſion of thy name: that thou reaching unto them the right hand of thy helpe, they may have the reſt of everlaſting life; and being ſeparated from the puniſhments of the wicked, they may alwaies perſevere in the joy of thy praiſe.* and,[f] *This oblation, which wee humbly offer unto thee for the commemoration of the ſoules that ſleepe in peace, wee beſeech thee, O Lord, receive graciouſly; and of thy goodneſſe grant, that both the affection of this pietie may profit us, and obtaine for them everlaſting bliſſe.* Where you may obſerve, that the ſoules unto which *everlaſting bliſſe* was wiſhed for, were yet acknowledged to reſt *in peace*, and conſequently not to bee diſquieted with any Purgatorie torment. even as in the *Canon* of the Maſſe it ſelfe, the Prieſt in the Commemoration for the dead prayeth thus: g *Remember, O Lord, thy ſervants and handmaides, which have gone before us with the enſigne of faith, and ſleepe in the ſleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that are at reſt in Chriſt, wee beſeech thee that thou wouldeſt grant a place*

e Suſcipe, ſancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro omnibus in tui nominis confeſſione defunctis: ut te dexteram auxilij tui porrigente, vitæ perennis requiem habeant; & à pœnis impiorum ſegregati, ſemper in tuæ laudis lætitiâ perſeverent. *Miſſa Latina antiqua, edit. Argentin. an. 1557. pag. 52.*

f Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi pro commemoratione animarum in pace dormientium ſuppliciter immola-

mus, quæſumus, Domine, benignus accipias; & tuâ pietate concedas, ut & nobis proficiat hujus pietatis affectus, & illis impetret beatitudinem ſempiternam. *Offic. Gregorian. tom. 5. Oper. Gregor. edit. Pariſ. an. 1605. col. 235. 236. Tom. 2. Liturg. Pamely, pag. 610. & Præfation. vetuſt. edit. Colon an. 1530. num. 111.*

g Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui nos præceſſerunt cum ſigno fidei, & dormiunt in ſomno pacis. Ipſis, Domine, & omnibus in Chriſto quieſcentibus, locum refrigerij, lucis & pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur. *Canon. Miſſæ, in officio Ambroſiano & Gregoriano, & Miſſali Romano. In Græcâ tamen Liturgiâ B.* Petro *attributâ, pro Commemoratione* defunctorum *poſita hic cernitur Commemoratio* viventium. (Ἐνταῦθα ἀναφέρει τῶν ζώντας.) & in vetuſtiſſimis quibuſdam Romanis Miſſalibus manuſcriptis, hæc mortuorum commemorationis formula nuſquam extat: (*P. Vireto teſte. lib. 5. de adulterat. Cœn. Dom. & Miſſæ myſter. cap. 48.*) *ac nominatim in vetuſtiſſimo Canone* Gregoriano, *qui in* Tigurinæ *Abbatiæ Bibliothecâ habebatur*, ex authentico libro Bibliothecæ cubiculi *deſcriptus*; (*apud Henric. Bullinger. lib. 2. de Origine erroris, cap. 8.*)

of refreshing, light, and peace.

Nay, the *Armenians* in their Liturgie intreat God to [h] *give eternall peace*, not onely in generall *unto all that have gone before us in the faith of Christ*; but also in particular to the *Patriarches, Apostles, Prophets*, and *Martyrs*. which maketh directly for the opinion of those (against whom [i] *Nicolaus Cabasilas* doth dispute) who held, that these *Commemorations* contained *a supplication for the Saints unto God*, and not *a thankes-giving* onely. as also doe those formes of prayer which were used in the *Roman* Liturgie in the dayes of Pope *Innocent* the third:. [k] *Let such an oblation profit such or such a Saint unto glory*. and especially that for S. *Leo*, which is found in the elder copies of the *Gregorian* Sacramentarie. [l] *Grant unto us, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soule of thy servant Leo.* for which the later bookes have chopt in this prayer: [m] *Grant unto us, O Lord, that by the intercession of thy servant Leo this oblation may profit us*. Concerning which alteration, when the Archbishop of *Lyons* propounded such another question unto Pope *Innocent*, as our Challenger at the beginning did unto us; [n] *who it was that did change it, or when it was changed, or why?* the Pope returneth him for answer: [o] *that*

h Per hanc etiam oblationem da æternam pacem omnibus, qui nos præcesserunt in fide Christi, sanctis patribus, Patriarchis, Apostolis, Prophetis, Martyribus, &c. *Liturg. Armen. edit. Cracoviæ, Andreâ Lubelczyck interpr.*

i Ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τινὲς ἠπατήθησαν, οὐκ εὐχαριστίαν ἀλλ' ἱκεσίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὴν μνήμην αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι. Cabasil. exposit. Liturg. cap. 49.

k Profit vel proficiat, huic sancto vel illi, talis oblatio ad gloriam. *Innocent. III. epist. ad Archiep. Lugdun. lib. 3. Decretal. tit. 41.* de celebrat. missar. *cap. 6.* Cùm Marthæ. l Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc profit oblatio. *Gregor. oper. tom. 5. edit. Paris. an. 1605. col. 135. d.* m Annue nobis, Domine, ut intercessione famuli tui Leonis hæc nobis profit oblatio. *Liturg. Pamelij, tom. 2. pag. 314.* n Tertio loco tua fraternitas requirit, quis mutaverit, vel quando fuit mutatum, aut quare, quod in secretâ beati Leonis, secundum quod antiquiores codices continent, *&c. Innocent. III. in collect. 3. Decretal. (Petri beneventani) lib. 3. tit. 33. cap. 5.* o Super quo tibi taliter respondemus: quòd quis illud mutaverit, aut quando mutatum fuerit, ignoramus; scimus tamen, quâ fuerit occasione mutatum. quia cùm sacræ scripturæ dicat auctoritas, quòd injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre: idem est ratione consimili de sanctis alijs sciendum. *Ibid.*

who

who did change it, or when it was changed, hee was ignorant of; yet hee knew, upon what occaſion it was changed. becauſe, that where the authoritie of the holy Scripture doth ſay, that hee doth injurie unto a Martyr who prayeth for a Martyr, (which is a new text of holy Scripture, of the Popes owne canonization) *the ſame by the like reaſon is to bee held of other Saints.* The Gloſſe upon this Decretall layeth downe the reaſon of this mutation a little more roundly: p *Of old they prayed for him, now at this day hee prayeth for us; and ſo was the change made.* And q *Alphonſus Mendoza* telleth us, that the old prayer was *deſervedly* diſuſed, and this other ſubſtituted in the roome thereof: *Grant unto us, wee beſeech thee, O Lord, that by the interceſsion of thy ſervant Leo this oblation may profit us.* which prayer indeed was to bee found heretofore *in modernioribus Sacramentarijs* (as Pope *Innocent* ſpeaketh) and in the Roman Miſſalls that were publiſhed before the Councel of *Trent* (as namely in that which was printed at *Paris*, an. 1529.) but in the new reformed Miſſall (wherewith, it ſeemeth, *Mendoza* was not ſo well acquainted as with his Scholaſticall controverſies) it is put out againe, and another prayer for *Leo* put in; that by the celebration of thoſe r *offices of atonement, a bleſſed retribution might accompanie him.* Neither is there any more wrong done unto S. *Leo*, in praying for him after this manner, than unto all the reſt of his fellowes in that other prayer of the Roman Liturgie: f *Wee have received, O Lord,*

p Olim orabatur pro ipſo: hodie ipſe orat pro nobis; & ita mutatum eſt. *Cap. cùm Marthæ, Extra. de celebr. Miſſar. in Gloſſa.*

q *Alphonſ. Mendoz. Controverſ. Theolog. quæſt. 6. ſcholaſtic. num. 7.*

r Vt per hæc piæ placationis officia, & illum beata retributio comitetur, & nobis gratiæ tuæ dona conciliet. *Miſſal. Roman. in decreto Concil. Tridentin. reſtitut. in feſte S. Leonis.*

f Sumpſimus, Domine, divina myſteria: quæ ſicut Sanctis tuis proſunt ad gloriam, ita nobis, quæſumus, proficiant ad medelam. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 18. Sixt. Senenſ. lib. 6. Bibliothec. Sanct. annotat. 47. ex Gregorij Sacramentario.*

the divine myſteries; which as they doe profit thy Saints unto glory, ſoe wee doe beſeech thee that they may profit us for our healing. and nothing ſo much as is done unto all the faithfull deceaſed, when in their Maſſes for the dead they ſay daily: [t] *Lord Ieſus Chriſt, king of glory, deliver the ſoules of all the faithfull that are departed, from the paines of Hell, and from the deepe lake; deliver them from the mouth of the Lion, that Hell dve not ſwallow them up, that they fall not into darkeneſſe.* So that whatſoever commodious expoſitions our Adverſaries can bring for the juſtifying of the *Romane* ſervice: the ſame may wee make uſe of, to ſhew, that the ancient Church might pray for the dead, and yet in ſo doing have no relation at all unto Purgatorie; yea, and pray for the Martyrs and other Saints that were in the ſtate of bliſſe, without offering unto them any injurie thereby.

t Domine Ieſu Chriſte, rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, & de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne abſorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obſcurum. *Miſſa in Commemorat. omnium fidelium defunctorum & in Miſſis quotidianis defunctorum in* Offertorio.

For the clearing of the meaning of thoſe prayers which are made for *Leo*, and the other Saints, to the two expoſitions brought in by Pope *Innocent*, Cardinall *Bellarmine* addeth this for a third; [u] *that peradventure therein the glory of the body is petitioned for, which they ſhall have in the day of the Reſurrection. For although* (ſaith hee) *they ſhall certainely obtaine that glory, and it bee due unto their merits; yet it is not abſurd to deſire and aske this for them, that by more means it may bee due unto them.* Where, laying aſide thoſe unſavourie termes of *debt* and *merits* (whereof wee ſhall have occaſion to treate in their proper place) the anſwer is otherwiſe true in part, but not full enough to give ſatisfaction unto that which was ob-

u Adde tertiò, fortaſſe peti gloriam corporis, quam habebunt in die reſurrectionis. Nam etiamſi gloriam illam certò conſequentur, & debetur eorum meritis; tamen non eſt abſurdum hoc illis deſiderare & petere, ut pluribus modis debeatur. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

jected,

jected. For the primary intention of the Church indeed, in her prayers for the dead, had reference unto the day of the Resurrection: which also in diverse places wee finde to have beene expressely prayed for. as in the Ægyptian Liturgie, attributed unto S. *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria*. [x] *Raise up their bodies, in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy promises which are true and cannot lye: grant unto them, according to thy promises, that which eye hath not seene, and eare hath not heard, and which hath not ascended into the heart of man; which thou hast prepared, O Lord, for them that love thy holy name: that thy servants may not remaine in death, but may get out from thence; although slouthfulnesse and negligence have followed them.* and in that which is used by the Christians of S. *Thomas* (as they are commonly called) in the East-Indies: [y] *Let the holy Ghost give resurrection to your dead at the last day; and make them worthy of the incorruptible kingdome.* Such is the prayer of S. *Ambrose* for *Gratian* and *Valentinian* the Emperours: [z] *I doe beseech thee, most high God, that thou wouldest raise up againe those deare young men with a speedy resurrection; that thou mayest recompence this untimely course of this present life with a timely resurrection.* and that in *Alcuinus*: [a] *Let their soules sustaine no hurt; but when that great day of the resurrection and remuneration shall come,*

x Resuscita corpora eorum, in die quem constituisti, secundùm promissiones tuas veras & mendacij expertes: concede eis, secundùm promissa tua, id quod non vidit oculus, & auris non audivit, & quod in cor hominis non ascendit, quod præparâsti Domine amatoribus nominis tui sancti; ut famuli tui non permaneant in morte, sed ut inde emigrent, etiamsi persecuta sit eos pigritia aut negligentia. &c. *Cyrill. Liturg. à Victorio Sialach ex Arabico convers. pag.* 62.

y Resurrectionem faciat defunctis vestris in die novissimo; & dignos faciat illos regno in corruptibili Spiritus sanctus. *Missa Angamallensis, ex Syriaco convers. in Itinerar. Alexy Mensii.*

z Te quæso, summe Deus, ut charissimos juvenes maturâ resurrectione suscites & resuscites; ut immaturum hunc vitæ istius cursum maturâ resurrectione compenses. *Ambros. de obit. Valentiniani: in ipso fine.*

a Nullam læsionem sustineant animæ eorum; sed cùm magnus ille dies resurrectionis ac remunerationis advenerit, resuscitare eos digneris, Domine, unâ cum Sanctis & electis tuis. *Alcuin. Offic. per ferias; Oper. col.* 328. *Preces Ecclesiast. à Georg. Cassandro collect. pag.* 384. *Oper.*

come, vouchsafe to raise them up, O Lord, together with thy Saints and thine elect. and that in *Grimoldus* his Sacramentarie: [b] *Almightie and everlasting God, vouchsafe to place the body and the soule and the spirit of thy servant N. in the bosomes of Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob; that when the day of thy acknowledgement shall come, thou mayest command them to bee raised up among thy Saints and thine elect.* and that which the *Syrians* doe use: § *Cause, Lord God, their soules and their spirits and their bodies to rest; and sprinkle the dew of mercy upon their bones.*

But yet the Cardinals answer, that the glorie of the *body* may bee prayed for, which the Saints shall have at the day of the Resurrection, commeth somewhat short of that which the Church used to request in the behalfe of S. *Leo.* For in that prayer expresse mention is made of his *soule:* and to it is wished, that profit may redound by the present oblation. And therefore this defect must be supplyed out of his answer unto that other prayer which is made for the soules of the faithfull departed, that they may be delivered out of the mouth of the Lion, and that Hell may not swallow them up. To this hee saith; that [c] *the Church doth pray for these soules, that they may not bee condemned unto the everlasting paines of Hell: not as if it were not certaine, that they should not bee condemned unto those paines, but because it is Gods pleasure*

b Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, collocare dignare corpus & animam & spiritum famuli tui N. in sinibus Abrahæ, Isaac, & Iacob; ut cùm dies agnitionis tuæ venerit, inter sanctos & electos tuos eum resuscitari præcipias. *Grimold. Sacramentar. tom 2. Liturgic. Pamel. pag. 456. 457. Habetur eadem oratio in Missali Romano nondùm reformato (nam in novo ex decreto Concilij Tridentini restituto nusquam comparet)* corporis *tantùm* mentione omissâ: *& tomo 5. oper. Gregorij, edit. Paris. an. 1605. col. 234.* corporis *simul &* spiritus *nominibus* prætermissis.

§ אניח מרוא אלהא נפשתהון דרוחתהון ופגריהון ורוש טאלא דוחמא על גרמוהון *Orat. pro defunctis, in Syriacæ linguæ primis elementis ab Alb. Widmanstadio edit. Viennæ, an. 1555.* c Ecclesia orat pro animabus, quæ in Purgatorio degunt, ne damnentur ad pœnas Gehennæ sempiternas; non quidem quòd certum non sit, eas non damnandas ad eas pœnas, sed quia vult Deus, nos orare etiam pro ijs rebus, quas certò accepturi sumus. *Bellarm. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

that

that wee ſhould pray, even for thoſe things which wee are certainly to receive. The ſame anſwer did *Alphonſus de Caſtro* give before him: that [d] *verie often thoſe things are prayed for, which are certainely knowne ſhall come to paſſe as they are prayed for; and that of this there bee verie many* * *teſtimonies.* and *Iohannes Medina:* that [e] *God delighteth to be prayed unto, even for thoſe things, which otherwiſe hee purpoſed to doe. For God had decreed* (ſaith hee) *after the ſinne of Adam to take our fleſh, and hee decreed the time wherein hee meant to come: and yet the prayers of the Saints, that prayed for his Incarnation and for his comming, were acceptable unto him. God hath alſo decreed to grant pardon unto every repentant ſinner, and yet the prayer is gratefull unto him, wherein either the penitent doth pray for himſelfe, or another for him, that God would bee pleaſed to accept his repentance. God hath decreed alſo and promiſed, not to forſake his Church, and to bee preſent with Councels lawfully aſſembled: yet the prayer notwithſtanding is gratefull unto God, and the hymnes, whereby his preſence, and favour, and grace, is implored both for the Councell and the Church.* And whereas it might bee objected, that howſoever the Church may ſometimes pray for thoſe things which ſhee ſhall certainely receive, yet ſhee doth not pray for thoſe things which ſhee hath alreadie received; and this ſhee hath received, that

d Sæpiſſimè petuntur illa quæ certò ſciuntur eventura ut petuntur: & hujus rei plurima ſunt teſtimonia. *Alphonſ. Caſtr. contr. hæreſ. lib. 12. de Purgator. hær 3.*

* *One whereof may bee that prayer of the Prophet, in the 9. of Daniel: whereupon S.* Hierome *writeth thus.* In cinere & ſacco poſtulat impleri quod promiſerat Deus: non quo incredulus eſſet futurorum; ſed ne ſecuritas negligentiam, & negligentia pareret offenſam.

e Gaudet Deus orari, etiam pro his, quæ alioqui facturus eſſet. Decreverat enim Deus poſt peccatum Adæ, carnem ſumere; decrevitque tempus, quo venturus erat: & gratæ illi fuerunt orationes Sanctorum pro ſuâ incarnatione & adventu orantium. Decrevit etiam Deus omni peccatori pœnitenti veniam dare: & tamen grata eſt illi oratio, quâ vel ipſe pœnitens pro ſe, vel alius pro illo orat, ut ejus pœnitentiam Deus acceptare dignetur. Decrevit etiam Deus, & promiſit, Eccleſiam ſuam non deſerere, & Concilijs legitimè congregatis adeſſe: & tamen grata eſt Deo oratio, & hymni, quibus ejus præſentia, & favor, & gratia ipſi Concilio & Eccleſiæ imploratur. *Io. Medin. de Pœnit. tract. 6. quæſt. 6. Codicis de Oratione.*

thoſe

thoſe ſoules ſhall not bee damned, ſeeing they have receiued their ſentence, and are moſt ſecure from damnation: the Cardinall replieth, that this obiection may eaſily bee avoyded. [f] *For although thoſe ſoules* (ſaith hee) *have receiued alreadie their firſt ſentence in the particular iudgement, and by that ſentence are freed from Hell: yet doth there yet remaine the generall iudgement, in which they are to receiue the ſecond ſentence. Wherefore the Church praying, that thoſe ſoules in the laſt iudgement may not fall into darkeneſſe, nor bee ſwallowed vp of Hell, doth not pray for the thing which the ſoule hath, but which it ſhall receiue.* Thus theſe men, labouring to ſhew how the prayers for the dead uſed in their Church may ſtand with their conceits of Purgatorie, doe thereby informe us how the prayers for the dead, uſed by the ancient Church, may ſtand well enough without the ſuppoſall of any Purgatorie at all. For if wee may pray for thoſe things which wee are moſt ſure ſhall come to paſſe; and the Church, by the Adverſaries owne confeſſion, did pray accordingly, that the ſoules of the faithfull might eſcape the paines of Hell at the generall Iudgment, notwithſtanding they had certainely beene freed from them alreadie by the ſentence of the particular iudgement: by the ſame reaſon, when the Church in times paſt beſought God to [g] *remember all thoſe that ſlept in the hope of the reſurrection of everlaſting life* (which is the forme of prayer uſed in the Greeke Liturgies) and to give unto them reſt, and to bring them unto the place where the light of his countenance ſhould ſhine upon them for evermore; why ſhould not wee thinke, that it deſired theſe things

f Nam etſi animæ Purgatorij jam acceperint primam ſententiam in judicio particulari, eaque ſententiâ liberæ ſint à Gehennâ: tamen adhuc ſupereſt judicium generale, in quo ſecundam ſententiam accepturæ ſunt. Quocirca Eccleſia orans, ne in judicio extremo animæ illæ cadant in obſcurum, nevé abſorbeantur à tartaro, non orat pro eâ re quam accepit, ſed pro eâ quam accepturæ eſt anima. *Bellarmin. ut ſupra.*

g Μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Liturg. Baſil. & Chryſoſt.

things ſhould bee granted unto them by the laſt ſentence at the day of the Reſurrection, notwithſtanding they were formerly adjudged unto them by the particular ſentence at the time of their diſſolution?

For as [h] *that which ſhall befall unto all at the day of judgement, is accompliſhed in every one at the day of his death*: ſo on the other ſide, whatſoever befalleth the ſoule of everie one at the day of his death, the ſame is fully accompliſhed upon the whole man at the day of the generall judgement. Whereupon wee finde, that the Scriptures every where doe point out that great day unto us, as the time wherein mercie and forgiveneſſe, reſt and refreſhing, joy and gladneſſe, redemption and ſalvation, rewards and crownes ſhall bee beſtowed upon all Gods children. as in 2. Timoth. 1. 16, 18. *The Lord give mercy unto the houſe of Oneſiphorus: the Lord grant unto him, that he may finde mercy of the Lord in that day.* 1. Cor. 1. 8. *Who ſhall alſo confirme you unto the end, that yee may bee blameleſſe in the day of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* Act. 3. 19. *Repent yee therefore, and bee converted, that your ſinnes may bee blotted out, when the times of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord.* 2. Theſſal. 1. 6, 7. *It is a righteous thing with God, to recompenſe unto you which are troubled, reſt with us, when the Lord Ieſus ſhall be revealed from heaven, with his mightie Angels.* Philip. 2. 16. *That I may reioyce in the day of Chriſt, that I have not run in vaine, neither laboured in vaine.* 1. Theſſal. 2. 19. *For what is our hope, or joy, or crowne of rejoycing? are not even yee in the preſence of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt at his comming?* 1. Pet. 1. 5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation, readie*

[h] Quod enim in die iudicii futurum eſt omnibus, hoc in ſingulis die mortis impletur. *Hieronym. in Ioel, cap. 2.*

to

to be revealed in the laſt time. 1. Corinth. 5. 5. *That the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Ieſus.* Epheſ. 4. 30. *Grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are ſealed unto the day of redemption.* Luke 21. 28. *When theſe things beginne to come to paſſe, then looke up, and lift up your heads for your redemption draweth nigh.* 2. Timoth. 4. 8. *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crowne of righteouſneſſe which the Lord the righteous judge ſhall give me at that day.* and Luk. 14. 14. *Thou ſhalt be recompenced at the reſurrection of the juſt.*

And that the Church in her Offices for the dead, had ſpeciall reſpect unto this time of the Reſurrection; appeareth plainly, both by the portions of Scripture appointed to be read therin, and by diverſe particulars in the prayers themſelves that manifeſtly diſcover this intention. For there [i] *the miniſters* (as the writer of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie reporteth) *read thoſe undoubted promiſes which are recorded in the divine Scriptures of our divine reſurrection: and then devoutly ſang ſuch of the ſacred Pſalmes as were of the ſame ſubject and argument.* And ſo accordingly in the *Romane* Miſſal, the leſſons ordained to be read for that time, are taken from 1. Cor. 15. *Behold, I tell you a myſterie: We ſhall all riſe againe,* &c. Iohn 5. *The houre commeth wherein all that are in the graves ſhall hear his voice, and they that have done good ſhall come forth unto the reſurrection of life,* &c. 1. Theſſal. 4. *Brethren, we would not have you ignorant concerning them that ſleepe, that ye ſorrow not, as others which have no hope.* Ioh. 11. *I am the reſurrection and the life: hee that beleeveth in me, although he were dead, ſhall live.* 2. Macab. 12. *Iudas cauſed a ſacrifice to bee offered for the ſinnes of the dead,*

i Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θείοις λογίοις ἐμφερομένας ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως ἀναγνόντες, ἱερῶς ἄδουσι τοὺς ὁμολόγους καὶ ταπεινὰ μέλη ψαλμικῶν λογίων ᾠδάς. Dionyſ. Hierarch. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 7.

dead, juſtly and religiouſly thinking of the Reſurrection. Iohn 6. *This is the will of my Father that ſent me; that everie one that ſeeth the Sonne, and beleeveth in him, may have life everlaſting: and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day.* and, *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, hath life everlaſting: and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day.* and laſtly, Apocal. 14. *I heard a voice from heaven, ſaying unto mee: Write, Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth now, ſaith the Spirit, that they may reſt from their labors; for their workes follow them.* Wherwith the *Sequence* alſo doth agree, beginning;

[k] *Dies iræ, dies illa,*
Solvet ſæclum in favillâ:
Teſte David cum Sibyllâ:

and ending;

Lacrymoſa dies illa,
Quâ reſurget ex favillâ
Iudicandus homo reus.
Huic ergo parce Deus.
Pie Ieſu Domine,
Dona eis requiem.

Tertullian in his booke *de Monogamiâ* (which hee wrote after he had been infected with the hereſie of the *Montaniſts*) ſpeaking of the praier of a widow for the ſoule of her deceaſed husband, ſaith that [l] *ſhe requeſteth refreſhing for him, and a portion in the firſt reſurrection.* Which ſeemeth to have ſome tang of the error of the *Millenaries* (whereunto not [m] *Tertullian* only with his [n] Prophet *Montanus*, but [o] *Nepos* alſo, and

k *Miſſal. Rom. in Commemorat. omnium fidelium defunctor.*

l Enimvero & pro animâ ejus orat, & refrigerium interim adpoſtulat ei, & in primâ reſurrectione conſortium. *Tertull. de Monogam. cap. 10.*

m *Id. de Reſurrect. carnis, c. 25.*

n *Id. adverſ. Marcion. lib. 3. cap. ult.*

o Sicut Nepos docuit, qui primam iuſtorum reſurrectionem, & ſecundam impiorum conſinxit. *Gennad. de Eccleſiaſt. dogmat. cap. 55. Idem in Catalogo Scriptor. Eccleſiaſtic. de Tichonio Donatiſtâ.* Mille annorum regni in terrâ iuſtorum, poſt reſurrectionem futuri ſuſpicionē

tulit: neque duas in carne mortuorum reſurrectiones futuras, unam iuſtorum, & aliam iniuſtorum, ſed unam & ſemel omnium, oſtendit.

p *Lactantius*, and divers other Doctors of the Church did fall) who misunderstanding the prophecie in the 20. of the Revelation, imagined that there should be a *first resurrection* of the just that should reigne here a thousand years upon earth; and after that a *second resurrection* of the wicked, at the day of the generall judgement. * *They that come not to the first resurrection, but are reserved to the second, shall bee burned untill they fulfill the times betwixt the first and the second resurection: or if they have not fulfilled them, they shall remaine longer in punishment. And therefore let us pray, that we may obtaine to have our part in the first resurrection:* saith S. *Ambrose*. Hence in a certaine *Gothicke* Missall I meete with two severall exhortations made unto the people, to pray after this forme. the one, that God would q *vouchsafe to place in the bosome of Abraham the soules of those that bee at rest, and admit them unto the part of the first resurrection:* the other (which I finde elsewhere also repeated in particular) that r he would *place in rest the spirits of their friends which were gone before them in the Lords peace, and raise them up in the part of the first resurrection.* And, to come neerer home, *Asserius Menevensis* writing of the death and buriall of *Ethelred* king of the West-Saxons, and *Burghred* king of the Mercians, saith that they * *expect the comming of the Lord, and the first resurrection with the just.* The like doth *Abbo Floriacen-*

p *Lactant. Institut. divin. li. 7. cap. 21. 24. & 26.*

* Qui non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur; isti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam & secundam resurrectionem: aut si non impleverint, diutiùs in supplicio permanebunt. ideò ergo rogemus, ut in primâ resurrectione partem habere mereamur. *Ambros. in Psal.* 1. 5.

q Quiescentiũ animas in sinu Abrahæ collocare dignetur, & in partem primæ resurrectionis admittat. *Missal. Gothic. tom. 6. Biblioth. Patr. edit. Paris. an.* 1589. *col.* 251.

r Deum iudicem universitatis, Deum cœlestium & terrestrium & infernorum, fratres dilectissimi, deprecemur pro spiritibus charorum nostrorum, qui nos in Dominicâ pace præcesserunt; ut eos Dominus in requie collocare dignetur, & in parte primæ resurrectionis resuscitet. *Ibid. col.* 257. *Gregor. Oper tom.* 5. *col.* 228. *edit. Paris. Preces Eccles. à Gregor. Cassandro collect. pag.* 385. *Operum.* * Adventum Domini, & primam cum iustis resurrectionem expectat. *Asser. de Ælfredi rebus gestis, an.* 871. & 874.

sis also

sis also writ of our [a] *Cuthbert*. Which how it may be excused otherwise than by saying that at the generall resurrection [f] *the dead in Christ shall rise first*, and then the wicked shall be raised after them; and by referring the *first resurrection* unto the [t] *resurrection of the just* which shall be at that day: * I cannot wel resolve. For certaine it is, that the *first resurrection* spoken of in the 20. chap. of the Revel. of S. *Iohn*, is the resurrection of the soule from the death of sin and errour in this world; as the *second* is the resurrection of the bodie, out of the dust of the earth, in the world to come. both which be distinctly laid down by our Saviour in the fift chap. of the Gospell of S. *Iohn*: the *first* in the 25. vers. *The houre is comming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that heare shall live.* the *second* in the 28. and 29. *Marveile not at this: for the houre is comming, in which all that are in the graves shall heare his voice, and shall come forth: they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.*

And to this generall resurrection, and to the judgement of the last day, had the Church relation in her praiers: some patternes wherof it will not be amisse to exhibit here, in these examples following. [u] *Although the condition of death brought in upon mankinde*

a Sanctus Domini Cuthbertus incomparabilis confessor & episcopus non solùm adhuc expectat diem primæ resurrectionis incorrupto corpore; sed etiam perfusus quodam blando tepore. *Abbo Floriac. Præfat. in vitâ S. Eadmundi Regis, ad Dunstanum.*

f 1. *Thes.* 4 16.

t *Luke* 14.14.

* *Ita Origenes, in Esai. lib.* 28. (*citatus in Pamphili pro eo Apologiâ:*) Licet omnes resurgant, & unusquisque in suo ordine resurgat; considerandum est tamen propter illum sermonem Ioannis, (*Apocal.* 20.) ne fortè dividi omnis resurrectionis

ratio in duas partes possit, id est, in eos qui salvandi sunt justos, & in eos qui cruciandi sunt peccatores: ut sit una quidem bonorum, quæ dicitur prima; illa verò quæ est miserorum, secunda dicatur. *Hieronym. in Psalm.* 1.5. Si non resurgunt peccatores in consilio justorum: diversa est peccatorum, justorumque Resurrectio. u Quamvis humano generi mortis illata conditio pectora nostra mentesque contristet; tamen clementiæ tuæ dono spe futuræ immortalitatis erigimur, ac memores salutis æternæ, non timemus lucis hujus sustinere jacturam, quoniam beneficio gratiæ tuæ fidelibus vita non tollitur, sed mutatur:

atque animæ corporeo ergastulo liberatæ, horrent mortalia, dum immortalia consequuntur. Vnde quæsumus, ut famulus tuus N. in tabernaculis beatorum constitutus, evasisse se carnales gloriatur angustias, diemque judicii cum fiduciâ voto glorificationis expectet. *Præfat. antiqu. edit. Colon. an. 1530. num. 106. Tom. 2. Liturgic. Pamel. pag. 608. & Tom. 5. Oper. Gregory, edit. Paris. col. 233. Habetur & prior Præfat. hujus pars in Missâ Ambrosiana, tomo 1. Liturg. Pamel. pag. 450.*

doth make our hearts and mindes heavie: yet by the gift of thy clemencie we are raised up with the hope of future immortalitie; and being mindfull of eternall salvation, are not afraid to sustaine the losse of this light. For by the benefite of thy grace life is not taken away to the faithful, but changed: and the soules being freed from the prison of the bodie, abhorre things mortall, when they attaine unto things eternall. Wherefore wee beseech thee, that thy seruant N. being placed in the tabernacles of the blessed, may reioice that hee hath escaped the straites of the flesh, and in the desire of glorification expect with confidence the day of Iudgement. [x] Through Iesus Christ our Lord. *whose holy passion we celebrate without doubt for immortall and well resting soules: for them especially, upon whom thou hast bestowed the grace of the second birth; who by the example of the same Iesus Christ our Lord, have begunne to bee secure of the resurrection. For thou who hast made the things that were not, art able to repaire the things that were: and hast given unto us evidences of the resurrection to come, not onely by the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, but also by the resurrection of the same thy onely begotten Sonne our Redeemer.* [y] O God, *who art the Creator and maker of*

451. *posterior in alterâ præfat. ibid. pag. 449 & Oper. Gregor. col. 232. a.* x Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Cujus sacram passionem pro immortalibus & bene quiescentibus animabus sine dubio celebramus: pro his præcipuè, quibus secundæ nativitatis gratiam præstitisti; qui exemplo eiusdem Iesu Christi Domini nostri cœperunt esse de resurrectione securi. Quippè qui fecisti quæ non erant, potes reparare quæ fuerant: & resurrectionis futuræ nobis documenta non solùm per Propheticam & Apostolicam doctrinam, sed per eiusdem unigeniti tui Redemptoris nostri resurrectionem dedisti. *Præfat. antiqu. 112. & 107. Grimold. Sacramentar. tom. 2. Liturg. Pamel. pag. 460. 461. & tom. 5. Oper. Gregor. col. 235.* y Deus, qui universorum es Creator & conditor, quique tuorum es beatitudo Sanctorum; præsta nobis petentibus, ut spiritum fratris nostri corporis nexibus absolutum in beatâ resurrectione facias præsentari. *Prec. Ecclesiast. Cassandr. Oper. pag. 385. Tom. 5. Gregor. col. 228. c.*

all

all things, and who art the bliſſe of thy Saints; grant unto us who make requeſt unto thee, that the ſpirit of our brother, who is looſed from the knott of his bodie, may bee preſented in the bleſſed reſurrection of thy Saints. [z] O almightie and mercifull God, *we doe intreat thy clemency, foraſmuch as by thy judgement wee are borne and make an end; that thou wilt receive into everlaſting reſt, the ſoule of our brother, whom thou of thy pietie haſt commanded to paſſe from the dwelling of this world and permit him to be aſſociated with the company of thine Elect, that together with them he may remaine in everlaſting bliſſe without end.* [a] Eternall God, *who in Chriſt thine only begotten ſonne our Lord haſt given unto us the hope of a bleſſed Reſurrection; grant, we beſeech thee, that the ſoules, for which we offer this ſacrifice of our redemption unto thy Majeſtie, may of thy mercie attaine unto the reſt of a bleſſed reſurrection with thy Saints.* [b] Let this communion, *we beſeech thee, O Lord, purge us from ſin; and give unto the ſoule of thy ſervant N. a portion in the heavenly joy, that being ſet apart before the throne of the glorie of thy Chriſt with thoſe that are upon the right hand, it may have nothing common with thoſe that are upon the left.* [c] Through Chriſt our Lord. *At whoſe comming when thou ſhalt command both the peoples to*

z Omnipotens & miſericors Deus, tuam deprecamur clementiam, quia iudicio tuo & naſcimur & finimur; ut animam fratris noſtri, quem tua pietas de incolatu huius mundi tranſire præcepit, in requiem æternam ſuſcipias, & in conſortio electorum tuorum in reſurrectione ſociari permittas, ut in æternâ beatitudine unâ cum illis ſine fine permaneat. *Alcuin. Offic. per ferias, Oper. pag. 230. 231. collat. cum ſimili, tomo 5. Gregor. col. 228. c. d. & in Operib. Caſſandr. pag. 385.*

a Æterne Deus, qui nobis in Chriſto unigenito filio tuo Domino noſtro ſpem beatæ reſurrectionis conceſſiſti; præſta, quæſumus, ut animæ, pro quibus hoc ſacrificium redemptionis noſtræ tuæ offerimus maieſtati, ad beatæ reſurrectionis requiem, te miſerante, cum Sanctis tuis pervenire mereantur. *Præf. antiqu. 110. edit. Colon. an. 1530. Tom. 2. Liturg. Pamel. pag. 609. Tom. 5. Gregor. col. 236. e.* b Hæc nos communio, quæſumus domine, purget à crimine: & animæ famuli tui N. cœleſtis gaudii tribuat conſortium, ut ante thronum gloriæ Chriſti tui ſegregata cum dextris, nihil commune habeat cum ſiniſtris. *tom. 5. Gregor. col. 233. c.* c Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. In cujus adventu, cùm geminam jusſeris ſiſtere plebem, jubeas & famulum tuum à numero diſcerni malorum. Quem unâ tribuas pœnæ æternæ evadere flammas, & juſtæ potiùs adipiſci præmia vitæ; *&c. Offic. Ambroſian. tomo 1. Liturgic. Pamel. pag. 450.*

appeare, command thy ſeruant alſo to bee ſeuered from the number of the euill. and grant unto him, that hee may both eſcape the flames of euerlaſting puniſhment, and obtaine the rewards of a righteous life. &c. Laſtly, Abbat *Berengoſius*, ſpeaking of *Conſtantine* the Great * *Foraſmuch*, ſaith he, *as hitherto he hath not the full perfection of his future reſt, but rather doth hope as yet with us to finde a better reſurrection; we are to pray, that he who by his bloud was pleaſed to ſanctifie the banner of the quickening Croſſe, would hereafter bring unto perfect reſt both us and him.*

In theſe, and other praiers of the like kinde, we may deſcrie euident footſteps of the primary intention of the Church in her ſupplications for the dead: which was, that the whole man (not the ſoule ſeparated only) might receive publicke remiſſion of ſinnes, and a ſolemne acquitall in the judgement of that great day; and ſo obtaine both a full eſcape from all the conſequences of ſinne ([d] *the laſt enemie being now deſtroied, and death ſwallowed up in victorie*) and a perfect conſummation of bliſſe and happineſſe. all which are compriſed in that ſhort praier of S. *Paul* for *Oneſiphorus* (though made for him while he was alive:) [e] *The Lord grant unto him, that hee may finde mercie of the Lord in that day.* Yea, diuerſe praiers for the dead of this kinde are ſtill retained in the *Romane* Offices: of which the great Spaniſh Doctor *Iohannes Medina*

* Quoniam ipſe futuræ quietis plenariam nondum habet perfectionem, ſed nobiſcum potiùs meliorem adhuc ſperat inuenire reſurrectionem: orandum eſt nobis, ut ipſe qui per ſanguinem ſuum viuificæ Crucis voluit ſanctificare vexillium, ad perfectam requiem nos perducat quandoquè & illum. *Berengoſ. de Invent. & laude Crucis, lib. 2. cap. 11. Cum quo conferendum & illud Caſſiodori, in Pſalm. 24.* Quia juſtis hominibus exutis corpore non ſtatim perfecta beatitudo datur, quæ Sanctis in reſurrectione promittitur; animam tamen ejus dicit in bonis poſſe remorari. quoniam etſi adhuc præmia illa ſuſpenſa ſunt, quæ nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis aſcendit; modò tamen futuri præmij certiſſimâ ſpei delectatione paſcuntur. d 1. Cor. 15. 26, 54. e 2. Tim. 1. 18.

thus

thus writeth, [f] *Although I have read manie praiers for the faithfull deceaſed, which are contained in the Romane Miſſall; yet have I read in none of them, that the Church doth petition, that they may more quickely bee freed from paines: but I have read that in ſome of them petition is made, that they may be freed from everlaſting paines.* For beſide the common prayer that is uſed in the Maſſe for the Commemoration of all the faithfull deceaſed, that *Chriſt would free them from the mouth of the Lion, that Hell may not ſwallow them up, and that they may not fall into the place of darkeneſſe:* this prayer is preſcribed for the day wherein the dead did depart out of this life. [g] *O God, whoſe propertie is alwaies to have mercie and to ſpare; wee moſt humbly beſeech thee for the ſoule of thy ſervant N. which this day thou haſt commanded to depart out of this world: that thou maiſt not deliver it into the hands of the enemy nor forget it finally; but command it to be received by the holy Angels, and brought unto the countrie of Paradiſe: that becauſe he hath truſted and beleeved in thee, he may not ſuſtain the pains of Hell, but poſſeſſe joies everlaſting.* which is a direct prayer, that the ſoule of him which was then departed might immediatly be received into Heaven, and eſcape, not the temporary paines of Purgatory, but the everlaſting paines of Hell. for howſoever the new reformers of the *Romane* Miſſall have put in here *pœnas inferni* (under the generalitie peradventure of the terme of the *paines of hell* intending to ſhrowde their Purgatorie which they would have men beleeve to be one of the lodges of Hell)

[f] Etſi quamplures orationes fidelium defunctorum legerim, quæ in Miſſali Romano continentur; in nullâ tamen earum legi per Eccleſiam peti, ut citiùs à pœnis liberentur: legi tamen in nonnullis peti ut ab æternis pœnis liberentur. *Io. Medin. in Codice de Oratione, quæſt. 6.*

[g] Deus, cui proprium eſt miſereri ſemper & parcere; te ſupplices exoramus pro animâ famuli tui N. quam hodie de hoc ſeculo migrare juſſiſti: ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, neque obliviſcaris in finem; ſed iubeas eam à ſanctis Angelis ſuſcipi, & ad patriam paradiſi perduci: ut quia in te ſperavit & credidit, non pœnas inferni ſuſtineat, ſed gaudia æterna poſſideat. *Orat. in die obitus ſeu depoſitionis defuncti: in Miſſali Romano reformato.*

Hell) yet in the [h] old Miſſall, which *Medina* had reſpect unto, wee reade expreſſely *pœnas æternas, everlaſting paines*; which by no conſtruction can be referred unto the paines of Purgatorie. and to the ſame purpoſe, in the booke of the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, at the exequies of a Cardinall, a praier is appointed to be read; that by the aſſiſtance of Gods grace he might [i] *eſcape the judgement of everlaſting revenge, who while he lived was marked with the ſeale of the holy Trinitie.*

Again, [k] *there be other praiers* (ſaith *Medina*) *wherein petition is made, that God would raiſe the ſoules of the dead in their bodies unto bliſſe at the day of judgement.* Such, for example, is that which is found in the Romane Miſſall. [l] *Abſolve, wee beſeech thee, O Lord, the ſoule of thy ſervant from all the bond of his ſinnes: that in the glorie of the reſurrection, being raiſed among thy Saints and Elect, he may breathe againe,* or be refreſhed. and that other in that Romane Pontificiall. [m] *O God unto whom all thinge doe live, and unto whom our bodies in dying doe not periſh, but are changed for the better; wee humbly pray thee, that thou wouldeſt com-*

h *Miſſal. Rom. edit. Pariſ. an.* 1529.

i Gratiâ tuâ illi ſuccurrente, mereatur iudicium evadere ultionis æternæ, qui dum viveret inſignitus eſt ſignaculo ſanctæ Trinitatis. *Lib.* 1. *ſacr. Ceremoniar. Rom. Eccl. ſect.* 15. *cap.* 1. *fol.* 152. b. *edit. Colon. an.* 1574.

k Sunt aliæ orationes, in quibus petitur, ut Deus animas defunctorum in corporibus ad beatitudinem in die iudicii ſuſcitet. *Io. Medin. ut ſupra.*

Pontificall

l Abſolve, quæſumus Domine, animam famuli tui ab omni vinculo delictorum: ut in reſurrectionis gloriâ, inter ſanctos & electos tuos reſuſcitatus reſpiret. *Orat. pro defunct. in Miſſali Romano, vetere & novo. nec non in Gregorij Sacramentario, tom.* 2. *Liturgic. Pamely, pag.* 386. *& tom.* 5. *oper. Gregor. edit. Pariſ. col.* 229. 230. *Similis etiam oratiuncula habetur in Gregory Antiphonario, pag.* 175. *Pamely, col* 62. *edit. Pariſ.* Eruc Domine animas eorum ab omni vinculo delictorum: ut in reſurrectionis gloriâ inter ſanctos tuos reſuſcitari mereantur. m Deus, cui omnia vivunt, & cui non pereunt moriendo corpora noſtra, ſed mutantur in melius; te ſupplices deprecamur, ut ſuſcipi iubeas animam famuli tui N. per manus ſanctorum Angelorum tuorum deducendam in ſinum amici tui Abrahæ Patriarchæ, reſuſcitandamq; in noviſſimo iudicii magni die: & quicquid vitiorum, Diabolo fallente, contraxit, tu pius & miſericors abluas indulgendo. *Pontifical. Roman. Clem.* VIII. *iuſſu edit. Romæ ann.* 1595. *pag.* 685. *& Venet. ann.* 1572. *fol.* 226. *col.* 4. *Lib.* 1. *ſacr. Ceremon. Rom. Eccleſ. ſect.* 15. *cap.* 1. *fol.* 153. b. *edit. Colon. Tom.* 5. *Oper. Gregorij, col.* 227. *edit. Pariſ. Præt. Eccleſiaſt. à G. Caſſandro edit. pag.* 384. *Operum.*

mand

mand the ſoule of thy ſervant N. to be received by the hands of thy holy Angels, to bee carried into the boſome of thy friend the Patriarch Abraham, and to bee raiſed up at the laſt day of the great judgement: and whatſoever faults, by the deceit of the Divell, hee hath incurred, doe thou of thy pitie and mercie waſh away by forgiving them. Now foraſmuch as it is moſt certaine, that all ſuch as depart in grace (as the Adverſaries acknowledge that all in Purgatorie doe) are ſure to eſcape Hell, and to bee raiſed up unto glory at the laſt day: *Medina* perplexeth himſelfe exceedingly in according theſe kinde of prayers with the received grounds of Purgatorie; and after much agitation of the buſineſſe too and fro, at laſt reſolveth upon one of theſe two deſperate concluſions. that touching theſe [n] *prayers which are made in the Church for the dead, it may firſt of all bee ſaid, that it is not neceſſarie to excuſe them all from all unfitneſſe. For many things are permitted to bee read in the Church, which although they bee not altogether true, nor altogether fit, yet ſerve for the ſtirring up and increaſing the devotion of the faithfull. Manie ſuch things* (ſaith hee) *wee beleeve are contained in the hiſtories that bee not ſacred, and in the Legends of the Saints, and in the opinions and writings of the Doctors: all which are tolerated by the Church in the meane time, while there is no queſtion moved of them, and no ſcandall ariſeth from them. And therefore*

n Reſpondetur, quantum ad orationes quæ pro defunctis in Eccleſiâ fiunt, poſſe primò dici, non eſſe neceſſarium omnes eas ab omni ineptitudine excuſare. Multa enim in Eccleſiâ legi permittuntur, quæ quamvis non omnino vera ſint, vel omnino apta, conferunt tamen ad fidelium devotionem excitandam & augendam. Talia multa credendum eſt contineri in hiſtoriis non ſacris, & in Legendis Sanctorum, & in opinionibus Doctorum & ſcripturis: quæ omnia tolerantur in Eccleſia interim, dum ſuper illis nulla movetur quæſtio, nullumq; inſurgit ſcandalum. Ac proinde non mirum, in orationibus prædictis aliquid minùs aptum contineri, & ab Eccleſiâ tolerari: cùm tales orationes factæ ſint à perſonis privatis, non à Conciliis, nec per Concilia omnino ſint approbatæ. *Io. Medin. ut ſupr.*

it is no marvaile, that ſomewhat not ſo fit ſhould bee contained in the foreſaid prayers, and bee tolerated in the Church: ſeeing ſuch prayers were made by private perſons, not by Councells, neither were approved at all by Councells.

And wee eaſily doe beleeve indeed, that their Offices and Legends are fraught not onely with untrue and unfit, but alſo with farre worſe ſtuffe: neither is this any newes unto us. *Agobardus* Biſhop of *Lions* complained about 800. yeares agoe, that the *Antiphonary* uſed in his Church, had [o] *many ridiculous and phantaſticall* things in it: and that hee was faine [p] to cut off from thence ſuch things as ſeemed to bee *either ſuperfluous, or light, or lying, or blaſphemous.* The like complaint was made not long ſince by *Lindanus*, of the Roman *Antiphonaries* & *Miſſals:* [q] wherein *not onely apochryphall* tales (ſaith hee) *out of the Goſpel of Nicodemus and other toyes are thruſt in; but the very ſecret prayers themſelves are defiled with moſt foule faults.* But now that wee have the [r] *Romane Miſſall reſtored according to the decree of the Counceil of Trent, ſet out by the command of Pius V. and reviſed againe by the authoritie of Clemens VIII.* I doubt much whether our Romaniſts will allow the Cenſure which their *Medina* hath given of the prayers contained therein. And therefore if this will not pleaſe them, hee hath another anſwer in ſtore: of which though his countryman [ſ] *Mendoza* hath given ſen-

o Multa ridiculoſa & phantaſtica. *Agobard. ad Canonicos Lugdunenſ. de Correct. Antiphonarij, pag. 396. edit. Pariſ.*

p Hâc de causâ & Antiphonarium pro viribus noſtris magnâ ex parte correximus: amputatis his, quæ vel ſuperflua, vel levia, vel mendacia, aut blaſphema videbantur. *Id. ibid. pag. 392.*

q Vbi non Apochrypha modò ex Evang. Nicodemi & aliis nugis ſunt infarta; ſed ipſæ adeò ſecretæ preces (imò ipſe, prò pudor & dolor, Canon & varians & redundans) ſunt mendis turpiſsimis conſpurcatæ. *Wil. Lindan. de opt. gen. interpr. ſcript. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

r Miſſale Romanum ex decreto ſacroſancti Concilii Tridentini reſtitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. juſſu editum, & Clementis VIII. auctoritate recognitum. *Rom. an. 1604. Pariſ. 1605.*

ſ *Alphonſ. Mendoz. Controverſ. Theolog. quæſt. 6. ſcholaſtic. num. 5.*

tence,

tence, that it is *indigna viro Theologo*, unworthy of any man that beareth the name of a Divine; yet such as it is, you shall have it. Supposing then, that the Church hath no intention to pray for any other of the dead, but those that are detained in Purgatorie: this hee delivereth for his second resolution. [t] *The Church, knowing that God hath power to punish everlastingly those soules, by which, when they lived, hee was mortally offended; and that God hath not tyed his power unto the Scriptures, and unto the promises that are contained in the Scripture (forasmuch as hee is aboue all things, and as omnipotent after his promises, as if hee had promised nothing at all:) therefore the Church doth humbly pray God, that hee would not use this his absolute omnipotencie against the soules of the faithfull, which are departed in grace; therefore shee doth pray that hee would vouchsafe to free them from everlasting paines, and from revenge and the judgement of condemnation, and that hee would bee pleased to raise them up againe with his Elect.*

t Scient Ecclesia, Deum potestatem habere puniendi æternaliter animas illas, per quas, cùm viverent, fuerat mortaliter offensus; quodq; Deus potestatem suam non alligaverit Scripturis, & promissis quæ in Scripturâ continentur; quandoquidem ipse super omnia est, & tam omnipotens post promissa, ac si nil promisisset: ideò Ecclesia simpliciter Deum orat, ne illâ absolutâ omnipotentiâ contra animas fidelium, qui in gratiâ decesserunt, utatur; ideò orat, ut eas ab æternis pœnis, & à vindictâ, & judicio condemnationis liberare, & ut eas cum suis electis resuscitare, dignetur. *Fo. Medina, ut supr.*

But leaving our Popish Doctors with their profound speculations of the not limitting of Gods power by the Scriptures, and the promises which he hath made unto us therein: let us returne to the ancient Fathers, and consider the differences that are to bee found among them touching the place and condition of soules separated from their bodies. for according to the severall apprehensions which they had thereof, they made different applications and interpretations of the use of praying for the dead: whose particular intentions and devotions in that

kinde,

kinde, muſt of neceſſity therefore bee diſtinguiſhed from the generall intention of the whole Church.

S. *Auguſtine* (that I may begin with him who was, as the moſt *ingenious*, ſo likewiſe the moſt *ingenuous* of all others in acknowledging his ignorance where hee ſaw cauſe) being to treat of theſe matters, maketh this Preface before-hand unto his hearers. [u] *Of Hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you: and peradventure it may bee, that our paſſage may lye ſome other way, and not prove to be by Hell. For theſe things bee uncertaine.* and having occaſion to ſpeake of the departure of *Nebridius* his deare friend: [x] *Now hee liveth,* ſaith hee, *in the boſome of Abraham, whatſoever the thing bee that is ſignified by that boſome; there doth my Nebridius live.* But elſewhere hee directly diſtinguiſheth this boſome from the place of bliſſe, into which the Saints ſhall bee received after the laſt judgement. [y] *After this ſhort life* (ſaith hee) *thou ſhalt not as yet bee where the Saints ſhall bee, unto whom it ſhall bee ſaid; Come yee bleſſed of my Father, receive the kingdome which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Thou ſhalt not as yet bee there: who knoweth it not? But now thou mayeſt bee there, where that proud and barren rich man in the middeſt of his torments ſaw a farre off the poore man, ſometimes full of ulcers, reſting. Being placed in that reſt, thou doſt ſecurely expect the day of judgement; when thou mayeſt receive thy body, when thou mayeſt bee chan-*

u Infernùm nec ego expertus ſum adhuc nec vos: & fortaſsis alia via erit, & non per infernum erit. Incerta ſunt enim hæc. *Auguſtin. in Pſal. 85.*

x Nunc ille vivit in ſinu Abraham, quicquid illud eſt quod illo ſignificatur ſinu; ibi Nebridius meus vivit. *Id. Confeſſion. lib. 9, cap. 3.*

y Poſt vitam iſtam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt Sancti, quibus dicetur; Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum eſt ab initio mundi. Nondum ibi eris: quis neſcit? Sed iam poteris ibi eſſe, ubi illum quondam ulceroſum pauperem dives ille ſuperbus & ſterilis in mediis ſuis tormentis vidit à longè requieſcentem. In illâ requie poſitus, certè ſecurus expectas iudicii diem; quando recipias & corpus, quando immuteris ut angelo æqueris. *Id. in Pſalm. 36. conc. 1.*

ged

ged to bee equall unto an Angell. and for the ſtate of ſoules, betwixt the time of the particular and generall judgement, this is his concluſion in generall. [z] *The time that is interpoſed betwixt the death of man and the laſt reſurrection, containeth the ſoules in hidden receptacles; as every one is worthie either of reſt or of trouble, according unto that which it did purchaſe in the fleſh when it lived.* Into theſe hidden receptacles hee thought the ſoules of Gods children might carry ſome of their lighter faults with them: which being not removed, would hinder them from comming into the kingdome of heauen (whereinto no polluted thing can enter) and from which, by the prayers and almeſ-deeds of the living, hee held they might bee releaſed. But of two things hee profeſſed himſelfe here to bee ignorant. *Firſt,* [a] What thoſe ſinnes were, which did ſo hinder the comming unto the kingdome of God, that yet by the care of good friends they might obtaine pardon. *Secondly,* [b] Whether thoſe ſoules did endure any temporarie paines in the *Interim* betwixt the time of Death and the Reſurrection. For howſoever in his one and twentith booke of the *Citie of God,* and the thirteenth and ſixteenth chapters (for, the new patch which they have added to the foure and twentith chapter is not worthy of regard) hee affirme, that ſome of them doe ſuffer certaine purgatorie puniſhments before the laſt and dreadfull judgement: yet by comparing theſe places with the [c] five and twentith chapter of the

z Tempus autem quod inter hominis mortem & ultimam reſurrectionem interpoſitum eſt, animas abditis receptaculis continet; ſicut unaquæq; digna eſt vel requie vel ærumnâ, pro eo quod ſortita eſt in carne cùm viveret. *Id. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap.* 108.

a Sed quis iſte ſit modus, & quæ ſint ipſa peccata, quæ ita impediunt perventionem ad regnum Dei, ut tamen ſanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam: difficilimum eſt invênire, periculoſiſſimum definire. Ego certè uſque ad hoc tempus, cùm inde ſatagerem, ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. *Id. lib.* 21. *de Civit. Dei, cap.* 27. b *See before, pag.* 184. c Ex his quæ dicta ſunt videtur evidentiùs apparere, in illo iudicio quaſdam quorundam purgatorias pœnas futuras; *&c.* Verum iſta quæſtio de purgatoriis pœnis, ut diligentiùs pertractetur, in tempus aliud differenda eſt. *nempe, ubi ad librum* 21. *perventum fuerit.*

twentieth

twentieth booke, it will appeare, that by thoſe purgatory puniſhments he underſtandeth here the furnace of the fire of Conflagration, that ſhall immediately goe before this laſt iudgement, and (as hee otherwhere deſcribeth the effects thereof) [d] *ſeparate ſome unto the left hand, and melt out others unto the right.*

Neither was this opinion of the reſervation of ſoules in ſecret places, and the purging of them in the fire of Conflagration at the day of iudgement, entertained by this famous Doctor alone: diverſe others there were that had touched upon the ſame ſtring before him. *Origen* in his fourth booke περὶ ἀρχῶν, as wee have him tranſlated by *Ruffinus* (for both in the [e] Extracts ſelected out of him by S. *Baſil* and S. *Gregory*, and in S. *Hieroms* 59. epiſtle *ad Avitum*, wee find the place ſomewhat otherwiſe expreſſed) ſaith, that [f] *ſuch as depart out of this world after the common courſe of death, are diſpoſed of according to their deeds and merits, as they ſhall bee judged to bee worthy; ſome into the place which is called Hell, others into Abrahams boſome, and through diverſe either places or manſions.* and in his Commentaries upon *Leviticus*, he addeth further. [g] *Neither have the Apoſtles themſelves as yet received their joy; but even they doe expect, that I alſo may bee made partaker of their ioy. For the Saints departing from hence doe not preſently obtaine the full rewards of their labours; but they expect us likewiſe, howſoever ſtaying, howſoever ſlacking.* Then touching the purging of men after the Reſurrection, hee thus de-

d Hoc aget caminus: alios in ſiniſtram ſeparabit, alios in dexteram quodammodo eliquabit. *Aug. in Pſalm. 103. conc. 3.*

e Οἱ ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθνήσκοντες, ἐν ᾅδῃ ἐντεῦθεν παρεκτεμένων διχονομεῖται οἱ κείθεν ἄξιοι τῷ καλεῖσθαι χωρία ἅδου, τὸν τῶν διαφόρων πυγχάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἁμαρτωλότητος. Origenis Philocalia, cap. 1.

f De hoc mundo ſecundum communem mortem iſtam recedentes, pro actibus ſuis & meritis diſpenſantur, pro ut digni fuerint iudicati; alii quidem in locum qui dicitur Infernus, alii in ſinum Abrahæ, & per diverſa quæq; vel loca vel manſiones. *Orig. de Principiis, l. 4. c. 2.*

g Nondum receperunt lætitiam ſuam, ne Apoſtoli quidem; ſed & ipſi expectant, ut & ego lætitiæ eorum particeps fiam. Neq; enim decedentes hinc Sancti, continuò integra meritorum ſuorum præmia conſequuntur; ſed expectant etiam nos, licèt morantes, licèt deſides. *Id. hom. 7. in Lev. cap. 10.*

livereth

livereth his minde in his Commentaries upon *Luke*. [h] *I thinke, that even after our resurrection from the dead wee shall have need of a sacrament to wash and purge us: for none can rise without pollutions.* and upon *Ieremy*: [i] *If any one bee saved in the second resurrection, hee is that sinner which needeth the baptisme of fire, which is purged with burning; that whatsoever hee hath of wood, hay, and stubble, the fire may consume it.* which in his 5. booke against *Celsus*, hee doth explicate more at large.

Neither doth *Lactantius* shew himselfe to varie much from him, in either of those points; for thus he writeth. [k] *When God shall judge the righteous, hee will examine them by fire. Then they whose sinnes shall prevaile either in weight or number, shall bee touched with the fire, and burned: but they whom perfect righteousnesse and the ripenesse of vertue hath throughly seasoned, shall not feele that fire. for from thence have they something in them, that will repell and put backe the force of the flame: so great is the force of innocency, that that fire shall flye backe from it without doing anie harme, which hath received this power from God, that it may burne the wicked, and doe service to the righteous. Yet notwithstanding let no man thinke, that the soules are presently judged after death. All of them are detained in one common custodie untill the time come, wherein the great Iudge doth make tryall of their doings.* In like

h Ego puto, quòd & post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento eluente nos atq; purgante: nemo enim absq; sordibus resurgere poterit. *Id. in Luc. homil.* 14.

i Si quis in secundâ resurrectione servatur, iste peccator est qui ignis indiget baptismo; qui combustione purgatur, ut quicquid habuerit lignorum, fœni, & stipulæ, ignis consumat. *Id. in Ierem. hom.* 13.

k Sed & iustos cùm iudicaverit, etiam igni eos examinabit. Tum quorum peccata vel pondere vel numero prævaluerint, perstringentur igni, atque amburentur: quos autem plena justitia & maturitas virtutis incoxerit, ignem illum non sentient. habent enim in se aliquid inde, quod vim flammæ repellat ac respuat. Tanta est vis innocentiæ, ut ab eâ ignis ille refugiat innoxius, qui accepit à Deo hanc potestatem, ut impios urat, justis obtemperet. Nec tamen quisquam putet, animas post mortem protinùs judicari. Omnes in unâ communiq; custodiâ detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus Iudex meritorum faciat examen. *Lactant. institut. divin. lib. 7. cap. 21.*

manner

manner doth S. *Hilary* write of the one part.[l] *All the faithfull, when they are gone out of the body, ſhall bee reſerved by the Lords cuſtodie for that entry into the heavenly kingdome, being in the meane time placed in the boſome of Abraham; whither the wicked are hindred from comming, by the gulfe interpoſed betwixt them, untill the time of entring into the kingdome of heaven doe come.* and thus of the other.[m] *Being to render an account of every idle word, ſhall we deſire the day of iudgement, wherein that unwearied fire muſt bee paſſed by us, in which thoſe grievous puniſhments for expiating the ſoule from ſinnes muſt bee endured? for*[n] *to ſuch as have beene baptized with the holy Ghoſt, it remaineth that they ſhould be conſummated with the fire of iudgement.*

In S. *Ambroſe* alſo there are ſome paſſages to bee found, which ſeeme to make directly for either of theſe points: as theſe for the former.[o] *The ſoule is looſed from the bodie, and yet after the end of this life it is held as yet in ſuſpence with the uncertaintie of the future iudgement: ſo that there is no end, where there is thought to bee an end.*[p] *Wee reade in the bookes of Eſdras; that when the day of iudgement ſhall come, the earth ſhall reſtore the bodies of the deceaſed, and the duſt ſhall reſtore the reliques of the dead which doe reſt in the graves: and the habitacles ſhall reſtore the ſoules which were committed to them; and the moſt High ſhall be re-*

a gaine

l Exeuntes de corpore, ad introitum illum regni cœleſtis, per cuſtodiam Domini fideles omnes reſervabuntur, in ſinu ſcilicèt interim Abrahæ collocati: quò adire impios interjectum chaos inhibet, quouſq; introeundi rurſum in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. *Hilar. in Pſ.* [illegible] 9.

m An cùm ex omni otioſo verbo rationem ſumus præſtituri, diem judicii concupiſcemus, in quo nobis eſt ille indefeſſus ignis obeundus, in quo ſubeunda ſunt gravia illa expiandæ à peccatis animæ ſupplicia? *Id. in Pſalm.* 118. *octonar.* 3.

n Salutis igitur noſtræ & judicii tempus deſignat in Domino dicens; *Ille baptizabit vos in Spiritu ſancto & igni*: quia baptizatis in Spiritu ſancto, reliquum ſit conſummari igne judicii. *Id. in Matth. canon.* 2.

o Solvitur corpore anima, & poſt finem vitæ hujus, adhuc tamen futuri judicii ambiguo ſuſpenditur. Ita finis nullus, ubi finis putatur. *Ambr. de Cain & Abel, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

p Siquidem & in Eſdræ libris legimus: quia cùm venerit judicii dies, reddet terra defunctorum corpora, & pulvis redder eas quæ in tumulis requieſcunt reliquias mortuorum. Et habitacula, inquit, reddent animas quæ his commendatæ ſunt: & revelabitur Altiſſimus ſuper ſedem iudicii. *Ambroſ. de bono mortis, cap.* 10 *ex* 4. *Eſdr.* 7. 32, 33.

vealed

vealed upon the ſeate of iudgement. [q] Alſo that Scripture *nameth thoſe habitacles of the ſoules, Promptuaries* (or ſecret receptacles:) *and meeting with the complaint of man, that the juſt which have gone before may ſeeme to bee defrauded (untill the day of judgement, which is a very long time) of the reward due unto them; ſaith wonderfully, that the day of judgement is like unto a crowne, wherein as there is no ſlackneſſe of the laſt, ſo is there no ſwiftneſſe of the firſt. For the day of crowning is expected by all; that within that day both they who are overcome may bee aſhamed, and they who doe overcome may obtaine the palme of victorie.* [r] *Therefore while the fulneſſe of time is expected, the ſoules expect their due reward. Paine is provided for ſome of them, for ſome glory: and yet in the meane time neither are thoſe without trouble, nor theſe without fruit.* and theſe for the latter. [s] *With fire ſhall the ſonnes of Levi bee purged, with fire Ezechiel, with fire Daniel. But theſe, although they ſhall bee tryed with fire, yet ſhall ſay: Wee have paſſed through fire and water. Others ſhall remaine in the fire.* [t] *And if the Lord ſhall ſave his ſervants, wee ſhall bee ſaved by faith, yet ſaved as it were by fire. Although wee ſhall not bee burned up, yet ſhall wee bee burned.* [u] *After the end of the world, when the Angels ſhall bee ſent to ſeparate the good and the bad, this baptiſme ſhall bee; when ini-*

q Deniq; & ſcriptura habitacula illa animarum promptuaria nuncupavit: quæ occurrens querelæ humanæ, eo quòd iuſti qui præmuneratione fraudari; mirabiliter ait, Coronæ eſſe ſimilem iudicii diem, in quo ſicut noviſſimorum tarditas, ſic non priorum velocitas. Coronæ enim dies expectatur ab omnibus; ut intra eum diem & victi erubeſcant, & victores palmam adipiſcantur victoriæ. *Id. ibid. ex* 4. *Eſdr.* 4. 35. & 5. 41, 42.

r Ergo dum expectatur plenitudo temporis, expectant animæ remunerationem debitam. Alias manet pœna, alias gloria: & tamen nec illæ interim ſine iniuriâ, nec iſtæ ſine fructu ſunt. *Ibid.* ſ Igne ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezechiel, igne Daniel. Sed hi etſi per ignem examinabuntur, dicent tamen: Tranſivimus per ignem & aquam. Alii in igne remanebunt. *Id. in Pſalm.* 36. t Et ſi ſalvos faciet Dominus ſervos ſuos; ſalvi erimus per fidem, ſic tamen ſalvi quaſi per ignem. Etſi non exuremur, tamen uremur. *Id. ibid.* u Siquidem poſt conſummationem ſeculi, miſſis angelis qui ſegregent bonos & malos, hoc futurum eſt baptiſma; quando per caminum ignis iniquitas exuretur, ut in regno Dei fulgeant juſti ſicut Sol in regno patris ſui. Et ſi aliquis ut Petrus ſit, ut Ioannes, baptizatur hoc igni. *Id. in Pſalm.* 118. *ſerm.* 3.

quitie

quitie shall bee burnt up by the furnace of fire, that in the kingdome of God the righteous may shine as the Sunne in the kingdome of their Father. And if anie one bee as Peter, or as Iohn, hee is baptized with this fire. Seeing therefore [x] hee that is purged here, hath need to bee purged againe there: let him purge us there also, when the Lord may say; Enter into my rest. that everie one of us being burned with that flaming sword, not burned up, when hee is entred into that pleasure of Paradise, may give thankes unto his Lord, saying: Thou hast brought us into a place of refreshment.

Hereunto wee may adjoyne that observation of Suarez the Iesuite. [y] They who thinke, that the soules of men are not judged at their death, nor doe receive reward or punishment, but are reserved in hidden receptacles untill the generall judgement; doe consequently say, that as men doe not receive their last reward or punishment, so neither are they also purged, untill the generall Resurrection and judgement doe come: from whence they might say with reasonable good consequence, that men are to bee purged with the fire of Conflagration. and with as good consequence also (may we further adde) that prayers were not to bee made for the deliverie of the soules of the dead from any purgatorie paines, supposed to bee suffered by them betwixt the time of their death and their resurrection; which be the onely prayers which are now in question. [z] In

x Sed quia hîc purgatus, iterùm necesse habet illic purificari: illic quoque nos purificet, quando dicat Dominus; Intrate in requiem meam. ut unusquisque nostrúm ustus romphæâ illâ flammeâ, non exustus, introgressus in illam paradisi amœnitatem, gratias agat domino suo, dicens: Induxisti nos in refrigerium. *Id. ibid. Vid. & serm. 20. in eund. Psalm. 118. & enarrat. Psalm. 1. supr. pag. 206.*

y Qui opinantur, animas hominum non judicari in morte, nec præmiũ aut pœnam recipere, sed reservari in abditis receptaculis usq; ad judicium universale; consequenter dicunt, sicut non accipiunt homines ultimum præmium vel pœnam, ita neq; etiam purgari, donec sit facta generalis Resurrectio, & Iudicium: ex quo satis consequenter dicere potuerunt, purgandos esse homines igne conflagrationis. *Fr. Suarez. in 3. part. Thom. quæst. 59. art. 6. disput. 57. sect. 1.*

z Ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, φησὶ, ἔργων ἡμῶν ὄντων δόκιμον τὸ δοκιμαστικὸν πυρὶ τεθέντων ὡς ἐν λίνῳ, καταφλεχθῇ ἡ γεωργία ἡμῶν γένηται. Gregor. Ceram. homil. in Indictionis sive novi anni principium.

the

the Reſurrection, when our workes, like unto cluſters of grapes, ſhall bee caſt into the probatory fire as it were into the wine-preſſe; every mans husbandry ſhall bee made manifeſt: ſaith *Gregorius Cerameus*, ſometime Archbiſhop of *Tauromenium* in *Sicilia*. and, [a] *No man as yet is entred either into the torments of Hell or into the kingdome of Heaven, untill the time of the reſurrection of the bodies:* ſaith *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*. upon whom *Gretſer* beſtoweth this marginall annotation: that this is the [b] *Error of certaine of the ancient, & of latter Greece.* And wee finde it to bee held indeed both by ſome of the ancient (as namely in *Caius*, who lived at *Rome* when *Zephyrinus* was Biſhop there, and is accounted to bee the author of the treatiſe falſely fathered upon *Ioſephus*, περὶ τῆς τῦ παυλὸς ἀναλύσεως, a large fragment whereof hath beene lately publiſhed by *Hæſchelius* in his notes upon *Photius* his *Bibliotheke*:) and by the latter *Grecians*; in whoſe name, *Marcus Eugenicus*, Archbiſhop of Epheſus, doth make this proteſtation againſt ſuch of his countrymen as yeelded to the definition of the *Florentine* Councell.

[c] *Wee ſay, that neither the Saints doe receive the kingdome prepared for them, and thoſe ſecret good things, neither the ſinners doe as yet fall into Hell: but that either of them doe remaine in expectation of their proper lott; and that this appertaineth unto the time that is to come after the Reſurrection and the Iudgement. But theſe men,*

a Οτι οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὔπω εἰς τὴν γέενναν οὐδὲ εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσῆλθεν, ἕως τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀναστάσεως. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. (al. Nicæn.) quæſt. 91.

b Error veterum quorundam, & recentioris Græciæ. Gretſer. ibid. in marg. pag. 501. edit. Ingolſtad.

c Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οὔτε τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἑτοιμασθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς βασιλείαν, καὶ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα ἀγαθά, οὔτε τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς τὴν γέενναν ἐμπεσεῖν ἤδη, φαμέν. ἀλλ' ἑκάτερος χλῆρον ἴδιον λαχεῖν τοῦτο καιρῷ τῷ μέλλοντι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν. ὅπερ ἡ μὲν θεία Λαπίνων τοῦ μὴ αὐτίκα μετὰ θάνατον ἀπολαβεῖν ἤδη τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐθέλουσι, τίς ἡ μέσους εἶναι τοῖς ἐν μετανοίᾳ τετελευτηκόσι πῦρ αὐτοὺς καθαρτήριον ἕτερόν τι τῆς γέεννης ἀπάρχον ἀναπλάσαντες ἀποδιδῶσιν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ, φησὶ, καθαιρόμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον, δύνωνται τῆς βασιλείας καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ἀποκατασταθῆναι. Marc. Epheſus, in Epiſtolâ Encyclicâ contra Concil. Florentin. Vid. & Gennadium Scholarium, in Defenſ. Concil. Florentin. cap. 3. ſect. 2.

with the Latines, would have these to receive presently after death the things they have deserved: but unto those of the middle sort, that is, to such as dye in penance, they assigne a purgatory fire (which they faine to bee distinct from that of Hell) that thereby, say they, being purged in their soules after death, they likewise may bee received into the kingdome of heaven together with the righteous. And therefore as the *Latines* in their prayers for the dead have respect to the deliverie of soules out of Purgatorie: so the *Grecians* in theirs have relation to that other state which is to determine with the Resurrection, as in that prayer of their *Euchologe*, for example. * *The body is buried in the earth, but the soule goeth in unknowne places, waiting for the future Resurrection of the dead; in which (O gracious Saviour) make bright thy servant, place him togither with the Saints and refresh him in the bosome of Abraham.* the condition of which *unknowne places* they doe thus further explicate in another prayer. Forasmuch as by thy divine will thou hast appointed z *the soule to remove thither, where it received the first being, untill the common Resurrection; and the body to bee resolved into that of which it was composed: therefore doe we beseech thee, the Father without beginning, and thine onely begotten Sonne, and thy most holy and consubstantiall and quickning Spirit, that thou wilt not permit thine owne workmanship to bee swallowed up in destruction, but that the body may bee dissolved into that of which it was composed, and the soule placed in the Quire of the righteous.*

* Τὸ σῶμα μὲν ἐν γῇ, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἐν ἀδήλοις πορεύεται, προσαναμένουσα τὴν ἐπουράνιον νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν· ἐν ᾗ φιλάνθρωπε σωτὴρ, λαμπρύνας τὸν σὸν ἅγιον σύνταξον καὶ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ διανάπαυσον Eucholog. Græc. fol. 138.

z τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκεῖθεν χωρεῖν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ εἶναι προσελάβετο, μέχρι τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη ἀναλύεσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο δεόμεθά σου τοῦ ἀνάρχου πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σου πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ παρίδῃς τὸ σὸν πλάσμα καταποθῆναι τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα διαλυθῆναι εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καταταγῆναι ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῶν δικαίων. Ibid. fol. 151. b.

That

That *barbarous impoſtor* (as [d] *Molanus* rightly ſtyleth him) who counterfeited a letter, as written by S. *Cyrill* Biſhop of *Ieruſalem* unto S. *Auguſtine*, touching the miracles of S. *Hierome*, taketh upon him to lay down the preciſe time of the firſt ariſing of this opinion among the *Grecians* in this maner. [e] *After the death of moſt glorious Hierome, a certaine hereſie or ſect aroſe amongſt the Grecians, and came to the Latines alſo, which went about with their wicked reaſons to prove: that the ſoules of the bleſſed untill the day of the generall Iudgement, wherein they were to be joined againe unto their bodies, are deprived of the ſight and knowledge of God, in which the whole bleſſednesse of the Saints doth conſiſt, and that the ſoules of the damned in like manner untill that day are tormented with no paines. Whoſe reaſon was this: that as the ſoule did merit or ſinne with the bodie; ſo with the bodie was it to receive rewards or paines. Thoſe wicked ſectaries alſo did maintaine, that there was no place of Purgatorie, wherein the ſoules, which had not done full penance for their ſinnes in this world, might bee purged. Which peſtilent ſect getting head, ſo great ſorrow fell upon us, that we were even wearie of our life.* Then he telleth a wiſe tale how S. *Hierome*, being at that time with God, for the confutation of this new-ſprung hereſie, rayſed up *three* men from the dead (after that he had firſt [f] *led their*

d Io. Molan. hiſtor. Imag. lib. 3. cap. 36.

e Poſt obitum glorioſiſſimi Hieronymi, quædam hæreſis inter Græcos, id eſt, ſecta ſurrexit, quæ ad Latinos uſque devenit, quæ ſuis nefandis nitebatur rationibus probare: quòd animæ beatorum uſq; ad univerſalis judicii diem, in quo eorum corporibus erant iterum conjungendæ, viſione & cognitione divinâ, in quâ tota conſtitit beatitudo ſanctorum, privabuntur; & damnatorum animæ ſimiliter ad diem illum nullis cruciabuntur pœnis. Quorum ratio talis erat; Sicut anima cum

corpore meruit vel peccavit, ita cum corpore recipit præmia ſive pœnas. Aſſerebant etiam illius ſectæ nequiſſimi, nullum fore purgatorij locum, in quo animæ, quæ nondum de ſuis peccatis in mundo plenam egiſſent pœnitentiam, purgarentur. Quâ quidem ſectâ peſtiferâ crebreſcente, tantus in nos dolor irruit, ut nos ampliùs pigeret vivere. *Pſeudo-Cyrillus, tom. 2. operum Auguſtini, epiſt. 206. & ſub finem tomi 4. operum Hieronymi edit. Baſil. vel 9. ut à Mariano Victorio tomi ſunt diſpoſiti.* f Nam (ut mihi poſtmodùm interroganti dixerunt) beatus Hieronymus eos conduxerat ſecum in Paradiſum, Purgatorium, & infernum: ut quæ ibi agebantur, patefacerent univerſis. *Ibid.*

ſoules into Paradiſe, Purgatorie, and Hell; to the end they might mak known unto all men the things that were done there:) but had not the wit to conſider, that S. *Cyrill* himſelfe had need to be raiſed up, to make the *fourth* man among them. for how otherwiſe ſhould he who died thirtie yeares before S. *Hierome* (as is knowne to every one that knoweth the hiſtory of thoſe times) have heard and written the news which thoſe three good fellowes, that were raiſed by S. *Hierome* after his death, did relate concerning Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory? Yet is it nothing ſo ſtrange to me (I confeſſe) that ſuch idle dreames as theſe ſhould be deviſed in the times of darkeneſſe, to delude the world withall: as that now in the broad day light, [g] *Binsfeldius* and [h] *Suarez*, and other Romiſh merchants ſhould adventure to bring forth ſuch rotten ſtuffe as this, with hope to gaine anie credite of antiquitie thereby unto the new erected ſtaple of Popiſh Purgatorie.

[g] *Binsfeld. de condition. animar. poſt mortem, ſect. 5.*

[h] *Fran. Suarez, in 3. part. Thom. tom. 4. diſput. 45 ſect. 1. num. 1.*

The *Dominican* Friers, in a certain treatiſe written by them at *Conſtantinople* in the yeare 1252. aſſigne ſomewhat a lower beginning unto this error of the *Grecians:* affirming that they [i] *followed therin a certain inventer of this hereſie, named Andrew, Archbiſhop ſomtime of Cæſarea in Cappadocia; who ſaid, that the ſoules did waite for their bodies, that together with them, with which they had committed good or evill, they might likewiſe receive the recompence of their deeds.* But that which *Andrew* ſaith herein, hee ſaith not out of his own head; (and therefore is wrongfully charged to

[i] Sequentes quendam hujus hæreſeos inventorem Archiepiſcopum quondam Cæſareæ Cappadociæ, Andream nomine; qui dixit, propria corpora præſtolari, ut cum eis, cum quibus bona vel mala commiſerint, retributiones ſimiliter factorum recipiant. *Tractat. contra Græcos: in tomo auctorum à Petro Stuartio, edit. Ingolſtad. an. 1616. pag. 562.*

be

be the firſt inventer of it:) but out of the judgement of manie godly Fathers that went before him. [k] *It hath been ſaid* (ſaith he) *by manie of the Saints, that all vertuous men* (after this life) *doe receive places fit for them; whence they may certainely make conjecture of the glorie that ſhall befall unto them.* Where *Peltanus* beſtoweth ſuch another marginall note upon him, as *Gretſer* his fellow-Ieſuite did upon *Anaſtaſius*. [l] *This opinion is now expreſſely condemned, and rejected by the Church.* And yet doth *Alphonſus de Caſtro* acknowledge, that [m] *the Patrons thereof were famous men, renowned as well for holineſſe as for knowledge:* but telleth us withall, that *no man ought to marvaile, that ſuch great men ſhould fall into ſo peſtilent an errour; becauſe (as the Apoſtle S. Iames ſaith) hee that offendeth not in word, is a perfect man.*

Another particular opinion, which we muſt ſever from the generall intention of the Church in her oblations and praiers for the dead, is that which is noted by *Theophylact* upon the ſpeech of our Saviour, *Luk.* 12. 5. in which hee wiſheth us to obſerve, that [n] he did not ſay, *Feare him who after he hath killed caſteth into hell*; but, *hath power to caſt* into hell. *For the ſinners which die* (ſaith he) *are not alwaies caſt into hell:*

k Πολλοῖς γὰρ τῶν ἀλλων τοῦτο εἴρηται, χώρους ἀξίους εἰληφέναι τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργατῶν ἑκάστους, δι' ὧν καὶ ἂν τὰ μελλόντης αὐτοῖς δόξης τεκμαίροντο. Andr. Cæſar. cap. 17. commentar. in Apocalyps.

l Hæc ſententia diſertè eſt jam condemnata, & ab Eccleſiâ proſcripta. *Theod. Peltan. ad marginem Latinæ ſuæ verſionis.*

m Sunt adhuc alij hujus erroris patroni, viri quidem illuſtres, ſanctitate perinde ac ſcientiâ clari: Irenæus videlicèt beatiſſimus pro Chriſto martyr, Theophylactus Bulgariæ epiſcopus, beatus Bernardus. Nec mirari quiſquam debet, ſi tanti viri in tam peſtiferum errorem ſunt lapſi: quoniam (ut beatus Iacobus Apoſtolus ait) qui non offendit in verbo, hic perfectus eſt vir. *Alphonſ. Caſtr. lib. 3. adverſ. hæreſes; verbo,* Beatitudo, *hær. 6.*

n Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἶπε, Φοβήθητε τὸν μὴ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, βαλλόντα εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα βαλεῖν. οὐ γὰρ πάντως οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἁμαρτωλοὶ βάλλονται εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κεῖται τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ συγχωρεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω διὰ τοὺς ὅτι τοῖς κεκοιμημένοις ψυχωφελεῖς καὶ τὰς διαδόσεις, αἱ μικρὰ συντελοῦσι τοῖς καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις βαρείαις ἀποθανοῦσιν. εἰ πάντως ἐν τῷ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι βάλλει εἰς τὴν γέενναν, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχει βαλεῖν. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐλλείψωμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀπουδάζοντες δι' ἐλεημοσυνῶν καὶ προσφορῶν ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντα βαλεῖν· εἰ πάντως ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ χαίρωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχωρεῖν σπουδάζωμεν. Theoph. in Luc. 12.

but it remaineth in the power of God, to pardon them alſo. And this I ſay for the oblations and doales which are made for the dead, which doe not a little availe even them that die in grievous ſinnes. He doth not therefore generally, after hee hath killed, caſt into hell; but hath power to caſt. Wherefore let us not ceaſe by almes and interceſsion to appeaſe him, who hath power to caſt, but doth not alwaies uſe this power, but is able to pardon alſo. Thus far *Theophylact*: whom our Adverſaries doe blindely bring in for the countenancing of their uſe of praying and offering for the dead; not conſidering, that the prayers and oblations which hee would uphold, doe reach even unto ſuch as *dye in grievous ſins* (which the *Romaniſts* acknowledge to receive no reliefe at all by any thing that they can doe) and are intended for the keeping of ſoules from being caſt into Hell, and not for fetching them out when they have beene caſt into Purgatorie; a place that never came within the compaſſe of *Theophylacts* beleefe. His teſtimonie will fit a great deale better the prayer of S. *Dunſtan*; [o] who (as the tale goeth) having underſtood that the ſoule of King *Edwin* was to bee carried into Hell; never gave over praying untill he had gotten him ridd of that danger, and transferred unto the coaſt of *penitent ſoules*: where hee well deſerved, doubtleſſe, to undergoe that *penance* which [p] *Hugh* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Cheſter* on his deathbed impoſed upon himſelfe; even to lye in the dungeon of Purgatorie, without bayle or mainpriſe, untill the generall jayle-deliverie of the laſt day.

o *Osbern, & Eadmer. (& ex eis, Capgrav. & Surius) in vitâ Dunſtani. Vid. Guilielm. Malmesburienſ. de geſtis Regum Anglor. lib. 2. fol. 30. b. & lib. 1. de geſtis Pontific. Anglor. fol. 115. b. edit. Londin.*

p Injungatis mihi, ut ſecundùm voluntatem Dei ſim in pœnis Purgatorij uſque in diem judicii. *Roger. Wendover, & Matt. Pariſ. hiſt. Angl. an. 1198.*

Another

Another private conceit, intertained by diverſe (as well of the elder as of middle times) in their devotions for the dead, was; that an augmentation of glory might thereby bee procured for the Saints, and either a totall deliverance, or a diminution of torment at leaſt wiſe, obtained for the wicked. ¶ *If the Barbarians* (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *doe bury with their dead the things that belong unto them: it is much more reaſon, that thou ſhouldeſt ſend with the deceaſed the things that are his; not that they may bee made aſhes, as they were, but that they may adde greater glory unto him. and, if hee be departed hence a ſinner, that they may looſe his ſinnes; but if righteous, that an addition may bee made to his reward and retribution.* Yea, in the very latter daies, *Iuo Carnotenſis* writing unto *Mawd* Queene of *England*, concerning the prayers that were to bee made for the King her brother his ſoule; ſaith, that [r] *it doth not ſeeme idle, if wee make interceſſions for thoſe who alreadie enjoy reſt, that their reſt may bee encreaſed.* Whereupon Pope *Innocent* the *third* doth bring this for one of the anſwers, wherewith hee laboureth to ſalve the prayers which were uſed in the Church of *Rome*, that *ſuch or ſuch an oblation might profite ſuch or ſuch a Saint unto glory*: that [ſ] *many repute it no indignitie, that the glory of the Saints ſhould bee augmented untill the day of judgement; and therefore that in the meane time the Church may wiſh the increaſe of their glorification.* So likewiſe for the mitigation of the paines of them, whoſe ſoules were

¶ Εἰ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι συγκαταχώννυσι τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι τὰ ὄντα, πολλῷ μᾶλλόν σε συναποστεῖλαι τῷ τελευτήσαντι δίκαιον τὰ αὐτοῦ· οὐχ' ἵνα τέφρα γένηται, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἵνα πλείονα τὸν πεμφθέντα δόξαν· κἂν ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπέλθῃ ἵνα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα λύσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα προσθήκην γένηται μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως. Chryſoſt. in Matth. homil. 31. Græc. (32. Latin.) indeque homil. 69. perperàm inſcript. ad populum Antiochen.

r Non videtur otioſum, ſi pro his intercedimus, qui jam requie perfruuntur, ut eorum Sanctorum gloriam uſq; ad judicium augmentari: & ideò Eccleſiã interim ſanè poſſe augmentũ glorificationis eorũ optare. *Innoc. III. epiſt. ad archiep. Lugdun. cap.* Cùm Marthæ. *Extra. de celebr. Miſſar.*

ſ Licèt pleriq; reputent non indignum, requies augeatur. *Ino, epiſt. 174.*

doubted to be in torment; this forme of prayer was of old uſed in the ſame Church (as in *Grimoldus* his Sacramentarie may bee ſeene) and retained in the *Romane* Miſſall it ſelfe, untill in the late reformation thereof it was removed. [t] *O almightie and mercifull God, incline (wee beſeech thee) thy holy eares unto our poore prayers, which wee doe humbly poure forth before the ſight of thy Majeſtie for the ſoule of thy ſervant N. that foraſmuch as wee are diſtruſtfull of the qualitie of his life, by the abundance of thy pitie wee may bee comforted; and if his ſoule cannot obtaine full pardon, yet at leaſt in the midſt of the torments themſelves, which peradventure it ſuffereth, out of the abundance of thy compaſſion it may feele refreſhment.* which prayer whither it tended, may appeare partly by that which *Prudentius* writeth of the play-daies, which hee ſuppoſeth the ſoules in Hell ſometime doe obtaine;

[u] *Sunt & ſpiritibus ſæpè nocentibus*
Pœnarum celebres ſub Styge feriæ, &c.
Marcent ſupplicijs Tartara mitibus,
Exultatque ſui carceris otio
Vmbrarum populus, liber ab ignibus;
Nec fervent ſolito flumina ſulphure.

partly by the doubtfull conceits of Gods mercifull dealing with the wicked in the world to come, which are found in [x] others: but eſpecially by theſe paſſages that wee meet withall in the Sermons of S. *Chryſoſtome*.

t Omnipotens & miſericors Deus, inclina, quæſumus, venerabiles aures tuas ad exiguas preces noſtras, quas ante conſpectum majeſtatis tuæ pro animâ famuli tui N. humiliter fundimus: ut quia de qualitate vitæ ejus diffidimus, de abundantiâ pietatis tuæ conſolemur; & ſi plenam veniam anima ipſius obtinere non poteſt, ſaltem vel inter ipſa tormenta quæ forſitan patitur, refrigerium de abundantiâ miſerationum tuarum ſentiat. *Orat pro defunct. in Miſſali Romano, edit. Pariſ. an. 1529. Grimold. Sacramentar. tom. 2. Liturgic. Pameli, pag. 457.*

u *Prudent. lib. Cathemerinôn, hymn. 5.*

x *Auguſt. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 110. 112. 113. Hieronym. lib. 1. contra Pelag. & in fine Commentarior. in Eſai. Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 40. de Baptiſmo.* εἰ μὲν τῷ φίλον καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν τῶν φιλανθρωποτέρων, καὶ τὸ κολάζοντος ἐπαξίως. Vide etiam Iohannis Metropolitani vota ad Chriſtum, pro ſalute Platonis & Plutarchi: pag. 32. edit. Anglican.

y This man hath ſpent his whole life in vaine, neither hath lived one day to himſelfe, but to voluptuouſneſſe, to luxury, to covetouſneſſe, to ſinne, to the Divell. Tell mee therefore; ſhall wee not mourne for him? ſhall wee not endevour to pull him out of theſe dangers? For there bee meanes, if wee will, whereby his puniſhment may bee made light unto him. If then wee doe make continuall prayers for him, if wee beſtow almes; although hee be unworthie, God will reſpect us. For z many have received benefit by the almes that have beene given by others for them; and found thereby, although not a perfect, yet ſome conſolation. a This therefore is done, that although wee our ſelves bee not vertuous, wee may bee carefull to get vertuous companions and friends, and wife and ſon; as looking to reape ſome fruit even by them alſo: reaping indeed but little, yet reaping ſome fruit notwithſtanding. b Let us not therefore ſimply weepe for the dead, but for ſuch as are dead in their ſinnes: theſe be worthy of lamentations and bewailings and teares. For what hope is there (tell mee) for men to depart with their ſinnes, where they cannot put off their ſins? for as long as they were here, there was peradventure great expectation, that they would be altered, that they would be bettered. but being gone unto Hell, where there is no gaining of any

y Καὶ ἔστιν ὃς πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν εἰκῇ κατεκόπη, οὐδὲ μίαν ἡμέραν ἔζησεν ἑαυτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ πενίᾳ, τῇ ἀσιτίᾳ, τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ, τῇ εἰδωλατρίᾳ, τῷ διαβόλῳ. Τοῦτον οὖν οὐ δηλωσόμεθα, εἰ μὴ δακρύσομεν; οὐ πειρασόμεθα τῶν κινδύνων ἐξαρπάσαι; (the Latine edition rendreth this, not very faithfully: Hoc igitur non plorabimus, die, oro, non tentabimus nos ab his periculis eripere?) ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν, ἐὰν θέλωμεν, κοινῶσαι αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. κἂν ἐν ᾅδου ᾖ, κἂν ἐν ὀλεθρίᾳ ᾖ, κἂν ἐν ἀβύσσῳ ᾖ, κἂν ἐν σκότει ᾖ, κἂν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ᾖ, κἂν ἐν ἀνελπιστίᾳ ᾖ.

z Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων δι' αὐτοὺς γενομένων ἐλεημοσυνῶν ἐφώτισαν. Chryſoſt. in Act. hom. 21.

a Τοῦτο οὖν γίνεται, ἵνα κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ ᾖ, κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων ὠφεληθῇ. Ibid.

b Μὴ τοίνυν ἁπλῶς κόπτεσθε ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις τεθνεῶσιν. οὗτοι θρήνων ἄξιοι, οὗτοι κοπετῶν ἄξιοι. Id. in epiſt. ad Philip. hom. 3.

thing

thing by repentance (for in hell, ſaith he, who ſhall confeſſe unto thee?) how are they not worthy of lamentations? [c] *Let us therefore weepe for ſuch, let us ſuccour them to our power, let us finde out ſome helpe for them, little indeed, but yet ſuch as may releeve them. How and after what manner? both praying our ſelves, and intreating others to make prayers for them, and giving continually unto the poore for them. for this thing bringeth ſome conſolation.*

The like doctrine is delivered by [d] *Andrew* Archbiſhop of *Crete*, in his Sermon *of the life of man, and of the dead*; and by *Iohn Damaſcen*, or whoſoever elſe was author of the booke aſcribed unto him, concerning *them that are departed in the faith*: where three notable tales are told, of the benefit that even infidels and Idolaters themſelves ſhould receive by ſuch prayers as theſe. One touching the ſoule of the Emperour *Trajan*, delivered from Hell by the prayers of Pope *Gregory*: of the truth whereof leſt any man ſhould make queſtion, hee affirmeth very roundly, that no leſſe than [e] *the whole Eaſt and Weſt will witneſſe that this is true and uncontroulable.* And indeed in the *Eaſt* this fable ſeemeth firſt to have riſen: where it obtained ſuch credite, that the *Grecians* to this day doe ſtill uſe this forme of prayer; [f] *As thou didſt looſe Trajan from puniſhment by the earneſt interceſſion of thy ſervant Gregory the Dialogue-writer, heare us likewiſe who pray unto thee.* And therefore to them doth *Hugo Etherianus* thus appeale, for juſtifying the

c Κλαίωμεν οὖν τούτους, συνδυσωπῶμεν αὐτοῖς τί δυνάμεν, ἐπινοήσωμεν αὐτοῖς πῶς βοηθεῖν, μικρὰ μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως δυναμένοις· πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; αὐτοί τε εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἑτέρους παρακαλοῦντες εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόντες συνεχῶς· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθίαν. Ibid.

d Andr. Hieroſolymitan. εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, καὶ εἰς κοιμωμένους pag. 69. 70. edit. Meurſii.

e Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο γνήσιον πᾶσι καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον, μάρτυς ἑῴα πᾶσα καὶ ἑσπέρα. Damaſcen. ſerm. de Defunctis.

f Ὡς ἔλυσας τὸν μάστιγος Τραϊανὸν διὰ ἐντεύξεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἡμῶν δεομένων σου. Eucholog. Græc. cap. 19. ut dictat Meurſius: vel 96. ut Baronius, an. 604. §. 44. quanquam in Euchologio impreſſo Venetiis an. 1600. nuſquam invenerim. ut ſuſpicio ſit, à Romanis Cenſoribus inde fuiſſe ſublata.

truth

truth of this narration: [g] *Doe not, I pray you, say in your hearts, that this is false or fained. Inquire if you please, of the Grecians: the whole Greeke Church surely doth testifie these things.* Hee might, if hee had pleased, being an *Italian* himselfe, have inquired neerer home of the *Romanes*, among whom this feate was reported to have beene acted; rather than among the *Grecians*, who were strangers to the businesse. But the *Romanes*, as wee understand by [h] *Iohannes Diaconus* in the life of S. *Gregory*, found no such matter among their Records; and when they had notice given them therof out of the Legends of the Church of *England* (for from thence received they the newes of this and some other such strange acts reported to have beene done by S. *Gregory*, among themselves) they were not verie hastie to beleeve it: becaus they could hardly bee perswaded, that S. *Gregory*, who had taught them, that [i] *Infidels and wicked men, departed out of this life, were no more to be prayed for than the Divell and his Angels, which were appointed unto everlasting punishment*; should in his practice bee found to be so much different from his judgement.

g Nolite quæso dicere in cordibus vestris, falsum hoc aut fictum esse. Quærite, si placet, apud Græcos: Græca certè omnis testatur hæc Ecclesia. *Hug. Etherian de regressu animar. ab Inferis, cap. 15.*

h *Io. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. li. 2. cap. 44.*

i *Gregor. Moral. in Job, lib. 34. cap. 16. quod penè ad verbum descriptum etiam habetur lib. 4. Dialogor. cap. 44.*

The second tale toucheth upon the very times of the Apostles: wherein the Apostolesse *Thecla* is said to have prayed for *Falconilla* (the daughter of *Tryphæna*; whom S. *Paul* saluteth, Rom. 16. 12.) [l] *a Gentile and an Idolatresse, altogether profane, and a servitour of another God*, to this effect. [m] *O God, Sonne of the true God, grant unto Tryphæna according to thy will,*

k τῆς μακαρίας Θέκλης τῆς ἀποστόλου καὶ μάρτυρος. *Basil. Seleuc. in ipso initio Commentarii de vitâ Theclæ.*

l Σκόπει ὁ πάλαι, ὥσπερ τὴν θρησκείαν ἡ ἄπιστος. ὅτι περ ὢν εἰδωλολατρικός τε, καὶ πάμπαν αὐτόθεος καὶ ἀλλοτρίως ἔχουσα ἐργάτης. *Damascen.*

m Θεὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς, ὁ τῆς Τρυφαίνης καὶ τὸ σὸν θέλημα, ὡς ἡ αὐτῆς συζυγὴ ἡ αἰώνιον ζῆν παρά σοι χρόνον. *Simeon. Metaphrast. in vitâ Theclæ.*

that

that her daughter may live with thee time without end, or as *Basil* Bishop of *Seleucia* doth expresse it. [n] *Grant unto thy servant Tryphæna, that her desire may bee fulfilled concerning her daughter: her desire therein being this, that her soule may bee numbred among the soules of those that have alreadie beleeved in thee, and may enjoy the life and pleasure that is in Paradise.*

The third tale hee produceth out of *Palladius* his historicall booke written unto *Lausus* (although neither in the Greeke set out by *Meursius* and *Fronto Ducæus*, nor in the three severall Latine editions of that historie published before, there bee any such thing to bee found:) touching a dead mans skull, that should have uttered this speech unto *Macarius* the great Ægyptian anchoret. [o] *When thou dost offer up thy prayers for the dead, then doe wee feele some little consolation.* A brainlesse answer you may well conceive it to bee, that must be thought to have proceeded from a dry skull lying by the high way side: but as braineless as it is, it hath not a little troubled the quicke heads of our Romish Divines, and put many an odde cratchet into their nimble braines. *Renatus Laurentius* telleth us, that [p] *without all doubt it was an Angell that did speake in this skull.* And [q] *I say* (quoth *Alphonsus Mendoza*) *that this head which lay in the way, was not the head of one that was damned, but of a just man remaining in Purgatory: for Damascen doth not say in that Sermon, that it was the head of a Gentile, as it may there bee seene.* And true it is indeed, hee nei-

n Δὸς χὴ τῇ δούλῃ σε Τρυφαίνῃ τ ὄνπ τῆ θυγατρὶ πληρωθῆναι πόθον. πόθος ἢ αὐτῇ τοῦτο ἐκείνους ψυχὴν ταῖς τῆδ ἤδη σὲ πεπιστευκόσιν ἐναριθμηθῆναι ψυχάς, χὴ τ ἐν παραδείσῳ ζωὴς χὴ τρυφῆς ἀπολαύειν. Basil. Seleuc. lib. 1. de vitâ Thecl.

o Ὅτε ἂν ὑμεῖς τῆδ νεκρῶν τὰς δεήσεις φερομένας, τότε παραμυθίας μικρὰς αἰσθανόμεθα. Damasc.

p Non dubium est quin fuerit Angelus, qui in cranio loqueretur. *Renat. Laurent. annotat. in Tertullian. de Animâ, cap. 33.*

q Ad rem itaque dico, caput illud, quod, ut habetur in D. Damasceno, in viâ jacebat, non fuisse hominis damnati, sed justi existentis in Purgatorio: nam Damascenus non dicit in illo sermone, quòd fuerit hominis Gentilis, ut ibi patet. *Alphons. Mendoz. Controv. Theolog. qu. 6. scholast. sect. 5.*

ther

ther ſaith that it was ſo, neither yet that it was not ſo: but the *Grecians* generally relate the matter thus; that *Macarius* [r] *did heare this, from the skull of one that had beene a Prieſt of Idols, which hee found lying in the wilderneſſe; that by his prayers ſuch as were with him in puniſhment, received a little eaſe of their torment, whenſoever it fell out that hee made the ſame for them.* and among the *Latins*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and other of the Schoolemen take this for granted: becauſe they found in the Lives of the Fathers, that the ſpeech which the dead skull uſed was this: [s] *I was a Prieſt of the Gentiles* (ſo *Iohn* the *Roman* ſubdeacon tranſlateth it) or, as *Ruſinus* is ſuppoſed to have rendred it, *I was the chiefe of the Prieſts of the Idoles, which dwelt in this place: and thou art Abbat Macarius, that art filled with the ſpirit of God. At whatſoever houre therefore thou takeſt pittie of them that are in torments, and prayeſt for them; they then feele ſome conſolation.* Well, ſaith *Mendoza* then, [t] *if S. Thomas relating this hiſtory out of the Lives of the Fathers, doth ſay that this was the head of a Gentile; hee himſelfe is bound to untye this knot.* And ſo hee doth: reſolving the matter thus; [u] that the damned get no true eaſe by the prayers made for them, but ſuch a phantaſticall kinde of joy only, as the Divels are ſaid to have, when they have ſeduced and deceived any man. [x] *But peradventure*, ſaith Cardinall *Bellarmine* for the vpſhott, *the things which are brought touching that skull, might better bee rejected, as falſe and apocryphall.* and *Stephen*

r Παρὰ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κειμένου ἱερέως τῶν εἰδώλων γενομένου, τοῦτο ἀκήκοε, ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν τοῦ ἐν τῇ κολάσει αὐτῶν ἀνίεσθαι τὸ βασάνισμα, ὅταν τύχοι ταύτας ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Menæ. Græc. Ianuar. 19.

s *Vit. Patrum, edit. Lugdun. an.* 1515. *fol.* 105. *col.* 3. 4. & *fol.* 143. *col.* 1. 2. & *edit. Antuerp. an.* 1615. *pag.* 526. & 656.

t Quòd ſi D. Tho. hanc hiſtoriam referens ex Vitis patrum, dicit fuiſſe caput Gentilis, ipſe nodum hunc tenetur enodare. *Alphonſ. Mendoz. ut ſupr.*

u *Thom. Aquin. in lib.* 4. *Sentent. diſtinct.* 45. *queſt.* 2. *artic.* 2. *ad* 4. & *Durand. in eand. queſt. num.* 15.

x At fortaſſe melius rejicerentur, ut falſa & apocrypha, quæ afferuntur de illo cranio. *Bellarmin. de Purgator. lib.* 2. *cap.* 18.

Durant,

Durant, more peremptorily: [y] *The things which are told of Trajane and Falconilla, delivered out of hell by the prayers of S. Gregory and Thecla, and of the dry skull spoken to by Macarius, be fained and commentitious.*

Which laſt anſwer, though it bee the trueſt of all the reſt; yet is it not to bee doubted for all that, but that the generall credite which theſe fables obtained, together with the countenance which the opinion of the *Origeniſts* did receive from *Didymus*, *Euagrius*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, (if hee be not corrupted) and other Doctors, inclined the mindes of men very much, to apply the common vſe of praying for the dead unto this wrong end of hoping to relieve the damned thereby. S. *Auguſtine* doth ſhew, that in his time not onely [z] *ſome*, but exceeding *many* alſo, did out of an humane affection take compaſſion of the eternall paines of the damned, and would not beleeve that they ſhould never have an end. And notwithſtanding this error was publickely condemned afterwards in the *Origeniſts*, by the *fift* generall Councell held at *Conſtantinople*: yet by idle and voluptuous perſons was it ſtill greedily embraced (as [a] *Climacus* complaineth) and [b] *even now alſo*, ſaith S. *Gregory*, *there bee ſome, who therefore neglect to put an end unto their ſins, becauſe they imagine that the judgements which are to come upon them ſhall ſometimes have an end.* Yea of late daies this opinion was maintained by the *Porretanians* (as *Thomas* calleth them) and ſome of the [c] *Canoniſts* (the one following therein

y Quare quod de Trajano & Falconillâ (quos liberatos ex inferno orationibus S. Gregorij & Theclæ, ex Damaſceno, & quibuſdam alijs, vulgò fertur:) quæ item de Cranio arido interrogato à Macario, ex hiſtoriâ Palladij ad Lauſum referuntur, ficta & commentitia ſunt. *Steph. Durant. de ritib. Eccleſ. lib. 2. cap. 43. ſect. 12.*

z Fruſtrà itaq; nonnulli, imò quamplurimi, æternam damnatorum pœnam, & cruciatus ſine intermiſſione perpetuos, humano miſerentur affectu; atque ita futurum eſſe non credunt. *Auguſtin. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 112.*

a *Iohan. Climac. in fine 5. gradus Scalæ ſuæ.* b Sunt enim nunc etiam, qui idcirco peccatis ſuis ponere finem negligunt, quia habere quandoq; finem futura ſuper ſe judicia ſuſpicantur. *Gregor. Moral. in Iob, lib. 34. cap. 16.* c *Gloſſ. in Gratian. cauſ. 13. quæſt. 2. cap. 23.* Tempus. *Durand in lib. 4. ſent. diſt. 45. quæſt. 2. num. 7.* Hæc eſt ſententia aliquorum Iuriſtarum.

Gilbert

Gilbert Porreta Biſhop of *Poictiers*, in his booke of Theologicall queſtions; the other, *Iohn Semeca*, in his Gloſſe upon *Gratian*) that by the prayers and ſuffrages of the living, the pains of ſome of the damned were continually diminiſhed; in ſuch manner as infinite proportionable parts may bee taken from a line, without ever comming unto an end of the diviſion: which was in effect to take from them at the laſt all paine of ſenſe, or ſenſe of paine. For (as [d] *Thomas* obſerveth it rightly, and [e] *Durand* after him) *in the diviſion of a Line, at laſt wee muſt come unto that which is not ſenſible: conſidering, that a ſenſible bodie cannot bee divided infinitely. and ſo it would follow, that after many ſuffrages, the paine remaining ſhould not bee ſenſible; and conſequently ſhould bee no paine at all.*

Neither is it to bee forgotten, that the invention of *All-ſoules day* (of which you may reade, if you pleaſe, *Polydore Virgil* in his *ſixt* booke of the *Inventers of things*, and the *ninth* chapter) that ſolemne day, I ſay, wherein our *Romaniſts* moſt devoutly performe all their ſuperſtitious obſervances for the dead; was occaſioned at the firſt by the apprehenſion of this ſame erroneous conceit, that the ſoules of the damned might not onely bee eaſed, but fully alſo delivered by the almes and praiers of the living. The whole narration of the buſineſſe is thus laid downe by *Sigebertus Gemblacenſis* in his Chronicle, at the yeare of our Lord 998. [f] *This time*, ſaith hee, *a certaine religious man returning from Ieruſalem, being intertained for a while in Sicile by the courteſie of a cer-*

d Quia in diviſione lineæ tandem pervenitur ad hoc quod non eſt ſenſibile: corpus enim ſenſibile non eſt in infinitum diviſibile. Et ſic ſequeretur, quòd poſt multa ſuffragia pœna remanens propter ſui parvitatem non ſentiretur; & ita non eſſet pœna. *Thom. in 4. Sentent. d. ſt. 45. qu. 2. art. 2.*

e *Durand. in 4. d. 45. q. 2. num. 8.*

f Hoc tempore quidam religioſus ab Hieroſolymis rediens, in Siciliâ recluſi cujuſdam humanitate aliquandiu recreatus, didicit ab eo inter cætera, quòd in illâ vicinia eſſent loca eructantia flammarum incendia, quæ loca vocantur ab incolis Ollæ Vulcani, in quibus animæ reproborum lu-

taine

taine anchoret, learned from him, among other matters, that there were places neere unto them that uſed to caſt up burning flames, which by the inhabitants were called the Potts of Vulcan, wherein the ſoules of the reprobate, according to the qualitie of their deſerts, did ſuffer diverſe puniſhments; the Divels being there deputed for the execution thereof. whoſe voyces, angers and terrors, and ſometimes howlings alſo hee ſaid hee often heard, as lamenting that the ſoules of the damned were taken out of their hands by the almes and prayers of the faithfull; and more at this time by the prayers of the Monkes of Cluny, who prayed without ceaſing for the reſt of thoſe that were deceaſed. The Abbat Odilo having underſtood this by him, appointed throughout all the Monaſteries under his ſubjection, that as upon the firſt day of November the ſolemnitie of all the Saints is obſerved, ſo upon the day following, the memoriall of all that reſted in Chriſt ſhould bee celebrated. Which rite paſsing into many other Churches, made the memory of the faithfull deceaſed to bee ſolemnized.

nant diverſa pro meritorum qualitate ſupplicia; ad ea exequenda deputatis ibi dæmonibus. quorum ſe crebrò voces, iras, & terrores, ſæpè etiam ejulatus audiſſe dicebat, plangentium quòd animæ damnatorum eriperentur de manibus eorum per eleemoſynas & preces fidelium; & hoc tempore magis per orationes Cluniacenſium, orantium indefeſsé pro defunctorum requie. Hoc per ipſum Abbas Odilo compertо, conſtituit per omnia monaſteria ſibi ſubjecta, ut ſicut primo die Novembris ſolemnitas omnium Sanctorum

For the *elect*, this forme of prayer was wont to be uſed in the *Romane* Church. g *O God, unto whom alone is knowne the number of the elect that are to bee placed in the ſupernall bliſſe: grant, wee beſeech thee, that the booke of bleſſed predeſtination may retaine the names of all thoſe whom wee have undertaken to recommend in*

agitur, ita ſequenti die memoria omnium in Chriſto quieſcentium celebretur. Qui ritus ad multas Eccleſias tranſiens, fidelium defunctorum memoriam ſolemnizari fecit. *Sigebert. Chron. an. 998.* g Deus, cui ſoli cognitus eſt numerus electorum in ſuperna felicitate locandorum: tribue quæſumus, ut univerſorum, quos in oratione commendatos ſuſcepimus, vel omnium fidelium nomina, beatæ prædeſtinationis liber aſſcripta retineat. *Gregor. Oper. tom. 5. col. 226. Alcuin lib. Sacramentor. cap. 18. Oper. col. 1190. Miſſal. Roman. edit. Pariſ. an. 1529. inter Orationes communes.*

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our prayer, or of all the faithfull, that are written therein. And to pray, that the names of all thoſe that are written in the booke of Gods election, ſhould ſtill bee retained therein, may bee ſomewhat tolerable: conſidering (as the Divines of that ſide have informed us) that thoſe things may bee prayed for, which weeknow moſt certainely will come to paſſe. But hardly, I thinke, ſhall you finde in any Rituall a form of prayer anſwerable to this of the Monkes of *Cluny* for the *reprobate*: unleſſe it bee that, whereby S. *Francis* is ſaid to have obtained, that Friar *Elias* ſhould bee made [h] *ex præſcito prædeſtinatus*, an elect of a reprobate. * Yet it ſeemeth, that ſome were not verie well pleaſed, that what was done ſo ſeldome by S. *Francis* the [i] Angell of the Friars, (and that for a reprobate yet living) ſhould bee ſo uſually practiſed by the followers of S. *Odilo* the [k] Archangell of the Monkes, for reprobates that were dead: and therefore in the common editions of *Sigeberts* Chronicle they have cleane ſtrucke out the word *damnatorum*, and in ſtead of *reproborum* chopt in *defunctorum*. which depravation may bee detected, aſwell by the ſincere edition of *Sigebert* publiſhed by *Aubertus Miræus* out of the Manuſcript of *Gemblac* abbay (which is thought to bee the originall copie of *Sigebert* himſelfe) as by the comparing of him with *Petrus Damiani* in the life of *Odilo*, whence this whole narration was by him borrowed. For there alſo doe wee reade, that in thoſe flaming places [l] *the*

h *Raphael Volaterran. Commentar. Vrban. lib.* 21.

* *So* Alanus de rupe *would faine perſwade fooles*, quòd reprobi & præſciti per devotionem Roſarij vitam æternam aſſequantur; *that verie reprobates by the devout uſe of the Roſarie might obtaine everlaſting life. But the Friars of his owne Order were ſo much aſhamed thereof, that in the reviveall of his worke of the Roſarie, ſet out by* Coppenſtein, *and printed at Mentz anno* 1624. *they have quite cut it off and extinguiſhed it.*

i *Bonaventur. in Prologo Vitæ Franciſci. Bernardin. de Buſto, Roſar. tom.* 2. *ſerm.* 27. *part.* 2. k *Fulbert. Carnotenſ. epiſt.* 66. l In quibus etiam locis animæ reproborum diverſa luunt pro meritorum qualitate tormenta. *Petr. Damian. in vit. Odil. tomo* 1. *Surij, Ianuar.* 1.

ſoules of the reprobate, according to the qualitie of their deſerts, did ſuffer diverſe torments: and that the Divels did complaine, [m] *that by the almes and prayers* of *Odilo* and others, *the ſoules of the damned were taken out of their hands.*

[m] Quòd orationibus & eleemoſynis quorundam, adverſus eos infœderabiliter concertantium, frequenter ex eorum manibus eriperentur animæ damnatorum. Inter cætera de Cluniacenſium cœtu permaximam & eorum abbate querimoniam faciunt, quia quàm ſæpè per eos ſui juris vernaculos perdunt. *Ibid.*

By theſe things we may ſee, what wee are to judge of that which our Adverſaries preſſe ſo much againſt us out of *Epiphanius*: that hee [n] *nameth an obſcure fellow one Aërius to bee the firſt author of this hereſie, that prayers and ſacrifice profiteth not the departed in Chriſt.* For neither doth *Epiphanius* name this to bee an *hereſie:* neither doth it appeare that himſelfe did hold, that praiers and oblations bring ſuch profite to the dead as theſe men dreame they do. Hee is much deceived, who thinketh every thing that *Epiphanius* findeth fault withall in heretickes, is eſteemed by him to bee an *hereſie:* ſeeing hereſie cannot bee but in matters of faith; and the courſe which *Epiphanius* taketh in that worke, is not onely to declare, in what ſpeciall points of faith heretickes did diſſent from the Catholicke doctrine, but in what particular obſervances alſo they refuſed to follow the received cuſtomes and ordinances of the Church. Therefore at the end of the whole worke hee ſetteth downe a Briefe, [o] firſt of the *faith*, and then of the *ordinances* and obſervances of the Church: and among the particulars of the latter kinde, hee rehearſeth this. [p] *For the dead, they make commemorations by name, perfor-*

[n] *Allen of Purgatory & prayer for the dead, lib. 2. cap. 14.*

[o] Καὶ ἃ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἔχει αὐτὴ ἡ μὲν καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, &c. σωτὸ μὲν ἐρημῶ. περὶ τε παίδος καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοουσίου, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνσαρκε χριστοῦ καὶ τελείας παρουσίας, καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς πίστεως. Περὶ δεσμῶν δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν ὀλίγῳ μὲν μὰ δὲ πάνυ ἀναγκη τὸ παραθέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς διαιρέσεως ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ εἶδος. Epiphan. in fine Panarii, pag. 465.

[p] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐξ ὑπομνήσεως τὰς μνήμας ποιοῦντες, σπουδαῖοι τελοῦντες καὶ λαμπρείας καὶ οἰκονομίας. Ibid. pag. 466.

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ming (or , *when they doe performe*) *their prayers and divine ſervice and diſpenſation* of the myſteries. and diſputing againſt *Aërius* touching the point it ſelfe, hee doth not at all charge him with forſaking the doctrine of the Scriptures, or the faith of the Catholicke Church concerning the ſtate of thoſe that are departed out of this life: but with rejecting the order obſerved by the Church in her Commemorations of the dead; which being an ancient inſtitution, brought in upon wonderfull good conſiderations, (as hee maintaineth) ſhould not by this humorous hereticke have been thus condemned. [q] *The Church,* ſaith hee, *doth neceſſarily performe this, having received it by tradition from the Fathers: and who may diſſolve the ordinance of his mother, or the law of his Father?* and againe. [r] *Our mother the Church hath ordinances ſetled in her, which are inviolable, and may not bee broken. Seeing then there are ordinances eſtabliſhed in the Church, and they are well, and all things are admirably done: this ſeducer is againe refuted.*

For the further opening hereof, it will not bee amiſſe to conſider both of the objection of *Aërius,* and of the anſwer of *Epiphanius.* Thus did *Aërius* argue againſt the practice of the Church. [s] *For what reaſon doe you commemorate after death the names of thoſe that are departed? Hee that is alive prayeth, or maketh diſpenſation* (of the myſteries:) *what ſhall the*

q Ἀναγκαίως ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦτο ὑποτελεῖ, παραδοσιν λαβοῦσα παρὰ πατέρων· τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ δεσμὸν μηδὲς καταλύειν, ἢ νόμον πατρός; Id. hæreſ. 75. pag. 388.

r ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἔχει θεσμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένους, ἀλύτους, μὴ δυναμένους καταλυθῆναι. Τεταγμένων τοίνυν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θεσμῶν, καὶ καλῶς ἐχόντων, καὶ πάντων θαυμασίως γινομένων, ἐλήλεγκται πάλιν καὶ

ἕτερος ὁ πλάνος. Ibid. s Τίνι τῷ λόγῳ μὴ θανάτου ὀνομάζετε ὀνόματα τεθνεώτων; εὔχεται γὰρ ὁ ζῶν ἢ οἰκονομίαν ἐποίησε, τί ὠφεληθήσεται ὁ τεθνεώς; εἰ δὲ ὅλως εὐχῇ τῷ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ὠνήσειν, ἄρα γὰρ μηδεὶς εὐσεβείτω μηδὲ ἀγαθοποιείτω, ἀλλὰ κτησάσθω φίλους πολλούς, δι' ὧν βέλεται ῥᾳστα ἤτοι χρήμασι πείσας, ἤτοι φίλους ἀξιώσας ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ, καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ τι ἐκεῖ πάθῃ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γλιχόμενα τῶν ἀνηκίστων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκζητηθῇ. Aërius, apud Epiphan. Ib. pag. 386.

dead bee profited hereby? And if the prayer of those here doe altogether profite them that bee there: then let no body bee godly, let no man doe good, but let him procure some friends, by what meanes it pleaseth him; either perswading them by money, or intreating friends at his death; and let them pray for him, that hee may suffer nothing there, and that those inexpiable sinnes which hee hath committed may not bee required at his hands. This was *Aërius* his argumentation: which would have beene of force indeed, if the whole Church had held, as many did; that the judgement after death was suspended untill the generall Resurrection, and that in the meane time the sinnes of the dead might bee taken away by the suffrages of the living. But hee should have considered, as *Stephanus Gobarus* (who was as great an hereticke as himselfe) did, that the Doctors were not agreed upon the point; some of them maintaining, [t] *that the soule of every one that departed out of this life, received verie great profite by the prayers and oblations and almes that were performed for him*; and others *on the contrarie side, that it was not so*: and that it was a fooliſh part of him, to confound the private opinion of some, with the common faith of the universall Church. That hee reproved this particular error, (which seemeth to have gotten head in his time, as being most plausible to the multitude, and very pleasing unto the looser sort of Christians) therein hee did well: but that thereupon hee condemned the generall practice of the Church, which had no dependance upon that erroneous conceipt, therein hee did like unto himselfe, headily and perversely. For the Church in her Commemorations

[t] Ὅτι πάντες τεθνεῶτος ψυχὴ ὠφελεῖται μάλιστα διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπιτελουμένων εὐχῶν, καὶ θεσπρωμῶν, καὶ ἐλεημοσυνῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπρεπεῖ μέρει, ὅτι οὐχ' ἕτω. Gobar. in Photii Bibliothecâ, vol. 232.

ons and prayers for the dead had no relation at all unto those that had led their lives lewdly and dissolutely (as appeareth plainly, both by the [u] author of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy*, and by diverse other evidences before alledged) but unto those that did end their lives in such a godly manner, as gave pregnant hope unto the living, that their soules were at rest with God: and to such as these alone did it wish the accomplishment of that which remained of their redemption; to wit, their publicke justification and solemne acquitall at the last day, and their perfect consummation of blisse, both in body and soule, in the kingdome of heaven for ever after. not that the event of these things was conceived to be any wayes doubtfull (for wee have beene told, that things may bee prayed for, the event whereof is knowne to bee most certaine) but because the commemoration thereof was thought to serve for speciall use, not only in regard of the manifestation of the affection of the living toward the dead (hee that prayed, as *Dionysius* noteth, [x] *desiring other mens gifts as if they were his owne graces*) but also in respect of the consolation and instruction which the living might receive thereby; as *Epiphanius* in his answer to *Aërius*, doth more particularly declare.

The objection of *Aërius* was this. The Commemorations and prayers used in the Church, bring no profit to the dead: therefore as an unprofitable thing they are to be rejected. To this doth *Epiphanius* thus frame his answer. [y] *As for the reciting of the names of*

[u] Καὶ γὰρ ὁσὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν ὄζει τοῖς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λειτουργοῖς. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7. init. Et postea: Διὸ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς ἐκ ἐπιλέλεκται πάντα κεκοιμημένοις.

[x] ἐπὶ τὸ θεσμοθετούμενον ἀγαθοειδῶς ἐπιτερπόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἑτέρων δωρεὰς ὡς οἰκείας ἐξαιτῶν χάριτας. Id. ibid.

[y] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων, τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο φαυλοτελεστέρους τί τοῦτο κωλυόντων καὶ θαυμασιώτερον; πεισθεὶς μὲ τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι οἱ ἀπολλύοντες ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ καὶ ἐλπὶς ὄζει ἔσεσθαι ζῶσι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα διηγήσωνται, ὡς ἀδελφῶν εὐχομένοις ὡς ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τυγχανόντων. Epiphan. hæres. 75.

those that are deceased; what can bee better than this? what more commodious, and more admirable? that such as are present doe beleeve, that they who are departed doe live, and are not extinguished, but are still being and living with the Lord: and that this most pious preaching might be declared; that they who pray for their brethren have hope of them as being in a peregrination. Which is as much in effect, as if hee had denied *Aërius* his consequence; and answered him, that although the dead were not profited by this action, yet it did not therefore follow that it should bee condemned as altogether unprofitable. because it had a singular use otherwise: namely to testifie the *faith* and the *hope* of the living, concerning the dead. the *faith*: in [z] *declaring them to bee alive*, (for so doth *Dionysius* also expound the Churches intention in her publicke nomination of the dead) *and as divinitie teacheth, not mortified, but translated from death unto a most divine life.* the *hope*: in that they signified hereby, that they accounted their brethren to have departed from them no otherwise than as if they had beene in a journey, with expectation to meet them afterward; and by this meanes made a difference betwixt themselves, and [a] *others which had no hope.* Then doth *Epiphanius* proceed further in answering the same objection, after this manner. [b] *The prayer also which is made for them doth profite, although it doe not cut off all their sinnes:*

z πρὸς ᾧ ὡς ζῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεύσας, καὶ τὸς ἡ Θεολογία φησὶν, ὡς νεκρωθέντας, ἀλλ' εἰς θειοτάτῳ ζωῇ ἐκ θανάτου μεταφοιτήσαντας. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3

Οἱ γὰρ θεῖοι πιστοὶ ἀκότες, ἐὰν καὶ κοιμηθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ νεκροί. Clem. Constitut. Apost. lib. 6. cap. 29.

a 1. Thess. 4. 13.

b Ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γινομένη εὐχὴ, εἰ καὶ τὰ ὅλα ἧς αἰτιαμάτων μὴ ἀποκόπτοι. ἀλλ' ἔν γε δὴ τὸ πολλάκις ἐν κόσμῳ ἡμᾶς ὄντας σφάλλεσθαι ἀκουσίως τε καὶ ἑκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ ἐντελέστερον σημανθῇ· καὶ γὰρ [ὑπὲρ] δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν· ὑπὲρ μὲ ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐλέους θεοῦ δεόμενοι. (f. δεόμενοι.) ὑπὲρ δὴ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων καὶ πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸ κύριον ἰσχὺν χεῖρον ἀφορίσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν, καὶ σίδας ὑπὲρ ἀποδώμεν. Epiphan. hær. 75.

yet

yet forasmuch as whilest wee are in the world, wee oftentimes slip both unwillingly and with our will; it serveth to signifie that which is more perfect. For wee make a memoriall, both for the just and for sinners: for sinners, intreating the mercy of God; for the just, (both the Fathers and Patriarches, the Prophets, and Apostles, and Evangelists, and Martyrs, and Confessors, Bishops also and Anchorites, and the whole order) that wee may sever our Lord Iesus Christ from the ranke of all other men, by the honour that wee doe unto him, and that wee may yeeld worship unto him. Which, as far as I apprehend him, is no more than if hee had thus replied unto *Aërius*. Although the prayer that is made for the dead, doe not cut off all their sinnes (which is the onely thing that thou goest about to prove) yet doth it profite notwithstanding for another purpose: namely, to signifie the supereminent perfection of our Saviour *Christ* above the rest of the sonnes of men, who are subject to manifold slips and falls as long as they live in this world.

For aswell the *righteous*, with their involuntarie slips, as *sinners*, with their voluntarie falls, doe come within the compasse of these Commemorations: wherein prayers are made, both for [c] *sinners* that repent, and for *righteous* persons that have no such need of repentance. For *sinners*, that being by their repentance recovered out of the snare of the Divell, they may finde mercie of the Lord at the last day, and bee freed from the fire prepared for the Divell and his angells. For the *righteous*; that they may bee recompensed in the resurrection of the just, and received into the kingdome prepared for them from

[c] Lib. 15. ff.

the foundation of the world. Which kinde of prayer being made for the beſt men that ever lived (even the *Patriarches*, *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, *Evangeliſts*, and *Martyrs* themſelves) *Chriſt* only excepted; ſheweth, that the profite which the Church intended ſhould bee reaped therefrom, was not ſo much the taking away the ſinnes of the parties that were prayed for, as the honouring of their Lord above them: it being hereby declared, [d] *that our Lord is not to bee compared unto any man; though a man live in righteouſneſſe a thouſand times and more. for how ſhould that bee poſſible? conſidering that the one is God, the other man*; (as the praying to the one, and for the other, doth diſcover) *and the one is in heaven, the other in earth by reaſon of the remaines of the body yet reſting in the earth*, untill the day of the Reſurrection, unto which all theſe prayers had ſpeciall reference. This doe I conceive to bee the right meaning of *Epiphanius* his anſwer: as ſuting beſt both with the generall intention of the Church, which hee taketh upon him to vindicate from the miſconſtruction of *Aërius*, and with the application thereof unto his objection, and with the knowne doctrine of *Epiphanius*, delivered by him elſe-where in theſe termes. [e] *After death there is no helpe to bee gotten, either by godlineſſe, or by repentance. For Lazarus doth not goe there unto the rich man, nor the rich man unto Lazarus: neither doth Abraham*

d Ἐν ἐννοίᾳ ὄντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξισούμενον ὁ κύριος τινὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κἂν τὰ μυρία καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὑπάρχῃ ἕνας ἀνθρώπων· πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι τοῦτο; ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστι θεός, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἐκ γῆς διὰ τὰ ὀστᾶ γῆς λείψανα. Epiph. cont. Aër. hær. 75.

e Οὔτε μὴν πρεσβεία εὐσεβείας, οὔτε μετανοίας, μετὰ θάνατον· ὁ γὰρ Λάζαρος οὐ πέρχεται πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον, οὐδὲ ὁ πλούσιος πρὸς τὸν Λάζαρον, οὔτε Ἀβραὰμ δύναται σκύλλειν τὰ πένητα πλουτῆσαι ὕστερον, οὔτε ὁ πλούσιος ὢν αἰτεῖται, καίπερ μὴ ἱκεσίας τὰ ἐλεήμονα Ἀβραὰμ παρακαλέσας· ἐσπάραξαν γὰρ τὰ τραύματα, καὶ πεπλήρωται ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτελέσθη, καὶ ἐνεκόπη τὸ σκάμμα, καὶ οἱ σῖτοι ἐδόθησαν, καὶ ἀγωνισάμενοι ἀπεπάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴ φθάσαντες ἐξῆλθαν, καὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγωνισάμενοι ἐκεῖ οὐ παρῆσαν, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ σκάμματι πεπηδήκοτες ἐξεβλήθησαν, καὶ τὸ πέρας σαφῶς τετέλεσται· οὐ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιδημίαν. Id. contra Cathar. hær. hæref. 59.

send

ſend any of his ſpoyles, that the poore may bee afterward made rich thereby; neither doth the rich man obtaine that which hee asketh, although hee intreat merciſull Abraham with inſtant ſupplication. For the Garners are ſealed up, and the time is fulfilled, and the combat is finiſhed, and the liſts are voyded, and the Garlands are given, and ſuch as have fought are at reſt, and ſuch as have not obtained are gone forth, and ſuch as have not fought cannot now bee preſent in time, and ſuch as have beene overthrowne in the liſts are caſt out, and all things are clearely finiſhed, after that wee are once departed from hence.

And for the generall intention of the Church, beſide what already hath beene at large declared of the times paſt; let us a little compare the ancient practiſe of praying for the dead maintained by *Epiphanius*, with the footſteps which remaine thereof in the *Euchologe* uſed by the *Grecians* at this very day. For firſt, that the parties prayed for are not ſuppoſed to bee in any place of torment, appeareth by that ſpeech which they apply to the party deceaſed, even in the midſt of the prayers which they make for the forgiveneſſe of his ſinnes and the reſting of his ſoule. [a] *Bleſſed is the way wherein thou art going to day (Brother:) for to thee is prepared a place of reſt.* and by the prayer following. [b] *Hee is from hence departed breathleſſe, thither where there is the reward of his workes, thither where there is the joy of all the Saints: with whom reſt thou this deceaſed perſon, O God, of thy mercy and loving kindeneſſe.* Secondly, that they make theſe

[a] Μακαρία ἡ ὁδὸς ἣν πορεύῃ σήμερον, ἀδελφε, ὅτι ἡτοίμασταί σοι τόπος ἀναπαύσεως. Eucholog. Græc. edit. Venet. an. 1600. fol. 118. & 125.

[b] Ἄπνους ἐξῆλθε δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆδε ἐκεῖ ὅπου ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἡ χαρὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· μεθ' ὧν ἀνάπαυσον καὶ τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Ibid. fol. 126. a.

prayers

prayers aſwell for the *righteous* as for *ſinners*: this orizon (among others) doth demonſtrate. [c] *The faithfull which have left this life holily, and removed to thee their Lord, receive benignely, giving them reſt out of thy tender mercy.* Thirdly, that in theſe prayers they aime at thoſe ends expreſſed by *Epiphanius*; aſwell the teſtifying their beliefe of the peregrination of their brethren and their living with the Lord, as the putting a difference betwixt *Chriſt* our Saviour and all other men how bleſſed ſoever (in reſpect the one is God, the other but men; the one after his glorious reſurrection remaineth now immortall in Heaven, the other continue yet in the ſtate of diſſolution with their bodies reſting in the Earth in expectation of the Reſurrection; the purity and perfection of the one is moſt abſolute, the manifold failings of the very beſt of the other ſuch, that they ſtand in neede of mercy and pardon:) this Prayer following may witneſſe.

[d] *Receive, O Lord, our prayers and ſupplications, and give reſt unto all our fathers and mothers, and brethren*

c Ἱερῶς τοὺς τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντας πιστῶς, καὶ σοὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ μεταχωρήσαντας, δέξαι φησὶν, ἀναπαύων ὡς εὔσπλαγχνος. Ibid. fol. 116. b.

d Δέξαι, δέσποτα, δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας ἡμετέρας, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον πάντας τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν καὶ μητέρας, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφὰς, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμογενὲς καὶ ὁμόφυλον· καὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως αἰωνίου· καὶ κατάταξον τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἐν χώραις ζώντων, εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς. διὰ τῆς φωτεινῶν ἀγγέλων σου εἰσαγαγὼν ἅπαντας εἰς τὰς ἁγίας σου μονάς· συνείρεσον καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὡρισμένῃ, κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας σου καὶ ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίας. ὄκ ἔστιν ἔν, Κύριε, τοῖς δούλοις σου θάνατος, ἀναστημένων ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ ὡς σὲ τὸν ὄντως ἀναστημένων· ἀλλὰ μετάστασις λυπηροτέρων ὅλων τὰ χρηστότερα καὶ θυμηδέστερα, καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ χαρά. Εἰ δέ καί τι ἡμάρτομεν εἰς σὲ, ἵλεως γένοιτο ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτοῖς· διότι οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐδ' ἂν μία ἡμέρα ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ᾖ· εἰ μὴ μόνος σὺ ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς φανεὶς ἀναμάρτητος, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ πάντες ἐλπίζομεν ἐλέους τυχεῖν καὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τε καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς, ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, τὰ φανερὰ καὶ τὰ λανθάνοντα, τὰ ἐν πράξει, τὰ ἐν διανοίᾳ, τὰ ἐν λόγῳ, τὰ ἐν πάσαις ἡμῶν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ τοῖς κινήμασι· καὶ τοῖς μὴ φρονεῖν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἄφεσιν δώρησαι· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς εὐεργέτας συνέτηρον, τέλος ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν παρεχόμενος ἡμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσι τῷ λαῷ σου. Ibid. fol. 176. b.

and

and ſiſters, and children, and all our other kindred and alliance: and unto all ſoules that reſt before us in hope of the everlaſting Reſurrection. and place their ſpirits and their bodies in the booke of life, in the boſomes of Abraham and Iſaac and Iacob, in the region of the living, in the kingdome of heaven, in the paradiſe of delight; by thy bright Angells bringing all into thy holy manſions. Raiſe alſo our bodies togither with theirs, in the day which thou haſt appointed, according to thy holy and true promiſes. It is not a death then, O Lord, unto thy ſervants, when wee flitt from the body and goe home to thee our God: but a tranſlation from a ſorrowfull ſtate unto a better and more delightfull; and a refreſhment and joy. And if wee have ſinned in any thing againſt thee, bee gratious both unto us and unto them. foraſmuch as no man is cleane from pollution before thee, no though his life were but of one day; thou alone excepted who didſt appeare upon earth without ſinne, Ieſus Chriſt our Lord: by whom wee all hope to obtaine mercy and pardon of our ſinnes. Therefore, as a good and mercifull God, releaſe and forgive both us and them: pardon our offences, as well voluntary as involuntary, of knowledge and of ignorance, both manifeſt and hidden, in deed, in thought, in word, in all our converſations and motions. and to thoſe that are gone before us, grant freedome and releaſe: and us that remaine bleſſe, granting a good and a peaceable end both to us and to all thy people. Whereunto this other ſhort prayer alſo for one that is deceaſed may bee added. [c] *None, no not one man hath beene without ſinne, but thou alone, O Immortall. Therefore, as a God full of compaſſion, place thy ſervant in light with the quires of thine Angells; by thy tender mercy paſſing over his iniquities, and granting to him the Reſurrection.*

[c] Οὐδεὶς ἀναμάρτητος, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονεν, εἰ μὴ σὺ μόνος ἀθάνατε. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἵλεως σοι, ὡς θεὸς οἰκτίρμων, ἐν φωτὶ κατάταξον σὺν ταῖς χοροστασίαις ἀγγέλων σου· τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ σου ἐξάλειψον τὰ ἀνομήματα, καὶ παρέχων αὐτῷ τὸν αἰῶνα. Ibid. fol. 121. b.

Laſtly,

Lastly, that these prayers have principall relation to the judgement of the great day, and doe respect the escaping of the unquencheable fire of *Gehenna*, not the temporall flames of any imaginary *Purgatory*: is plaine, both by these kindes of *Prosopopœiaes* which they attribute to the party deceased. [f] *Supplicate with teares unto Christ, who is to judge my poore soule, that hee would deliver mee from that fire which is unquencheable.* [g] *I beseech all my acquaintance and my friends; make mention of mee in the day of judgement, that I may finde mercy at that dreadfull tribunall.* [h] *Bemired with sinnes, and naked of good deeds, I that am wormes meat cry in spirit: Cast not mee wretch away from thy face, place mee not on thy left hand who with thy hands didst fashion mee; but give rest unto him whom thou hast taken away by thy command, O Lord, for thy great mercy sake.* and by these prayers which are accordingly tendred for him by the living. [i] *When in unspeakable glory thou dost come dreadfully to judge the whole world; vouchsafe, O Redeemer, that this thy faithfull servant, whom thou hast taken from the earth, may in the clouds meete thee cheerefully.* [k] *They who have beene dead from the beginning, with terrible and fearefull trembling standing at thy tribunall, awaite thy just censure, O Saviour, and receive Gods righteous judgment. At that time, O Lord and Saviour, spare thy ser-*

f Τὸν ἔχοντα κρίναι τὰ πεπόνθοτα μὲ ψυχὴ, σὺ δάκρυσι Χριστὸν ἱκετεύσατε, ὅπως με πυρὸς ἐξέλῃται τὰ ἀσβέστου. Ibid. fol. 134. b.

g ἱκετεύω πάντας τοὺς γνωστούς καὶ φιλοφιλεῖς μου, μνείαν ποιεῖτε μου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἵνα εὕρω ἔλεος ἐπὶ τὰ βήματος ἐκείνου τὰ φοβεροῦ. Ibid.

h Βεβορβορωμένον τὰ ἀμαρτίαις, καὶ γυμνὸν ἀγαθοεργιῶν, κραυγάζω τῷ πνεύματι, ἡ βοσκὴ τῶν σκωλήκων· μὴ μου τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπορρίψῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ σε προσώπου, μὴ με ἐξ ἀριστερῶν σου στήσῃς ὁ κρίνων με πλάσας· ἀλλ' ἀνάπαυσον ὃν προσετάξω τῇ προστάξει σου, Κύριε, διὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος. Ibid fol. 138. b.

i Ἀφεάσῳ τῇ δόξῃ σου ὅταν ἔλθῃς φοβερῶς κρῖναι τὰ κόσμου ἅπαντα, ἐν νεφέλαις εὐδόκησον λυτρωτὰ φαιδρῶς ὑπαντῆσαι τοι ὃν ἐκ γῆς προσελάβου πιστὸν δοῦλον σου. Ibid. fol. 116. a.

k Τρόμῳ τῷ φρικτῷ καὶ φοβερῷ βήματι τῷ σῷ παρεστότες, οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεκοιμημένοι τὸν σὸν δικαίαν, Σωτὴρ καὶ τὸν θείαν ἐκδέχονται δικαιοκρισίαν. Τότε φεῖσαι τὰ δούλου σου, πιστοῦ τὰ προσώπου σου μετασχόντος, καὶ τὰ ἐλέους σου καὶ μακαριότητος ἀξιώσον. Ibid. fol. 122. a.

vant

vant who in faith is gone unto thee, and vouchsafe unto him thine everlasting joy and blisse. [l] *None shall fly there the dreadfull tribunall of thy judgement. All Kings and Princes with servants stand togither, and* heare *the dreadfull voice of the Iudge, condemning the people which have sinned into Hell: from which, O Christ, deliver thy servant.* [m] *At that time, O Christ, spare him whom thou hast translated hence.* [n] *O Lord, our onely King, vouchsafe (wee beseech thee) thine heavenly kingdome to thy servant whom thou hast now translated hence: and then preserve him uncondemned, when every mortall wight shall stand before thee the Iudge, to receive their judgement.*

Wee are to consider then, that the prayers and oblations, for rejecting whereof *Aërius* was reproved, were not such as are used in the Church of *Rome* at this day; but such as were used by the ancient Church at that time, and for the most part retained by the *Greeke* Church at this present. and therefore as wee in condemning of the one, have nothing to doe with *Aërius* or his cause; so the Romanists, who dislike the other as much as ever *Aërius* did, must be content to let us alone, and take the charge of *Aërianisme* home unto themselves. Popish prayers and oblations for the dead, wee know, doe wholly depend upon the beleefe of Purgatorie: if those of the ancient Church did so too; how commeth it to passe, that *Epiphanius* doth not directly answer *Aërius*, as a Papist would doe now, that they brought singular profite to the dead, by delivering their tormented soules out of the flames of Purgatory? but forgetting as much as once to make mention of Purgatorie (the

l Οὐδεὶς ἐκφεύξεται ἐκεῖ τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ κρίσεως σου βῆμα. βασιλεῖς, δυνάσται, ἅπαντες, σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἅμα παίζουσι, καὶ φωνῆς κριτοῦ φοβερᾶς, τοὺ ἁμαρτήσαντας λαοὺς εἰς κρίσιν γέεννης ἐξ ἧς, Χριστὲ ῥῦσαι τὸν σὸν ὄχλον σου Ibid. fol. 130 b.

m Τότε φεῖσαι, Λόγε, τοῦ ἐνδεῦ μεταστάντος. Ibid. fol. 133 a.

n Κύριε μόνε βασιλεῦ βασιλείας ἐφαμίλλε ἀξίωσον ὃν νῦν μετέστησας πρὸν σε ὄχλον, παρακαλοῦμέν σε, καὶ ἀκατάκριτον αὐτὸν τότε διατήρησον, ἡνίκα ἅπας βροτὸς παρασταθῇ σοι τῷ κριτῇ μέλλων κρίνεσθαι. Ibid. fol. 138. a.

(the ſole foundation of theſe ſuffrages for the dead, in our Adverſaries judgement) doth trouble himſelfe and his cauſe, with bringing in ſuch farre fett reaſons as theſe: that they who performed this duty, did intend to ſignifie thereby, that their brethren departed were not periſhed, but remained ſtill alive with the Lord; and to put a difference betwixt the high perfection of our Saviour *Chriſt*, and the generall frailtie of the beſt of all his ſervants. Take away Popiſh Purgatory on the other ſide, (which in the daies of *Aërius* and *Epiphanius* needed not to bee taken away, becauſe it was not as yet hatched) and all the reaſons produced by *Epiphanius* will not withhold our Romaniſts from abſolutely ſubſcribing to the opinion of *Aërius*: this being a caſe with them reſolved; that [f] *if Purgatory be not admitted after death, prayer for the dead muſt bee unprofitable.* But though *Thomas Aquinas* and his abettors determine ſo, wee muſt not therefore thinke that *Epiphanius* was of the ſame minde; who lived in a time wherein prayers were uſually made for them that never were dreamed to have beene in Purgatory, and yeeldeth thoſe reaſons of that uſage, which overthrow the former conſequence of *Thomas* every whit as much, as the ſuppoſition of *Aërius*.

f Ad hoc etiam eſt univerſalis Eccleſiæ conſuetudo, quæ pro defunctis orat: quæ quidem oratio inutilis eſſet, ſi Purgatorium poſt mortem non ponatur. *Thom. contr. Gentiles, lib. 4. cap. 91.*

For *Aërius* and *Thomas* both agree in this: that prayer for the dead would bee altogether unprofitable, if the dead themſelves received no ſpeciall benefite thereby. This doth *Epiphanius* (defending the ancient uſe of theſe prayers in the Church) ſhew to bee untrue; by producing other profites that redound from thence unto the living: partly by the publicke

publicke ſignification of their faith, hope, and charitie toward the deceaſed; partly by the honour that they did unto the Lord *Ieſus*, in exempting him from the common condition of the reſt of mankinde. And to make it appeare, that theſe things were mainly intended by the Church in her Memorialls for the dead, and not the cutting off of the ſinnes which they carried with them out of this life, or the releaſing of them out of any torment: hee alledgeth (as we have heard) that not onely the meaner ſort of Chriſtians, but alſo the beſt of them without exception, even the Prophets and Apoſtles, and Martyrs themſelves, were comprehended therein. from whence, by our Adverſaries good leave, we will make bold to frame this ſyllogiſme.

They who reject that kinde of praying and offering for the dead, which was practiſed by the Church in the daies of *Aërius*, are in that point flat *Aërians*.

But the Romaniſts doe reject that kinde of praying and offering for the dead, which was practiſed by the Church in the dayes of *Aërius*.

Therefore the Romaniſts are in this point flat *Aërians*.

The aſſumption or ſecond part of this argument (for, the firſt wee thinke no body will denie) is thus proved.

They who are of the judgement, that prayers and oblations ſhould not be made for ſuch as are beleeved to be in bliſſe; doe reject that kinde of praying and offering for the dead, which was practiſed by the ancient Church.

But

But the Romaniſts are of this judgement.

Therefore they reject that kinde of praying and offering for the dead, which was practiſed by the ancient Church.

The truth of the firſt of theſe propoſitions doth appeare by the teſtimonie of *Epiphanius*, compared with thoſe many other evidences whereby wee have formerly proved, that it was the cuſtome of the ancient Church to make prayers and oblations for them, of whoſe reſting in peace and bliſſe there was no doubt at all conceived. The veritie of the ſecond is manifeſted by the confeſſion of the Romaniſts themſelves: who reckon this for one of their [g] *Catholicke verities*; that ſuffrages ſhould not bee offered for the dead that reigne with *Chriſt*. and therefore that ancient [h] *forme of praying for the Apoſtles, Martyrs, and the reſt of the Saints, is by diſuſe deſervedly aboliſhed*; ſaith *Alphonſus Mendoza*. Nay [i] to offer ſacrifices and prayers to God for thoſe that are in bliſſe, is *plainly abſurd and impious*, in the judgement of the Ieſuite *Azorius*: who was not aware, that thereby hee did out-ſtrippe *Aërius* in condemning the practice of the ancient Church, as farre, as the cenſuring it onely to bee *unprofitable* (for τί ὠφεληθήσεται ὁ τεθνεὼς; *what ſhall the dead bee profited thereby?* was the furtheſt that *Aërius* durſt to goe) commeth ſhort of rejecting it as *abſurd and impious*. And therefore our Adverſaries may doe well, to purge themſelves firſt from the blot of *Aërianiſme* which ſticketh ſo faſt unto them, before they bee ſo readie to caſt the aſperſion thereof upon others.

In the meane time, the Reader who deſireth to be rightly

g *Fr. Suarez. tom. 4. in 3. part. Thom. diſp. 48. ſect. 4. num. 10.*

h Illa formula precandi pro Apoſtolis, Martyribus & cæt. meritò per deſuetudinem exolevit. *Alphonſ. Mendoz. controverſ. Theologic. quæſt. 6. ſcholaſtic. ſect. 7.*

i *Græci* ſacrificia & preces offerunt Deo pro mortuis; non beatis certé, neq; damnatis ad inferos, quod planè eſſet abſurdum & impium. *Io. Azor. Inſtitut. moral. tom. 1. lib. 8. cap. 20.*

rightly informed in the judgement of Antiquity touching this point, is to remember; that these two questions must necessarily be distinguished in this inquiry. Whether prayers and oblations were to be made for the dead? and, Whether the dead did receive any peculiar profite thereby? In the latter of these, hee shall finde great difference among the Doctors: in the former, very little, or none at all. For [k] *howsoever all did not agree about the state of the soules* (saith *Cassander*, an indifferent Papist) *which might receive profite by these things: yet all did judge this duty, as a testimonie of their love toward the dead, and a profession of their faith touching the soules immortalitie and the future resurrection, to bee acceptable unto God, and profitable to the Church.* Therefore for condemning the generall practice of the Church herein, which aymed at those good ends before expressed, *Aërius* was condemned: but for denying that the dead received profite thereby, either for the pardon of the sinnes which before were unremitted, or for the cutting off or mitigation of any torments that they did endure in the other world, the Church did never condemne him. For that was no new thing invented by him: diverse worthy men before and after him declared themselves to bee of the same minde, and were never for all that charged with the least suspicion of heresie. [l] *The narration of Lazarus and the rich man* (saith the author of the Questions and Answers in the workes of *Iustin Martyr*) *presenteth this doctrine unto us: that after the departure of the soule out of the body,*

k Quamvis de statu illo animarum, quibus hæc prodessent, non satis constaret, nec inter omnes conveniret: omnes tamen hoc officium, ut testimonium charitatis erga defunctos, & ut professionem fidei de immortalitate animarum & futurâ resurrectione, Deo gratum & Ecclesiæ utile esse judicarunt. *Cassand. Consultat. ad Ferdinand. I. & Maximilian. II. artic. 24.*

l Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου διήγημα, ἐκ προσώπου λόγου διδασκαλίαν ἔχον τοιάδε, ὅτι μὲν δύναται μετὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἔξοδον ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ἀπόνοιάν τινα ἢ συνδύνην, ὠφελείας παρὰ τυχεῖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Iustin. resp. ad Orthod. quæst. 60.

men cannot by any providence or care obtaine any profite.

m Then (saith *Gregory Nazianzen*) *in vaine shall any one goe about to relieve those that lament. Here men may have a remedy, but afterwards there is nothing but bonds*, or, *all things are fast bound.* For, n *after death the punishment of sinne is remediless:* saith *Theodoret.* and, * *the dead*, saith *Diodorus Tarsensis, have no hope of any succour from man.* and therefore S. *Hierome* doth conclude: o that *while wee are in this present world, wee may bee able to helpe one another, either by our prayers or by our counsailes; but when wee shall come before the judgement seate of Christ, neither Iob, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intreat for any one, but every one must beare his owne burden.*

Other Doctors were of another judgement: that the dead received speciall profite by the prayers and oblations of the living; either for the remission of their sinnes, or the easing of their punishment. but whether this were restrained to smaller offences only, or such as lived and died in great sinnes might bee made partakers of the same benefite, and whether these mens torments might bee lessened only thereby, or in tract of time quite extinguished; they did not agree upon. *Stephanus Gobarus* (whom before I alledged) made a collection of the different sentences of the Fathers: p whereof some contained the received doctrine of the Church, others the unallowable opinions of certaine of the ancient that varied there-from. Of this latter kinde hee maketh this

m Τῇ μὲν ὠφελουμένοισιν ἐπόψια τίς κεν ἀμῦναι.

Ἐνθάδ' ἄκος μερόπεσσι, τὰ δ' ὕστατα δεσμὰ πάντα. Greg. Nazianz. in Carm. de rebus suis.

n Post mortem pœna peccati est immedicabilis. *Theodoret. quæst. in lib. 2. Reg. cap. 18. 19.*

* Οἱ νεκροὶ ἐλπίζειν οὐκέτι βοήθειαν ἀνθρωπίνην δύνανται. Diodor. Caten. Græc. in Psalm. 87. 5. M. S. in publicâ Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ.

o Obscuré licèt docemur, per hanc sententiolam, novum dogma quod latitat: dum in præsenti sæculo sumus, sive orationibus sive consilijs invicem posse nos coadjuvari; cùm autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, non Iob, non Daniel, nec Noe rogare posse pro quoquam, sed unumquemque portare onus suum. *Hieronym. lib. 3. Commentar. in Galat. cap. 6.*

p τῶν εἰ μὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν φρόνησιν, εἰ δὲ συνεχρότων τὰ ἀπόκρυφα. Phot. Bibliothec. volum. 232.

sentence

sentence to bee one: q *that such sinners as bee delivered unto punishment, are purged therein from their sins, and after their purging are freed from their punishment; albeit not all who are delivered unto punishment, be thus purged and freed, but some onely.* whereas *the true sentence of the Church was; that none at all was freed from punishment.* If that were the true sentence of the Church, that none of those who sufferd punishment in the other world, were ever freed from the same: then the applying of prayers to the helping of mens soules out of any such punishments, must be referred to the erroneous apprehension of some particular men, and not to the generall intention of the ancient Church; from which in this point, as in many others beside, the latter Church of *Rome* hath swarved and quite gone astray. The ancient writer of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie*, handling this matter of praying for the dead professedly, r doth by way of obiection move this doubt: *To what purpose should the Bishop intreat the divine goodnesse to grant remission of sinnes unto the dead, and a like glorious inheritance with those that have followed God?* seeing by such prayers hee can bee brought to no other rest, but that which is fitting for him, and answerable unto the life which hee hath here led. If our *Romish* divinitie had beene then acknowledged by the Church; there had been no place left to such questions and doubts as these. The matter might easily have beene answered, that though a man did die in the state of grace, yet was he not presently to bee admitted unto the place of rest, but must first be reckoned withall; both for the committall of those smaller faults, unto which through

q Ὅτι οἱ τῇ κολάσει παραδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερωτάτων καθαίρονται τῆς κακίας ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν καθαρσιον ἀπολύονται τῆς κολάσεως. καίτοι οὐ πάντες παραδοθέντες τῇ κολάσει καθαίρονται καὶ ἀπολύονται, ἀλλά τινες. καὶ ὅπερ ὄντων ἀληθὲς τῆς ἐκκλησίας φρόνημα, οὐδεὶς ἀπολύεται τῆς κολάσεως. Ibid.

r Φαίης δ' ἂν ὅπως, ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρῆσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν· δεῖν δὲ ὅτε ἕνεκα τῆς θεαρχικῆς ἀγαθότητος ὁ ἱεράρχης λιτανεύει, τῆς ἡμῖν τιμιβίου αὐτῶν τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ τῷ ἀθρόου, καὶ τῆς θεοειδοῦς ὁμοταγοῦς καὶ φαιδρᾶς ἀποκλήρωσιν. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7

humane frailtie hee was daily ſubiect, and for the not performance of full penance and ſatisfaction for the greater ſinnes into which in this life hee had fallen: and Purgatorie being the place wherein hee muſt bee cleanſed from the one, and make up the iuſt payment for the other; theſe prayers were directed unto God for the deliverie of the poore ſoule, which was not now in caſe to helpe it ſelfe out of that place of torment.

But this author, taking upon him the perſon of S. *Pauls* ſcholler, and profeſſing to deliver herein [f] *that tradition which hee had receiued from his diuine Maſters*; ſaith no ſuch thing, but giveth in this for his anſwer. *The diuine Biſhop, as the Scriptures witneſſe, is the interpreter of the diuine iudgements: for hee is the Angell of the Lord God almightie. Hee hath learned therefore out of the oracles deliuered by God, that a moſt glorious and diuine life is by his iuſt iudgement worthily awarded to them that haue liued holily; his diuine goodneſſe and kindeneſſe paſſing ouer thoſe blots which by humane frailtie hee had contracted: foraſmuch as no man, as the Scriptures ſpeake, is free from pollution. The Biſhop therefore knowing theſe things to bee promiſed by the true oracles; prayeth that they may accordingly come to paſſe, and theſe ſacred rewards may bee beſtowed upon them that haue liued holily.* The Biſhop at that time belike did not know ſo much as our Popiſh Biſhops doe now; that Gods ſeruants muſt dearely ſmart in Purgatory for the ſinnes wherewith they were over-

[f] Περὶ ἧς ἡ εἰρημένης οὐχ ἧττον ἦν ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἐπιδέχεται τὸν κεκοιμημένον, τιμὴ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐνθέων ἱερῶν καθηγεμόνων παραδόσιν, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. Ὁ θεῖος ἱεροφάντης ἐκφαντικός ὄζιν, ὡς τὰ λόγια φησὶ, τῆς θεαρχικῶν δικαιωμάτων· ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ὄζι· μεμαθηκὼν ἔκ τε τῆς θεοπαραδότων λογίων, ὅτι τοῖς ὄσιος βιώσασιν, ἡ φανοτάτη καὶ θεία ζωὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαιοτάτων ζυγῶν ἀπονέμεται, παρορώσης ἐγκλήματα τῆς θεαρχικῆς φιλανθρωπίας, τὰς ἐγγενομένας αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας κηλίδας. ἐπείπερ ἐδεῖς ὡς τὰ λόγια φησὶ, καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἱεροφάντης εἶδεν ἐπηγγελμένα παρὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν λογίων· αὐτοῖς δὲ αὐτὰ χαρίζεται, καὶ φιλανθρωπεύεται τοῖς ὁσίως βιώσασι τὰς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ δόσεις. Id. ibid.

taken

taken through humane infirmitie: hee beleeved that God of his mercifull goodneſſe would paſſe by thoſe ſlippes, and that ſuch after-reckonings as theſe ſhould give no ſtoppage to the preſent beſtowing of thoſe holy rewards upon the children of the promiſe. [t] *Therefore the divine Biſhop* (ſaith our author) *asketh thoſe things which were promiſed by God, and are gratefull to him, and without doubt will bee granted: thereby aſwell manifeſting his owne good diſpoſition, unto God who is a lover of the good; as declaring like an interpreter unto them that bee preſent, the gifts that ſhall befall to ſuch as are holy.*

Hee further alſo addeth, that *the Biſhops have a ſeparating power, as the interpreters of Gods judgements*: according to that commiſſion of Chriſt; *Whoſe ſins yee remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſe you ſhall retaine, they are retained.* and * *Whatſoever thou ſhalt binde upon earth ſhall bee bound in heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon earth ſhall bee looſed in heaven.* Now as in the uſe of the keyes, the [u] Schoolemen following S. *Hierome* doe account the Miniſter to bee the interpreter onely of Gods iudgement, by declaring what is done by him in the binding or looſing of mens ſinnes: ſo doth this author here give them power onely to [x] *ſeparate thoſe that are alreadie judged of God*, and by way of [y] *declaration, and convey, to bring in thoſe that are beloved of God, and to exclude ſuch as are ungodly.* And if the power which the Miniſters have received by the foreſaid commiſſion, doe extend it ſelfe to any further reall operation upon the living: Pope *Gelaſius* will denie that it may bee ſtretched in like manner unto the dead; becauſe

t Οὐκοῦν ὁ θεῖος ἱεραρχης ἐξαιτεῖ τὰ θεοσδότως ἐπηγγελμένα καὶ φίλα θεῷ, καὶ παντως δωρησομενα, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκειας ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἕξεως ἐπιδεικνὺς τὸ φιλαγάθῳ θεῷ, καὶ τοῖς παρῶσιν ἐναργητεικῶς ἐμφαίνων τὰ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἐσόμενα δῶρα. ὅτω καὶ τὰς ἀφοριστικὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἱεραρχαι δυνάμεις, ὡς ἐναργητεικοὶ τῶν θείων δικαιωμάτων, &c. Id. ibid.

* *Vid. Euchelog. Græc. fol.* 151. b. & 152. a.

u *See above, pag.* 143. 171. 172.

x τοὺ κεχριμένους θεῷ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφοριζόντων. Dionyſ. ut ſuprà.

y ἐναργητεικῶς καὶ διαπορθμευτικῶς τοὺς τε θεοφιλεῖς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἀποκλειόντων. Id. ibid.

that *Christ* saith, *What soever thou shalt bind upon earth.* z Hee saith *upon earth: for hee that dyeth bound, is no where said to bee loosed.* and, a *That which a man remaining in his body, hath not received, being uncloathed of his flesh, hee cannot obtaine:* saith *Leo.*

z. Super terram inquit: nam in hâc ligatione defunctum nusquam dixit absolvi. *Oclas. in Commonitorio ad Faustum.*

a Quod manens in corpore non receperit, consequi exutus carne non poterit. *Leo, epist. 89. vel 91. ad Theodorum.*

Whether the dead received profite by the prayers of the living, was still a question in the Church. *Maximus* in his Greeke scholies upon the writer of the *Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy*, wisheth us to b *marke, that even before* that writers *time this doubt was questioned.* Among the questions wherein *Dulcitius* desired to bee resolved by S. *Augustine*, wee finde this to bee one; c *Whether the offering that is made for the dead, did availe their soules any thing?* and that d MANY *did say to this, that if herein any good were to bee done after death; how much rather should the soule it selfe obtaine ease for it selfe, by it owne confessing of her sinnes there, than that for the ease thereof an oblation should bee procured by other men.* The like also is noted by *Cyrill*, or rather *Iohn* Bishop of *Ierusalem*; that hee e *knew* MANIE *who said thus. What profite doth the soule get that goeth out of this world (either with sinnes, or not with sinnes) if you make mention of it in prayer?* and by *Anastasius Sinaita* (or *Nicænus:*) f *Some doe doubt; saying, that the dead are not profited by the oblations that are made for them.* and (long after them) by *Petrus Cluniacensis* in his treatise against the followers of

b Καὶ σημείωσαι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἐζητήθη τὸ ἄπορον τοῦτο. Maxim. schol. in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 7.

c Vtrum oblatio, quæ fit pro quiescentibus, aliquid eorum conferat animabus? *Augustin. ad Dulcit. quæst. 2.*

d Ad quod multi dicunt, quòd si aliquis beneficii in hoc locus possit esse post mortem; quanto magis sibi anima ferret ipsa refrigeria, sua per se illic confitendo peccata, quàm in eorum refrigerium ab aliis oblatio procuratur. *Ibid.* e Οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς τοῦτο λέγοντας· τί ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ ἐξ' ἁμαρτήμασιν ἀπαλλαγεῖσα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου, ἢ ἐξ' ἁμαρτήμασιν, ἐὰν ὅλως τοῦ στόματος μνημονεύητε; Cyrill. Cateches 5. Mystagogic. f Ἀμφιβάλλουσι τινες λέγοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ὠφελοῦνται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων σωμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Anastas. fin. pag. 540. edit Græcolat.

Peter

Peter Bruſe in France: [g] *That the good deeds of the living may profit the dead, both theſe hereticks doe deny, and ſome Catholicks alſo doe ſeeme to doubt.* Nay in the Weſt, not the profite onely, but the lawfulneſſe alſo of theſe doings for the dead was called in queſtion: as partly may bee collected by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* his conſulting with Pope *Gregory*, about 730. yeares after the birth of our Saviour; [h] *Whether it were lawfull to offer oblations for the dead* (which he ſhould have no reaſon to doe, if no queſtion had been made thereof among the *Germans*) and is plainly delivered by *Hugo Etherianus*, about 1170. yeares after *Chriſt*, in theſe words. [i] *I know that many are deformed with vaine opinions, thinking that the dead are not to bee prayed for: becauſe that neither Chriſt, nor the Apoſtles that ſucceeded him, have intimated theſe things in the Scriptures. But they are ignorant, that there bee many things, and thoſe exceeding neceſſary, frequented by the holy Church, the tradition whereof is not had in the Scriptures: and yet they pertaine nevertheleſſe to the worſhip of God, and obtaine great ſtrength.* Whereby it may appeare, that this practice wanted not oppoſition even then, when in the Papacie it was advanced unto his greateſt height. And now is it high time, that I ſhould paſſe from this article, unto the next following.

g Quòd bona vivorum mortuis prodeſſe valeant, & hi haretici negant, & quidam etiam Catholici dubitare videntur. *Petr. Cluniac. epiſt. contra Petrobruſianos.*

h Pro obeuntibus quoque conſuluiſſe dignoſceris, ſi liceat oblationes auferre. *Gregor. II. vel III. epiſt. ad Bonifac. in tomis Conciliorum.*

i Scio pleroſque vanis opinionibus deformari, putantes non eſſe orandum pro mortuis; eo quòd neque Chriſtus, neq; Apoſtoli ejus ſucceſſores hæc ſcriptis intimaverint. Neſciunt quidem illi plura eſſe, ac perſummè neceſſaria, quæ ſancta Eccleſia frequentat, quorum traditio ex ſcripturis non habetur: nihilo tamen minus ad cultum Dei pertinent, & vigorem maximum obtinent. *Hug. Etherian. de Animar. regreſſ. ab infer. cap. 13.*

OF *LIMBVS PATRVM*;
And
CHRISTS DESCENT
INTO HELL.

HEre doth our Challenger undertake to prove againſt us; not onely *that there is Limbus Patrum*, but *that our Saviour* alſo *deſcended into Hell, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Teſtament; becauſe before his Paſsion none ever entred into Heaven.* That there *was* ſuch a thing as *Limbus Patrum*, I have heard it ſaid: but what it *is* now, the Doctors varie, yet agree all in this; that *Limbus* it may well bee, but *Limbus Patrum* ſure it *is* not. [a] *Whether it were diſtinct from that place, in which the infants that depart out of this life without baptiſme, are now beleeved to bee received, the Divines doe doubt; neither is there anything to bee raſhly pronounced of ſo doubtfull a matter:* ſaith *Maldonat* the Ieſuite. The Dominican Friars, that wrote againſt the *Grecians* at *Conſtantinople* in the yeare 1252. reſolve, that [b] *into this limbus the holy Fathers before the comming of Chriſt, did deſcend; but now the children that depart without baptiſme, are detained there:* ſo that in their iudgement, that which was the Limbus of Fathers, is now become the Limbus of Children. The more common opinion is, that theſe bee two diſtinct places: and that the one is appointed for unbaptized infants: but the other [c] *now*

a An ab eo loco diſtinctus fuerit, in quo nunc infantes ſine baptiſmo de vitâ decedentes recipi creduntur, Theologi dubitant; nec eſt quicquam de re dubiâ temerè pronuntiandum. *Io. Mald. comment. in Luc. 16. 22.*

b In quem (*limbum*) ante adventum Chriſti ſancti Patres deſcendebant: nunc verò pueri, qui abſq; baptiſmo decedunt, ſine pœnâ ſenſibili, detinentur. *Tract. contr. Græc. in tomo auctorum à P. Stewartio edit. pag. 565.* c Nunc vacuus remanet. *Bellar. de Purg. lib. 2. cap. 6.*

remaineth

remaineth void, and so [d] *shall remaine, that it may beare witnesse aswell of the justice as of the mercie of God.* If you demand, how it came to be thus voide, and emptied of the old inhabitants: the answer is here given; *that our Saviour descended into Hell* purposely *to deliver* from hence *the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament.* But [e] *Hell is one thing, I weene,* saith *Tertullian, and Abrahams bosome* (where the Fathers of the old Testament rested) *another:* [f] *neither is it to bee beleeved, that the bosome of Abraham, being the habitation of a secret kinde of rest, was any part of Hell*; saith S. *Augustine.* To say then, that our Saviour descended into *Hell*, to deliver the ancient Fathers of the Old Testament out of *Limbus Patrum*: would by this construction prove as strange a tale, as if it had beene reported, that *Cæsar* made a voyage into *Brittaine*, to set his friends at libertie in *Greece.*

Yea, but *before Christs Passion none ever entred into Heaven*: saith our Challenger. The proposition that Cardinall *Bellarmine* taketh upon him to prove, where hee handleth this controversie, is: [g] *that the soules of the godly were not in Heaven before the Ascension of Christ.* Our Iesuite, it seemeth, considered here with himselfe, that *Christ* had promised unto the penitent theefe upon the crosse; that not before his ascention onely, but also before his resurrection, even [h] *that day* hee should bee with him in *Paradise*: that is to say, in the *kingdome of Heaven*; as the [i] Cardinall himselfe doth prove, both by the authority of S. [k] *Paul*, making *Paradise* and the *third heaven* to be

d Manet autem, manebitque, licèt vacuus, hic infernus; ut testimonium perhibeat tùm justitiæ, tùm misericordiæ Dei. *Hen. Vicus, de descensu Christi ad infer. sect.* 41. *Vid. Abulens. Paradox.* 5. *cap.* 188.

e Aliud enim Inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque Abrahæ sinus. *Tertull. adverss. Marcion. lib.* 4. *cap.* 34.

f Non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est, secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars Interorum esse credenda est. *Augustin. epist.* 99. *ad Euodium.*

g Quòd animæ piorum non fuerint in cœlo ante Christi ascensionem. *Bellarmin. de Christ. lib.* 4. *cap.* 11.

h *Luk.* 23. 43.

i Vera ergo expositio est Theophylacti, Ambrosii, Bedæ, & aliorum, qui per paradisum intelligunt regnum cœlorum. *Bellarmin. de Sanct. Beatit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

k 2. *Corin.* 12. 2, 4.

the

the ſelfe ſame thing, and by the teſtimony of the ancient expoſitors of the place. This, belike, ſtucke ſomewhat in our Ieſuites ſtomacke: who being loth to interpret this of his *Limbus Patrum* (as [1] others of that ſide had done) and to maintaine that *Paradiſe*, in ſtead of the third Heaven, ſhould ſignifie the third or the fourth Hell; thought it beſt to ſhift the matter handſomely away, by taking upon him to defend, that, not before Chriſts *aſcenſion* (leſt that of the Thiefe ſhould croſſe him) but before his *paſsion* none ever entred into Heaven, But if none before our Saviours Paſſion did ever enter into Heaven: whither ſhall we ſay that *Elias* did enter? The Scripture aſſureth us, that he *went up into heaven:* (2. King. 2. 11.) and of this *Mattathias* put his ſonnes in mind upon his death-bed; that [m] *Elias being Zealous and fervent for the law, was taken up into Heaven. Elias* and *Moſes* both, before the paſſion of *Chriſt*, are deſcribed to bee [n] *in glory:* [o] *Lazarus* is carried by the Angels into a place of *comfort*, and not of impriſonment: in a word, all the Fathers [p] accounted themſelves to bee ſtrangers and pilgrims in this earth, ſeeking for a better country, that is, *an heavenly*, as well as [q] wee doe; and therefore having ended their pilgrimage, they arrived at the country they ſought for, as well as wee. They [r] beleeved to bee ſaved through the grace of our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*, as well as wee; they [s] lived by that faith, as well as wee; they [t] dyed in *Chriſt*, as well as wee; they received [u] remiſſion of ſinnes, imputation of righteouſneſſe, and the bleſſednеſſe ariſing therefrom, as well as wee: and the mediation of our Saviour being of that preſent efficacie,

1 *Henr. Vic. de deſcenſ. ad infer. ſect. 41. pag. 129. Vid. Thom. in 3. part. Sum. quæſt. 52. art. 4. ad 3. & Lyranum in Luc. 23. 43.*

m Ηλίας ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον νόμου, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. 1. Maccab. 2. 58.

n *Luk. 9. 31.*

o *Luk. 16. 22, 25.*

p *Heb. 11. 13. 14, 16.*

q *Hebr. 13. 14.*

r *Act. 15. 11.*

s *Habak. 2. 4. Rom. 1. 16, 17.*

t *1. Theſſ. 4. 16.*

u *Rom. 4. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. 3. 8, 9.*

cie, that it tooke away ſinne, and brought in righteouſneſſe from the very beginning of the world; it had vertue ſufficient to free men from the penaltie of *loſſe*, as well as from the penaltie of *ſenſe*, and to bring them unto him, in whoſe [x] *preſence is fulneſſe of joy*, as to deliver them from the [y] *place of torment*, where [z] there is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

The firſt that ever aſſigned a reſting place in Hell to the Fathers of the old Teſtament, was (as farre as wee can finde) *Marcion* the hereticke: [a] who *determined that both kinde of rewards, whether of torment or of refreſhing, was appointed in Hell for them that did obey the Law and the Prophets*. Wherein hee was gainſaid by ſuch as wrote againſt him, not onely for making that the place of their eternall reſt; but alſo for lodging them there at all, and imagining that *Abrahams* boſome was any part of Hell. This appeareth plainly by the diſputation, ſet out among the workes of *Origen*, betwixt *Marcus* the *Marcionite*, & *Adamantius* the Defender of the Catholicke cauſe: who touching the * parabolicall hiſtorie of the rich man and *Lazarus* in the ſixteenth of S. *Luke*, are brought in reaſoning after this manner. [b] MARCVS. *Hee ſaith*

x *Pſal.* 16.11.
y *Luk.* 16.28.
z *Matth.* 8.11, 12.
a Sed Marcion aliorſum cogit, ſcilicet utramque mercedem Creatoris, ſive tormenti ſive refrigerii, apud inferos determinet eis poſitam qui Legi & Prophetis obedierint; Chriſti verò & Dei ſui cœleſtem deſiniat ſinum & portum. *Tertullian. lib.* 4. *contr. Marcion. cap.* 34. *Vid. etiam lib.* 3. *cap.* 24.
* *In* D. Bezæ *Græcolatino Evangeliorum venerandæ vetuſtatis exemplari, (quod olim in S. Irenæi Cœnobio Lugdunenſi, hodie in publicâ Cantabrigienſis academiæ Bibliothecâ aſſervatur) hiſtoriæ huic præmittitur iſta præfatio.* Εἶπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν παραβολήν. Dixit autem aliam parabolam. Cui ſimilis etiam in Miſſali Romano (feriâ 5. poſt Dominicam 2. Quadrageſimæ) *legebatur*: Dixit Ieſus Diſcipulis ſuis parabolam hanc. *Verùm in Miſſali reformato dictæ poſtremæ voces ſublatæ nuper ſunt.*

b ΜΑΡΚΟΣ. Ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ εἶπεν ἡ τὸν Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΟΣ. Ἀναγνωθι ὅπ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ λέγει τὸν Ἀβραάμ. ΜΑΡΚ. Ἀπὸ τοῦ σωμομιλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ πλούσιον, δείκνυται ὁμοῦ ὄντες. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤ. Τὸ ὁμιλεῖν φωνὰς ἀλλήλαις ἤκουσας, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον χάσμα μέγα οὐκ ἤκουσας. τὸ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ μέσον χάσμα λέγει. ΜΑΡΚ. δύναται οὖν τις ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὁρᾶν; ἀδυνάτων· ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν δύναται τις ἀπὸ γῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾅδου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁρᾶν; εἰ μὴ δῆλον ὅτι φάραγξ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤ. Οἱ σωματικοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὰ ἐγγίζα μόνον πεφύκασιν ὁρᾶν· οἱ δὲ ψυχικοὶ εἰς μῆκος ἀποτείνονται· καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδέδυμοι, τοῖς δὲ ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν ὁρῶσιν ἀλλήλους. Πόθεν γὰρ πῶς λέγει τὸ οὐαὶ γέλιον, ὅτι ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πεπυκνὸν ἐπαίρειν, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν γῆν. Orig. Dial. 2. cont. Marcion.

that

that Abraham is in hell, and not in the kingdome of heaven. ADAMANTIVS. *Reade whether hee ſaith that Abraham was in Hell.* MARC. *In that the rich man and hee talked one to the other, it appeareth that they were together.* ADAMANT. *that they talked one with another, thou heareſt; but the great gulfe ſpoken of, that thou hearest not. For the middle ſpace betweene heaven and earth he calleth a gulfe.* MARC. *Can a man therefore ſee from earth unto heaven? it is impoſsible. Can any man lifting up his eyes behold from the earth, or from hell rather ſee into heaven? If not; it is plain, that a vally only was ſet betwixt them.* ADAMANT. *Bodily eyes uſe to ſee thoſe things only that are neere: but ſpirituall eyes reach farre. and it is manifeſt, that they who have here put off their bodie, do ſee one another with the eies of their ſoule. For marke how the Goſpell doth ſay, that he lifted up his eyes. toward heaven one uſeth to lift them up, and not toward the earth.* In like manner doth [c] *Tertullian* alſo retort the ſame place of Scripture againſt *Marcion*, and prove that it maketh a plaine difference betweene *Hell* and the *boſome of Abraham*. For it affirmeth (ſaith hee) *both that a great deepe is interpoſed betwixt thoſe regions, and that it ſuffereth no paſſage from either ſide. Neither could the rich man have lifted up his eies, and that afarre off, unleſſe it had beene unto places above him, and very farre above him, by reaſon of the mightie diſtance betwixt that height and that depth.* Thus farre *Tertullian*: who though hee come ſhort of *Adamantius*, in [d] making *Abrahams* boſome not to bee any part of *Heaven*, although no member at all of *Hell*;

c Reſpondebimus, & hâc ipsâ ſcripturâ revincente oculos ejus, quæ ab infernis diſcernit Abrahæ ſinum pauperi: Aliud enim Inferi, ut puto, aliud quoq; Abrahæ ſinus. Nam & magnum ait intercedere regiones iſtas profundum, & tranſitum utrinq; prohibere. Sed nec allevâſſet dives oculos, & quidem de longinquo, niſi in ſuperiora, & de altitudinis longinquo per immenſam illam diſtantiam ſublimitatis & profunditatis. *Tert. adverſ. Marcion. lib. 4. cap. 34.*

d Eam itaque regionem ſinum dico Abrahæ, etſi non cœleſtem, ſublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus juſtorum, donec conſummatio rerum reſurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. *Id. ibid.*

yet

yet doth hee concurre with him in this, that it is a place of bliſſe, and a common receptacle wherein the ſoules of all the faithfull, as well of the new as of the old Teſtament, doe ſtill remaine, in expectation of the generall reſurrection. which quite marreth the *Limbus Patrum* of our Romaniſts, and the journey which they fancie our Saviour to have taken for the fetching of the Fathers from thence.

With theſe two doth S. *Auguſtine* alſo joyne in his 99. epiſtle to *Euodius*: concerning whoſe judgement herein, I will not ſay the deceitfull, but the exceeding partiall dealing of Cardinall *Bellarmine* can verie hardly be excuſed. [e] *Although Auguſtine* (ſaith he) *in his 99. epiſtle doe ſeeme to doubt, whether the boſome of Abraham, where the ſoules of the Fathers were in times paſt, ſhould be in Hell, or ſomewhere elſe: yet in the 20. book of the City of God, the 15. chapter, he affirmeth that it was in Hell; as all the reſt of the Fathers have alwaies taught.* If S. *Auguſtine* in that epiſtle were of the minde (as he was indeed) that *Abrahams* boſome was no part of Hell: hee was not the firſt inventer of that doctrine; others taught it before him, and oppoſed *Marcion* for teaching otherwiſe. Σὺν τῷ δὺ ἐρχομένω: alone he went not, two there were at leaſt (as we have ſeene) that walked along with him in that ſame way. But for that which he is ſaid to have *doubted* of in one place, & to have *affirmed* in another: if the indifferẽt Reader will bee pleaſed but to view both the places, he ſhall eaſily diſcerne that the Cardinall looked not into theſe things with a ſingle eye. In his 99. epiſtle, [f] from that ſpeech of *Abraham*; *Betweene you and us*

e Auguſtinus, etſi in epiſt. 99. ambigere videtur, an ſinus Abraham, ubi erant animæ Patrum olim, in inferno eſſet, an alibi: tamen lib. 20. de civit Dei, cap. 15. affirmat in inferno fuiſſe; ut cæteri omnes Patres ſemper docuerunt. *Bellar. de Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 11. in fine.*

f Quanquam in his ipſis tanti magiſtri verbis, ubi ait dixiſſe Abraham, Inter vos & nos chaos magnum firmatum eſt; ſatis, ut opinor, appareat non eſſe quandam partem & quaſi membrum inferorum tantæ illius felicitatis ſuum. *Auguſt. epiſt. 99.*

there

there is a great gulfe fixed: he maketh this inference. *In theſe words it appeareth ſufficiently, as I think, that the boſome of ſo great happineſſe is not any part and member of Hell.* Theſe ſeeme unto the Cardinal to be the words of a doubtfull man: with what words then, when he is better reſolved, doth he affirme the matter? With theſe forſooth.g *If it do ſeeme no abſurditie to beleeve that the old Saints which held the faith of Chriſt to come, were in places moſt remote from the torments of the wicked, but yet in Hell; untill the bloud of Chriſt, and his deſcent into thoſe places, did deliver them: truely from henceforth the good and faithfull, who are redeemed with that price already ſhed, know not Hell at all.* If, *ſatis ut opinor apparet,* [*it appeareth ſufficiently, as I thinke,*] muſt import doubting, and *ſi non abſurdè credi videtur,* [*If it do ſeem no abſurdity to beleeve,*] affirming: I know not, I muſt confeſſe, what to make of mens ſpeeches.

g Si enim non abſurdè credi videtur, antiquos etiam ſanctos qui venturi Chriſti tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem à tormentis impiorum remotiſſimis, ſed apud inferos fuiſſe, donec eos inde ſanguis Chriſti, & ad ea loca deſcenſus erueret: profectò deinceps boni fideles effuſo illo pretio jam redempti, prorſùs inferos neſciunt, donec etiam receptis corporibus bona recipiant quæ merentur. *Id. de Civit. Dei lib. 20. cap. 15.*

The truth is: S. *Auguſtine* in handling this queſtion diſcouereth himſelfe to be neither of the Ieſuits temper nor beleefe. He eſteemed not this to be ſuch an article of faith, that they who agreed not therein muſt needs be held to be of different religions: as he doth modeſtly propound the reaſons which induced him to thinke that *Abrahams* boſome was no member of Hell; ſo doth hee not lightly reject the opinion of thoſe that thought otherwiſe, but leaveth it ſtill as a diſputable point. h *Whether that boſome of Abraham where the wicked rich man, when hee was in the torments of Hell, did behold the poore man reſting, were either to be accounted*

h Vtrum ſinus ille Abrahæ ubi dives impius, cùm in tormentis eſſet inferni, requieſcentem pauperem vidit, vel paradiſi cenſendus vocabulo, vel ad inferos pertinere exiſtimandus ſit: non facilè dixerim. *Id. epiſt. 57.*

accounted by the name of Paradiſe, or eſteemed to appertaine unto Hell, I cannot readily affirme: ſaith hee in one place. and in another: [i] *Whether Abraham were then at any certaine place in Hell, we cannot certainly define.* and in his 12. booke *de Geneſi ad literam*: [k] *I have not hitherto found, and I doe yet inquire, neither doe I remember that the canonicall Scripture doth any where put Hell in the good part. Now that the boſome of Abraham, and that reſt, unto which the godly poore man was carried by the Angel, ſhould not be taken in the good part, I know not whether any good man can endure to heare: and therefore how we may beleeve that it is in Hell, I doe not ſee.* Where it may further alſo be obſerued, that S. *Auguſtine* doth here aſſigne no other place to this godly poore man, than he doth unto the ſoules of all the faithfull that have departed ſince the comming of our Sauiour *Chriſt*: the queſtion with him beeing alike of them both, whether the place of their reſt be deſigned by the name of Hell or Paradiſe. Therefore he ſaith: [l] *I confeſſe I have not yet found, that it is called Hell, where the ſoules of juſt men doe reſt.* and againe: [m] *How much more after this life may that boſome of Abraham be called Paradiſe; where now there is no temptation, where there is ſo great reſt after all the griefes of this life? For neither is there wanting there a proper kind of light and of it owne kinde, and doubtleſſe great,*

i Etenim apud inferos utrùm in locis quibuſdam fuiſſet jam Abraham; non ſatis poſſumus definire. *Id. in Pſal.* 85.

k Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, & adhuc quæro, nec mihi occurrit inferos alicubi in bono poſuiſſe Scripturam duntaxat Canonicam. Non autem in bono accipiendum ſinum Abrahæ, & illam requiem, quò ab angelis pius pauper ablatus eſt, neſcio utrum quiſquam poſſit audire: & ideò quo modo eum apud inferos credamus eſſe, non video. *Id. de Gen. ad lit. lib.* 12. *cap.* 33.

l Quanquam & illud me nondum inveniſſe confiteor, inferos appellatos, ubi juſtorum animæ requieſcunt. *Id. ibid.* m Quanto magis ergo poſt hanc vitam etiam ſinus ille Abrahæ Paradiſus dici poteſt; ubi jam nulla tentatio, ubi tanta requies poſt omnes dolores vitæ hujus? Neq; enim & lux ibi non eſt propria quædam & ſui generis, & profectò magna; quam dives ille de tormentis & tenebris inferorum, tam utiq; de longinquo cùm magnum chaos eſſet in medio, ſic tamen vidit ut ibi illum quondam contemptum pauperem agnoſceret. *Id. ibid. cap.* 34.

which that rich man out of the torments and darkneſſe of Hell, (even from ſo remote a place, where a great gulfe was placed in the midſt) did ſo behold, that he might there take notice of the poore man whom ſometime he had deſpiſed. and elſewhere expounding in the 16. of S. Luke: [q] *The boſome of Abraham,* ſaith he, *is the reſt of the bleſſed poore, whoſe is the kingdome of heaven, in which after this life they are received.*

n Sinus Abrahæ, requies eſt beatorum pauperum, quorum eſt regnum cœlorum, in quo poſt hanc vitam recipiuntur. Id. Quæſtion. Evangel. liu. 2. cap. 38.

ο Κόλπος ἢ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ὁ Διονύσιος Ἀρεοπαγίτης τὰς μακαρικὰς λήξεις φησὶ τὰς ὑποδεχομένας τοὺς δικαίους εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν ἀγήρω καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ τελείωσιν. Tit. Boſtr. in fin. cap. 16. Lucæ.

Bede, in his Commentaries upon the ſame place, and *Strabus* in the ordinary Gloſſe, doe directly follow S. *Auguſtin* in this expoſition: and the Greeke interpreter of S. *Luke* (who wrongly beareth the name of *Titus Boſtrenſis*, and *Chryſoſtom*) for proofe thereof produceth the teſtimony of [p] *Dionyſius Areopagita, affirming that by the boſomes of Abraham, Iſaac and Iacob, thoſe bleſſed reſting places are deſigned, which doe receive the juſt unto their never-fading and moſt bleſſed perfection.* The words that hee hath relation unto, be theſe, in the ſeventh chapter of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy. [p] *The boſomes of the bleſſed Patriarches and of all the reſt of the Saints are, as I thinke, the moſt divine and bleſſed reſting places, which doe receive all ſuch as are like unto God, into that never-fading and moſt bleſſed perfection that is therein.* Hitherto appertaine thoſe paſſages in S. *Ambroſe.* [q] *Come into the boſome of Iacob: that as poore Lazarus did in the boſome of Abraham, ſo thou alſo mayſt reſt in the tranquilitie of the patriarch Iacob. For the boſome of the Patriarches is a certaine retyring place of everlaſting reſt.*

p Κόλποι δὲ εἰσὶν, ὡς οἶμαι, τῶν μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων αἱ πάντων, αἱ θεότατοι καὶ μακάριστοι λήξεις, τὰ τοὺς θεοειδεῖς ὑποδεχόμενα πάντας, εἰς τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγήρω καὶ μακαριωτάτην τελείωσιν. Dionyſ. Eccl. Hier. cap. 7.

q Veni in gremium Iacob: ut ſicut Lazarus pauper in Abrahæ ſinu, ita etiam tu in Iacob patriarchæ tranquillitate requieſcas. Sinus enim Patriarcharum receſſus quidam eſt quietis æternæ. *Ambroſ. orat. de obitu Valentiniani Imp.*

r We

q We ſhall goe where holy Abraham openeth his boſome, to receve the poore, as he did receive Lazarus; in which boſome they doe reſt, who in this world have endured grievous and ſharpe things. r *Into Paradiſe is an aſcent, into Hell a deſcent. Let them deſcend, ſaith he, quick into Hell. And therefore poore Lazarus was by the Angells lifted up into Abrahams boſome.* t *Behold that poore man abounding with all good things, whom the bleſſed reſt of the holy Patriarch did compaſſe about.* u *Lazarus, lying in Abrahams boſome, enjoyed everlaſting life.*

S. *Chryſoſtome*, or whoſoever elſe was the author of that homily touching the Rich man and *Lazarus*, upon thoſe words of the text, that the rich man lifting up his eyes beheld *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* boſome, moveth this queſtion: x *Why Lazarus did not ſee the rich man*, as well as the rich man is ſaid to ſee *Lazarus?* & giveth this anſwer thereunto: *becauſe* * *he that is in the light doth not ſee him that ſtandeth in the darke; but hee that is in the darke, beholdeth him that is in the light*; taking it for granted, that *Abrahams* boſome was a place of *light*, and not of *darkeneſſe*. Hee that wrote the Homily upon the ſentence of that Pſalme, *What man is he that would have life, and deſireth to ſee good dayes?* who is commonly alſo, though not rightly, accounted to be *Chryſoſtome*; goeth further, and ſaith, that the rich man y *lifted up his eyes unto*

r Ibimus ubi ſinum ſuum Abraham ſanctus expandit, ut ſuſcipiat pauperes, ſicut ſuſcepit & Lazarum: in quo ſinu requieſcunt, qui in hoc ſeculo gravia atque aſpera pertulerunt. *Id. de bono mortis, cap.* 12.

ſ In Paradiſum aſcenditur, in Infernum deſcenditur. Deſcendant, inquit, in infernum viventes. Ideoq; Lazarus pauper per angelos in Abrahæ ſinum eſt elevatus. *Id. in Pſalm.* 48.

t Vide illum pauperem bonis omnibus abundantem, quem ſancti Patriarchæ requies beata circumdabat. *Id. ibid.*

u Lazarus, in Abrahæ ſinu recumbens, vitam carpebat æternam. *Id. in Pſalm.* 118. *ſerm.* 3. x Διὰ τὶ ὁ μὴ Λάζαρος εἶδε τὸν πλούσιον; ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὢν δέχων τὸν ἐν τῷ σκότει ἑστῶτα οὐ βλέπει, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ σκότει τὸν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ὄντα ὁρᾷ. Chryſoſt. homil. in Divit. & Lazar. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 730. * E tenebris autem quæ ſunt in luce tuemur. Quod contrà facere in tenebris è luce nequimus. *Lucret. de rer. nat. lib.* 4. y Erexit oculos in cœlum de loco tormentorum, & clamavit ad patrem Abraham. *Homil. in illud, Pſalm.* 33. Quis eſt homo, *tom.* 1. *Oper. Chryſoſt.*

Heaven out of the place of torments, and cryed unto father Abraham: yea hee expreſſely affirmeth there, that [z] *the bleſſed poore man did goe unto Heaven; and the rich man covered with purple, did remaine in Hell.* which agreeth well with that undoubted ſaying of S. *Chryſoſtome* himſelfe: [a] *Lazarus, who was worthy of Heaven and the kingdome that is there, being full of ſores, was expoſed to the tongues of dogges, and ſtrove with perpetuall hunger.* and with that which hee writeth elſewhere: that [b] *after famine, and ſoares, and lying in the porch, hee enjoyed that refreſhing which is impoſſible to bee expreſſed by ſpeech,* even [c] *unſpeakeable good things.* Whereunto may bee added that collection of his out of the words of our Saviour: *Many ſhall come from the Eaſt and Weſt, and ſhall ſit downe with Abraham, and Iſaac, and Iacob, in the kingdome of heaven,* Matth. 8. 11. that this *kingdome* is [d] deſigned here by a new tearme of the *boſome of Abraham*; and the [e] *conſummation of all good*, called by the name of the *boſomes of the Patriarches.*

S. *Baſil*, in his ſermon of *Faſting*, placeth *Lazarus* in Paradiſe. [f] *Doſt not thou ſee Lazarus* (ſaith hee) *how hee entred by faſting into Paradiſe?* and the ancient compiler of the Latine ſermon tranſlated from thence, frameth this exhortation accordingly. g *Let us therefore uſe this way, whereby wee may returne unto Paradiſe. Thither is Lazarus gone before us. Aſterius*

z Beatus pauper migravit ad cœlum; & dives purpurâ tectus, manſit in inferno. *Ibid.*

a Καὶ Λάζαρος μέν, ὁ τῆς ἑῴων ἀξιος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ἠλγεῖτο καὶ τῆς κυνῶν παρῆν γλώσσαις λιμῷ μαχόμενος διηνεκεῖ. Chryſoſt. lib. 1. de Provident. ad Stagir. tom. 6. edit. Savil, pag. 96.

b Μετὰ τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὸν ἕλκη καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι κατάκλιση, τὴν ἀπορρήτου ἐκείνης ἀνέσεως καὶ διὰ λόγου ἐφεστώσης ἀπόλαυσιν. Id. in illud: Intrate per anguſt. port. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 179.

c τῆς ἀπορρήτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντα. Ib. pag. 180. d τῷ τὸν κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ αὐτὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰπεῖν. Id. in Matth. hom. 26. edit. Græc. 27. Latin. e ὁ γὰρ τοῦ παραδείσου διαμαίζων, καὶ λῆξιν ἀγαθῶν τοῦ ἐκείνων κόλπους χαλῶν. &c. Ibid. f Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν Λάζαρον πῶς διὰ νηστείας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον; Baſil. hom. 1. de Ieiunio. g Vtamur ergo & nos hâc viâ, quâ rediri ad Paradiſum poteſt &c. Illuc præceſſit Lazarus. *Serm. de Ieiunio, Zenoni Veronenſi perperam attributus.*

Biſhop

Biſhop of *Amaſea* placeth him in [h] *a ſweet and joyous ſtate*: *Cyrill* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in [i] *unexpected delights*: *Salvianus*, in *bliſſe* and *everlaſting wealth*. [k] *The poore man* (ſaith he) *bought bliſſe with beggerie*; *the rich man*, *puniſhment with wealth*. *The poore man*, *when he had juſt nothing*, *bought everlaſting riches with penury*. *Gregory Nazianzen* ſaith, hee [l] *was enriched with refreſhment in the boſomes of Abraham*, that are ſo much to bee [m] *deſired*. *Prudentius*, in his poeticall vaine, deſcribeth him to bee there *hedged about with flowres*, as being in the garden of *Paradiſe*, even in the ſame paradiſe wherein *pure ſoules* doe now reſt ſince the aſcenſion of *Chriſt*. for thus hee writeth:

[n] *Sed dum reſolubile corpus*
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas;
Quânam regione jubebis
Animam requieſcere puram?
Gremio ſenis abdita ſancti
Recubabit, ubi eſt Eleazar;
Quem floribus undique ſeptum
Dives procul adſpicit ardens.
Sequimur tua dicta Redemptor,
Quibus atrâ é morte triumphans,
Tua per veſtigia mandas
Socium crucis ire latronem.

Of *Abraham*, the Iew *Philo* writeth; that [z] *having*

h Τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακαριότητι καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ καὶ πλούτοις ἀπείροις μόνῳ τῷ ἐνσάρκῳ καὶ ζωῆς γλυκείᾳ τινὶ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Aſterius, in hom. de divit. & Lazaro.

i Ὁ μὲν Λάζαρος ἐν ἀδοκήτοις τέρψεσιν· ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἀθυμήσας, ἐν φλογὶ καὶ μάστιξι. Cyril. Alexand. homil. Paſchal. 11.

k Pauper beatitudinem emit mendicitate; dives ſupplicium facultate. Pauper cùm penitùs nil haberet, emit æternas divitias egeſtate. *Salv. Maſſil. lib.* 3. *ad Eccleſ. Catholic. adverſ. avaritiam. Prior etiam ſententia habetur apud au-*

thorem ſerm. 217. *de Tempore*, *tom.* 10. *Oper. Auguſtini.* l Λάζαρος σώζεται, καὶ πλουτεῖ πλοῦν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ αἰώνιον. Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 16. de pauper. amore, pag. 262. edit. Græcolat. m Τῶν ὀρεκτῶν Ἀβραὰμ κόλπων. Id. orat. 44. in Pentecoſt. pag. 714. n *Prudent. Cathemerinôn. Hymn.* 10. z Ἀβραὰμ ἐκλιπὼν τὰ ὄντα, προσέθηκε τῷ θεῷ λαῷ, καρπόμενος καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, ἴσος καὶ ἀγγέλοις γεγονώς. Philo, in lib. de ſacrific. Abelis & Cain; non procul ab initio.

left this mortality, hee was adjoyned to Gods people, enjoying immortality, and made equall to the Angels: even as our Saviour ſpeaketh of the children of the reſurrection. (Luk. 20. 36.) So where *Iob* ſaith; *Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked ſhall I returne thither:* the Greeke ſcholies expound it thus: *Thither*; ° *namely unto God, unto that bleſſed end and reſt:* * *unto the place that is free from ſorrow.* which the author of the Commentaries upon *Iob* aſcribed to *Origen*, expreſſeth thus at large. P *Thither will I goe,* ſaith he, *where are the tabernacles of the righteous, where the glories of the Saints are, where is the reſt of the faithfull, where is the conſolation of the godly, where is the inheritance of the mercifull, where is the bliſſe of the undefiled, where is the joy and conſolation of ſuch as love the truth. Thither will I goe, where is light and life, where is glory and jocundneſſe, where is joy & exultation: whence griefe and heavineſſe and groning fly away, where they forget the former tribulations that they ſuſtained in their bodie upon the earth. Thither will I goe, where there is a laying aſide of tribulations, where there is a recompenſe of labours, where is the boſome of Abraham, where the propriety of Iſaac, where the familiarity of Iſrael; where bee the ſoules of the Saints, where the quire of Angels, where the voices of Archangels, where the illumination of the holy Ghoſt, where the kingdome of Chriſt,*

° Nimirum ad Deum; ad illum, inquam, beatum finem & requietem. *Catena Græc. in Iob, cap. 1. à P. Comitolo converſa.*

* Εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν πένθους ἀλλοτρίον. Caten. MS. D. Auguſtini Lindſelli.

P Illò, inquit, ibo, ubi ſunt tabernacula iuſtorum, ubi ſunt ſanctorum gloriæ, ubi eſt fidelium requies, ubi eſt piorum conſolatio, ubi eſt miſericordium hæreditas, ubi eſt immaculatorum beatitudo, ubi eſt veracium lætitia & conſolatio. Illuc ibo, ubi eſt lux & vita, ubi eſt gloria & iucunditas, ubi eſt lætitia & exultatio; vel unde aufugit dolor, triſtitia & gemitus, ubi obliviſcuntur priores tribulationes has quæ ſunt in corpore ſuper terram. Illuc ibo ubi eſt tribulationum depoſitio, ubi eſt remuneratio laborum, ubi Abrahæ ſinus, ubi Iſaac proprietas, ubi Iſrael familiaritas, ubi ſanctorum animæ, ubi angelorum chori, ubi archangelorum voces, ubi ſpiritus ſancti illuminatio, ubi Chriſti regnum, ubi æterni Dei patris infecta gloria atq; beatus conſpectus. *Orig. in Iob, lib. 1.*

where

where the endlesse glory and blessed sight of the eternall God the father. What difference, I pray you now, is there betwixt this *Limbus Patrum* and Heaven it selfe?

Of *Abrahams* bosome *Gregory Nyssen* writeth after this manner. ¶ *As by a certaine abuse of speech wee call a bay of the sea an arme or bosome: so it seemeth to mee that the word doth signifie the exhibition of those unmeasurable good things by the name of a bosome; into which good bosome, or bay, all men that saile by a vertuous course through this present life, when they loose from hence, put in their soules as it were into a haven free from danger of waves and tempests.* and in another place. [r] *If one hearing of a bosome, as it were a certaine large baye of the sea; should conceive the fulnesse of good things to bee meant thereby where the Patriarch is named, and that Lazarus is therein: hee should not thinke amisse.* True it is indeed, that diverse of the Doctors, who make *Abrahams bosome* to bee a place of glorie, doe yet distinguish it from *Heaven*: but it is to bee considered withall, that they hold the same opinion indifferently, of the place whereunto the soules of all godly men are received, aswell under the state of the New as of the Old Testament. For they did not hold (as our Romanists doe now) that *Christ* by his descension emptyed *Limbus*, and removed the bosome of *Abraham* from Hell into Heaven: their *Limbus* is now as full of Fathers as ever it was, and is the common receptacle wherein they suppose all good soules to remaine untill the generall resurrection; before which time they admit neither the Fathers nor us unto the

¶ Ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολλάκις θαλάσσῃ κατά τινα χρῆσιν κόλπον ὀνομάζομεν, οὕτω δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀμετρήτων ἐκείνων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἔνδειξιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ κόλπου διασημαίνειν ὀνόματι, ᾧ πάντες οἱ διὰ τοῦ βίου τοῦδε τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλοῦν ποιούμενοι, ὅταν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαίρωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκαταλείστῳ λιμένι τῷ ἀγαθῷ κόλπῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνορμίζοντες. Greg. Nyssen. Dialog de Animâ & Resurrect. tom. 2. Oper. pag. 651.

r Κόλπον δὲ ἀκούσας, οἷον πελάγους τινὸς εὐρύχωρον κόλπον, τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρωμα, ὡς ἐπινοήσαιμεν ὁ Πατριάρχης, νοήσας τὸν Λάζαρον ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμώμητον εἶναι. Id. tractat. 2. de Psalmor. inscript. cap. 6. (tom. 1. Oper. pag. 304.)

possession of the kingdome of Heaven. [r] *For Abraham* (saith *Gregory Nyssen*) and the other *Patriarches, although they had a desire to see those good things, and never left seeking that heavenly countrey, as the Apostle saith: yet are they notwithstanding that, even yet in expectancie of this favour; God having provided some better thing for us, according to the saying of S. Paul, that they without us should not bee made perfect.* So *Tertullian*: [t] *It appeareth to every wise man, that hath ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some locall determination, which is called Abrahams bosome, to receive the soules of his sonnes, even of the Gentiles; hee being the Father of many nations that were to be accounted of Abrahams family, and of the same faith wherewith Abraham beleeved God, under no yoke of the law, nor in the signe of Circumcision. That region therefore doe I call the bosome of Abraham, although not heavenly yet higher than hell, which shall give rest in the meane season to the soules of the righteous, untill the consummation of things doe finish the resurrection of all, with the fulnesse of reward.* And wee have heard S. *Hilary* say before, that [u] *all the faithfull, when they are gone out of the body, shall bee reserved by the Lords custody for that entrie into the heavenly kingdome; being in the meane time placed in the bosome of Abraham, whither the wicked are hindred from comming by the gulfe interposed betwixt them,*

[r] Καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ πατριάρχαι, τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνων τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντες, καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντες ἀεὶ ζητοῦντες τὴν ἐπουράνιον πατρίδα, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν τῷ ἐλπίζειν ἔτι τὴν χάριν εἰσὶ, τοῦ Θεοῦ κρεῖττόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν προβλεψαμένου, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Παύλου φωνὴν, ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσι. Id. de Hominis Opificio, cap. 22.

[s] Vnde apparet sapienti cuiq;, qui aliquando Elysios audierit, esse aliquam localem determinationem, quæ sinus dicta sit Abrahæ, ad recipiendas animas filiorum ejus etiam ex Nationibus, patris scilicèt multarum Nationum in Abrahæ censum deputandarum, & eâdem fide quâ & Abraham Deo credidit, nullo sub jugo legis, nec in signo circumcisionis. Eam itaq; regionem sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectione omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. *Tert. lib. 4. contr. Marcion. cap. 34.*

[t] Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœlestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur: in sinu scilicèt interim Abrahæ collocati, quò adire impios interjectũ chaos inhibet, quousq; introeundi rursum in regnum cœlorum tempus adveniat. *Hil. in Psal. 120.*

them, untill the time of entring into the kingdome of heaven doe come. and againe. [x] *The rich and the poore man in the Gospell doe serve us for witnesses: one of whom the Angels did place in the seates of the Blessed and in Abrahams bosome; the other the region of punishment did presently receive.* [y] *For the day of judgement is the everlasting retribution eyther of blisse or paine: but the time of death hath every one under his lawes, while either Abraham or punishment reserveth every one unto judgement.*

x Testes nobis Evangelicus dives & pauper: quorum unum angeli in sedibus beatorum & in Abrahæ sinu locaverunt, alium statim pœnæ regio suscepit. *Id. in Psalm. 2.*

y Iudicii enim dies, vel beatitudinis retributio est æterna vel pœnæ. Tempus verò mortis habet unumquemque suis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraham reservat aut pœna. *Id. ibid.*

The difference betwixt the Doctors in their judgment concerning the bosome of *Abraham*, and the resting of the ancient Fathers therein, wee finde noted in part in those expositions upon the Gospell, which goe under the name of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Eucherius* Bishop of *Lyons*. [z] In that the rich man (say they) *did in Hell behold Abraham, this by some is thought to bee the reason: because all the Saints before the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, are said to have descended into Hell, although into a place of refreshment. Others thinke that the place wherein Abraham was, did lye apart from those places of Hell, situated in places above: for which the Lord should say of that rich man, that lifting up his eies when hee was in torments, hee saw Abraham afarre off.* The former of these opinions is delivered by some of the Doctors doubtfully, by others more resolutely. *Primasius* setteth it

z In hoc quòd apud Infernum Abrahamum vidit, hæc subesse à quibusdam ratio putatur; quòd omnes Sancti ante adventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi etiam ad inferna, licèt in refrigerii locum, descendisse dicuntur. Alii opinantur locum illum in quo Abraham erat, ab illis in inferni locis seorsim in superioribus fuisse constitutum: propter quod dicat Dominus de illo Divite, quòd elevans oculos suos cùm esset in tormentis, vidit Abraham de longè. *Theophil. Antioch. Allegor. in Iohan. lib. 4. Lucher. Ludg. de quæstionib. novi Testam. in Lucâ.*

downe with S. *Auguſtines* qualification: [a] *It ſeemeth that without abſurditie it may bee beleeved.* The author of the imperfect worke upon *Matthew* ſaith, that [b] *peradventure the juſt did aſcend into heaven* before the comming of *Chriſt*: yet that he doth *thinke, that no ſoule before Chriſt did aſcend into heaven, ſince Adam ſinned, and the heavens were ſhut againſt him; but all were detained in Hell.* and, [c] *as I doe thinke,* ſaith the Greeke expoſitor of *Zacharies* Hymne likewiſe, *even our fathers, Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, and the whole queere of the holy Prophets and juſt men, did enjoy the comming of Chriſt.* Of which comming to viſite the Fathers in Hell, [d] S. *Hierome,* [e] *Ruffinus,* [f] *Venantius Fortunatus,* [g] *Gregory,* [h] *Iulianus Toletanus,* and [i] *Euſebius Emiſſenus* (as hee is commonly called) interpret that queſtion propounded by the *Baptiſt* unto our Saviour. [k] *Art thou hee that ſhould come, or looke wee for another?* which expoſition is by S. [l] *Chryſoſtome* juſtly rejected, as utterly impertinent and ridiculous. *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* affirmeth very boldly, that [m] *all the ſoules aſwell of the juſt as the unjuſt were under the hand of the Divell, untill Chriſt deſcending into Hell ſaid unto thoſe that were in bonds, Come forth; and to*

a Si non abſurdè credi videtur. *Primaſius, lib. 5. in Apocalyps. cap. 20. ſecutus Auguſtinum, lib. 20. de Civit. Dei, cap. 15.*

b Vis autem manifeſtè ſcire, quoniam ante Chriſtum cœli ſi aperiebantur, iterùm claudebantur. Nam juſti quidem forſitan aſcendebant in cœlum; peccatores autem nequaquam. Ideò autem dixi, forſitan, ne quibuſdam placeat etiam ante Chriſti adventum juſtorum animas aſcendere potuiſſe in cœlum. Alioqui nullam animam ante Chriſtum arbitror aſcendiſſe in cœlum, ex quo peccavit Adam, & clauſi ſunt ei cœli; ſed omnes in inferno detentas. *Op. imperf. in Matth. homil. 4. inter Opera Chryſoſtomi.* c Vt enim arbitror, etiam patres noſtri, Abraham, Iſaac, & Iacob, & totus chorus ſanctorum Vatum & juſtorum, Chriſti adventu perfruiti ſunt. *Catena Græca in Cantica utriuſq; Teſtamenti, ab Ant. Caraſa converſ. tom. 1. Operum Theodoreti, pag. 729. edit. Colon. 1573.* d *Hieron. epiſt. 151. ad Algaſ. quæſt. 1. & lib. 2. commentar. in Matth. cap. 11.* e *Ruffin. in expoſit. Symboli.* *Ven. Fortunat. in expoſit. Symboli.* g *Gregor. lib. 1. in Ezechiel. homil. 1. & in Evang. hom. 6.* h *Iulian. Tolet. lib. 2. contra Iudæos.* i *Euſeb. homil. in Evangel. Dominic. 3. Adventus.* k *Matth. 11. 3. Luk. 7. 19, 20.* l *Chryſoſt. in Matth. 11. homil. 36. edit. Græc. vel 37. Latin.* m Ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν διαβόλου ὑπῆρχον πάντες οἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ἕως οὗ κατελθὼν ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ὁ Χριστὸς, εἶπε τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς, ἐξέλθετε καὶ τοῖς κατεχομένοις, ἀναδείχθητε. *Anaſtaſ. Sinait. (al. Nicæn.) quæſt. 112.*

thoſe

thoſe that were in durance, Bee at libertie. For [n] *hee did not onely* (ſaith hee in another place) *diſſolve the corruption of the bodies in the grave: but alſo delivered the captivitie of the ſoules out of Hell, wherein they were by tyranny detained, and peradventure not by tyranny neither, but for many debts. which being payed, hee that deſcended for their deliverie, brought backe with him a great captivitie.* and thus was [o] *Hell ſpoyled, and Adam delivered from his griefes.* Which is agreeable to that which wee reade in the workes of *Athanaſius*: that [p] *the ſoule of Adam was detained in the condemnation of death, and cryed continually unto the Lord; ſuch as had pleaſed God, and were juſtified in the law of nature, being detained together with Adam, and lamenting and crying out with him.* and that the Divell, [q] *beholding himſelfe ſpoyled, did bemoane himſelfe; and beholding thoſe that ſometime were weeping under him, now ſinging in the Lord, did rend himſelfe.*

Others are more favourable to the ſoules of the Fathers, though they place them in Hell: for they hold them to have beene there in a ſtate of bliſſe, and not of miſerie. Thus the author of the Latine homily concerning the rich man and *Lazarus*, which is commonly fathered upon *Chryſoſtome*, notwithſtanding hee affirmeth that [r] *Abraham* was in Hell; and

n Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν τῶν σωμάτων φθορὰν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ διέλυσεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἅδου ἀπέλυσεν· ἐνδεδεμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν τυραννικῶς ἴσως, ἢ τάχα, καὶ οὐ τυραννικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀφλημάτων· ἃ ὑπὲρ καταδεὶς, ὁ διὰ τὸ λυτρῶσασθαι καταβὰς, αἰχμαλωσίαν πολλὴν ἀνήγαγε. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. de recta dogmatib. orat. 5.

o Ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ ᾅδης ἐσκυλεύθη· ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Ἀδὰμ τῶν ὀδυνῶν ἀπηλλάγη. Id. in Hexaemer. lib. 7.

p Τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ψυχῆς ἐν καταδίκῃ θανάτου κατεχομένης καὶ ὀδυρομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἃ δικαίως ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ νόμῳ, συγκατεχομένων τῷ Ἀδὰμ, συμπενθόντων τε καὶ συμβοώντων. Athan. de ſalutar. advent. Chriſti, adverſ. Apollinar.

q Καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν σκυλδόμενον κατέκοπτεν ἑαυτὸν· ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ποτὲ κλαίοντας ὑπ' αὐτὸν, νῦν ᾄδοντας ἐν κυρίῳ, διέῤῥηγνυεν ἑαυτὸν. Author ſerm. in Paſſion. & Crucem Domin inter opera Athanaſ.

r Simulque conſiderandum, quòd Abraham apud inferos erat: necdum enim Chriſtus reſurrexerat, qui illum in Paradiſum duceret. Antequàm Chriſtus moreretur, nemo in Paradiſum conſcenderat, niſi latro. Rhomphæa illa flammea, & vertigo illa claudebat paradiſum. Non poterat aliquis intrare in Paradiſum, quę Chriſtus cluſerat: latro primus cũ Chriſto intravit. *Homil. in Luc. 16. de Divite, tom. 2. Oper. Chryſoſt. Latin.*

that

that before the comming of *Christ*, none ever entred into Paradiſe: yet doth hee acknowledge in the meane time, that *Lazarus* did remaine there in a kind of Paradiſe. For [r] *the boſome of Abraham*, ſaith hee, *was the poore mans Paradiſe.* and againe. [t] *Some man may ſay unto mee: Is there a Paradiſe in Hell? I ſay this, that the boſome of Abraham is the truth of Paradiſe: Yea, and I confeſſe it to bee a moſt holy Paradiſe.* So *Tertullian*, in the fourth booke of his Verſes againſt *Marcion*, placeth *Abrahams* boſome under the earth, but in an open and lightſome ſeat, farre removed from the fire and from the darkeneſſe of Hell:

——*ſub corpore terræ*
In parte ignotâ quidam locus exſtat apertus,
Luce [u] ſuâ fretus; Abrahæ ſinus iſte vocatur,
Altior à tenebris, longè ſemotus ab igne,
Sub terrâ tamen.

Yea, he maketh it to bee one houſe with that which is eternall in the heaven, diſtinguiſht onely from it, as the outer and the inner Temple (or the *Sanctum* and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*) were in the time of the Law, by the Vayle that hung betweene: which vaile being rent at the paſſion of Chriſt, he ſaith theſe two were made one everlaſting houſe.

Tempore diviſa & ſpatio, & ratione ligata
Vna domus, quamvis velo partita videtur.
Atque adeò paſſo Domino velamine rupto,
Cæleſtes patuere plagæ, cælataque ſancta;
Atq; duplex quondam, facta eſt domus vna perẽnis.

Yet elſewhere hee maketh up the partition againe: maintaining very ſtiffly, that the gates of [x] *Heaven* remaine ſtill ſhut againſt all men, untill the end of the

[r] Paradiſus pauperis, ſinus erat Abrahæ. *Ibid.*

[t] Dicat mihi aliquis: In inferno eſt Paradiſus? Ego hoc dico, quia ſinus Abrahæ Paradiſi veritas eſt: ſed & ſanctiſſimum Paradiſum fateor. *Ibid.*

[u] *Conſer locum ex Auguſtino, de Geneſi ad liter. lib. 12. cap. 34. ſuprà citatum, in fine, pag. 283.*

[x] Nulli patet cœlum terrâ adhuc ſalvâ, ne dixerim clauſâ. Cum tranſactione enim mundi reſerabuntur regna cœlorum. *Tertull. de Animâ, cap. 55.*

the world come, and the day of the laſt judgement. Onely [y] *Paradiſe* hee leaveth open for Martyrs (as that other author of the Latine Homily [z] ſeemeth alſo to doe:) but the ſoules of the reſt of the faithfull hee [a] ſequeſtreth into Hell, there to remaine [b] in *Abrahams* boſome untill the time of the generall reſurrection. And to this part of Hell doth he imagine *Chriſt* to have deſcended, not with purpoſe to fetch the ſoules of the Fathers from thence (which is the onely errand that our Romaniſts conceive hee had thither) but, *ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes ſui faceret, that hee might there make the Patriarches and Prophets partakers of his* preſence.

S. *Hierome* ſaith, that [c] *our Lord Ieſus Chriſt deſcended into the furnace of Hell, wherein the ſoules both of ſinners and of juſt men were held ſhut; that without any burning or hurt unto himſelfe, hee might free from the bonds of death thoſe that were held ſhut up* in that place:

y Quomodo Perpetua fortiſſima martyr ſub die paſſionis in revelatione Paradiſi, ſolos illic commartyres ſuos vidit; niſi quia nullis romphæa Paradiſi janitrix cedit, niſi qui in Chriſto deceſſerint? Tota Paradiſi clavis tuus ſanguis eſt. *Ibid. Vid. etiam lib. de Reſurrect. carnis, cap.* 43.

z Si perſecutio venerit, imitemur latronem: ſi pax fuerit, imitemur Lazarum. Si martyrium fecerimus, ſtatim intrabimus Paradiſum: ſi pauportatis pœnã ſuſtinuerimus, ſtatim in ſinum Abrahæ. Habet & ſanguis, habet & pax loca ſua: habet & paupertas martyrium ſuum, & egeſtas benè tolerata facit martyrium; ſed egeſtas propter Chriſtum, non propter neceſſitatem. *Homil. de Divite, inter opera Chryſoſt.* a Habes etiam de Paradiſo à nobis libellum, quo conſtituimus omnem animam apud inferos ſequeſtrari in diem Domini. *Tertul. de Anim. cap.* 55. Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos? inquis. Velis ac nolis, & ſupplicia jam illic & refrigeria habes, pauperem & divitem, *&c.* Cur enim non putes animam & puniri & foveri in inferis, interim ſub expectatione utriuſq; judicii in quâdam uſurpatione & candidâ ejus? *Ibid. cap. ult.* b Quòd ſi Chriſtus Deus, quia & homo, mortuus ſecundùm ſcripturas, & ſepultus ſecundùm eaſdem, hic quoque legi ſatisfecit, formã humanæ mortis apud inferos functus; nec antè aſcendit in ſublimiora cœlorum, quàm deſcendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes ſui faceret: habes, & regionem inferûm ſubterraneam credere, & illos cubito pellere, qui ſatis ſuperbé non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas; ſervi ſuper Dominum, & diſcipuli ſuper magiſtrum, aſpernati ſi fortè in Abrahæ ſinu, expectandæ reſurrectionis ſolatium carpere. *Ibid. cap.* 55. c Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus ad fornacem deſcendit inferni; in quo clauſæ, & peccatorum & juſtorum animæ tenebantur: ut abſque exuſtione & noxâ ſui, eos qui tenebantur incluſi, mortis vinculis liberaret. *Hieronym. lib.* 1. *in Daniel, cap.* 3.

and

and that hee [d] *called upon the name of the Lord out of the lowermoſt lake, when by the power of his divinitie hee deſcended into Hell; and having deſtroyed the barres of Tartarus*, (or the dungeon of Hell) *bringing from thence ſuch of his as hee found there, aſcended conqueror up againe.* Hee ſaith further, that [e] *Hell is the place of puniſhments and tortures, in which the rich man that was cloathed in purple is ſeene: unto which alſo the Lord did deſcend, that hee might let forth thoſe that were bound out of priſon.* Laſtly, [f] *the Sonne of God* (ſaith he, following *Origen*, as it ſeemeth, too unadviſedly here) *deſcended into the lowermoſt parts of the earth, and aſcended above all heavens: that hee might not onely fulfill the Law and the Prophets, but certaine other hidden diſpenſations alſo, which he alone doth know with the Father. For wee cannot underſtand, how the bloud of Chriſt did profite both the Angels and thoſe that were in Hell; and yet that it did profite them, wee cannot bee ignorant.* Thus farre S. *Hierome*; touching *Chriſts* deſcent into the lowermoſt Hell: which *Thomas* and the other Schoolemen will not admit that hee ever came unto.

Yet this muſt they of force grant, if they will ſtand to the authoritie of the Fathers. [g] *It remained*, ſaith

d Invocavit ergo redemptor noſter nomen Domini de lacu noviſſimo, cùm in virtute divinitatis deſcendit ad inferos, & deſtructis clauſtris Tartari, ſuos quos ibi reperit erudens, victor ad ſuperos aſcendit. *Id. lib. 2. in Lament. Ierem. cap. 3.*

e Infernus locus ſupplicio-rum atque cruciatuum eſt, in quo videtur dives purpuratus: ad quem deſcendit & Dominus, ut vinctos de carcere dimitteret. *Id. lib. 6. in Eſai. cap. 14.*

f Deſcendit ergo in inferiora terræ, & aſcendit ſuper omnes cœlos filius Dei: ut non tantùm legem prophetaſque compleret, ſed & alias quaſdam occultas diſpenſationes, quas ſolus ipſe novit cum patre. Neque enim ſcire poſſumus, quomodo & angelis & his qui in inferno erant, ſanguis Chriſti profuerit; & tamen quin profuerit, neſcire non poſſumus. *Id. lib. 2. in Epheſ. cap. 4.* g Reſtabat tamen ad plenum noſtræ redemptionis effectum, ut illuc uſque homo ſine peccato à Deo ſuſceptus deſcenderet, quouſque homo ſeparatus à Deo, peccati merito cecidiſſet; id eſt, ad Infernum, ubi ſolebat peccatoris anima torqueri, & ad Sepulchrum, ubi conſueverat peccatoris caro corrumpi: ſic tamen, ut nec Chriſti caro in ſepulchro corrumperetur, nec inferni doloribus anima torqueretur. Quoniam anima immunis à peccato, non erat ſubdenda ſupplicio: & carnem ſine peccato non debuit vitiare corruptio, *Fulgent. ad Traſimund. lib. 3. cap. 30.*

Fulgentius,

Fulgentius, for the full effecting of our redemption, that man assumed by God without sinne, should thither descend, whither man separated from God should have fallen by the desert of sinne; that is, unto Hell, where the soule of the sinner was wont to bee tormented; & to the Grave, where the flesh of the sinner was accustomed to be corrupted: yet so, that neither the flesh of Christ should bee corrupted in the Grave, nor his soule bee tormented with the paines of Hell. Because the soule free from sinne, was not to be subjected to such punishment: neither ought corruption to taint the flesh without sinne. [h] And this hee saith was done for this end: *that by the flesh of the just dying temporally, everlasting life might bee given to our flesh; and by the soule of the just descending into Hell, the paines of hell might bee looſed.*

It is the saying of S. *Ambroſe*, that [i] *Christ being voyd of sinne, when hee did descend into the lowermost parts of Tartarus, breaking the barres and gates of Hell, called backe unto life, out of the jawes of the Divell, the soules that were bound with sinne, having destroyed the dominion of death:* and of *Eusebius Emisſenus*, or *Gallicanus* (or who ever was the author of the *sixt* Paschall homily attributed to him) that [k] *the sonne of man laying aside his body, pierced the loweſt and hidden seates of Tartarus: but where hee was thought to have beene detained among the dead, there binding death, did hee looſe the bonds of the dead. Presently* [l] *therefore*, saith

h Hoc autem ideò factum eſt, ut per morientem temporaliter carnem juſti, donaretur vita æterna carni; & per deſcendentem ad infernum animam juſti, dolores ſolverentur inferni, *Ibid.*

i Expers peccati Chriſtus, cùm ad tartari ima deſcendens, feras inferni januaſque confringens, vinctas peccato animas, mortis dominatione deſtructâ, é diaboli faucibus revocavit ad vitam. *Ambroſ. de myſterio Paſchæ, cap. 4.*

k Depoſito quidem corpore imas atque abditas Tartari ſedes filius hominis penetravit: ſed ubi retentus eſſe inter mortuos putabatur, ibi vincula mortuorum ligatâ morte laxavit. *Euſeb. homil. 6. de Paſcha.* l Confeſtim igitur æterna nox inferorum Chriſto deſcendente reſplenduit: ſiluit ſtridor lugentium ille, ſoluta ſunt onera catenarum, dirupta ceciderunt vincula damnatorum. Attonitæ mentis obſtupuere tortores: omnis ſimul impia officina contremuit, cùm Chriſtum repentè in ſuis ſedibus vidit. *Ibid. homil 1. Cæſarius Arelatenſ. de Paſch. hom. 3.*

Cæſarius

Cæsarius (in his *third* Paschall homily; which is the same with the *first* of those that goe under the name of the former *Eusebius*) *the everlasting night of Hell at Christs descending shined bright: the gnashing of the mourners ceased, the burthens of the chaines were loosed, the bursted bands of the damned fell from them. The tormenters astonished in minde were amazed: the whole impious shop trembled together, when they beheld Christ suddenly in their dwellings.* So *Arnaldus Bonævallensis* in his booke *de Cardinalibus operibus Christi* (commonly attributed to S. *Cyprian*) noteth, that at that time [m] *there was a cessation from infernall torments*: which by [n] *Arator* is thus more amply expressed in verse.

——pavidis resplenduit umbris
Pallida regna petens, propriâ quem luce coruscum
Non potuit fuscare chaos. fugêre dolores,
Infernus tunc esse timet, nullumq; coërcens
In se pœna redit, nova tortor ad otia languet:
Tartara mœsta gemunt, quia vincula cūcta quiescunt.
Mors ibi quid faceret, quò vitæ portitor ibat?

S. *Augustine* doth thus deliver his opinion touching this matter. [o] *That Christs soule came unto those places wherein sinners are punished, that hee might loose them from torments, whom by his hidden justice he judged fit to be loosed; is not without cause beleeved.* [p] *Neither did our Saviour, being dead for us, scorne to visite those parts: that hee might loose from thence such as hee*

m Ab infernali lib. tormentis cessatum est. *Arnald. abb. Bonævallis, tract. de Vnctione Chrismatis, in fine.*

n *Arator, historiæ Apostolicæ lib.* 1.

o Christi animam venisse usque ad ea loca, in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solveret à tormentis, quos esse solvendos occultâ nobis suâ justitiâ judicabat, non immeritò creditur. *Augustin. de Genesi ad literam, lib.* 12. *cap.* 33.

p Nec ipsam tamen rerum partem noster salvator mortuus pro nobis visitare contempsit; ut inde solveret quos esse solvendos secundùm divinam secretamque justitiam ignorare non potuit. *Ibid. cap.* 34.

could

could not bee ignorant, according to his divine and ſecret juſtice, were to bee looſed. [q] But whether hee looſed *all that hee found in thoſe paines, or ſome whom hee thought worthy of that benefite, I yet enquire. For that hee was in hell, and beſtowed this benefite upon ſome that did lye in the paines thereof, I doe not doubt.* Thus did S. *Auguſtine* write unto *Euodius*, who inquired of him; whether [r] *our Saviour looſed all from thence, and emptied Hell?* which was in thoſe dayes a great queſtion: and gave occaſion to that ſpeech of *Gregory Nazianzen.* [s] *If hee deſcend into Hell, goe thou downe with him* (namely in contemplation and meditation) *learne the myſteries of Chriſts doings there, what the diſpenſation, and what the reaſon was of his double deſcent* (to wit, from heaven unto earth, and from earth unto hell:) *whether at his appearing hee ſimply ſaved all, or there alſo ſuch onely as did beleeve.* What *Clemens Alexandrinus* his opinion was herein, every one knoweth, that [t] *our Lord deſcended for no other cauſe into Hell, but to preach the Goſpell*; and that [u] ſuch as lived a good life before the time of the Goſpell, whether Iewes or Grecians, *although they were in hell and in durance, yet hearing the voyce of our Lord (either from himſelfe immediately, or by the working of his Apoſtles) were preſently converted and did beleeve:* in a word,

q Sed quia evidentia teſtimonia & internum commemorant & dolores; nulla cauſa occurrit, cur illò credatur veniſſe ſalvator, niſi ut ab ejus doloribus ſalvos faceret. Sed utrùm omnes quos in eis invenit, an quoſdam quos illo beneficio dignos iudiçavit, adhuc requiro. Fuiſſe tamen eum apud inferos, & in eorum doloribus conſtitutis hoc beneficium præſtitiſſe, non dubito. *Id. epiſt. 99. ad Euodium.*

r Si omnes inde ſolvit ſalvator, & ſicut requirens ſcripſiſti, exinanivit inferna. *Item:* Si, ut quæren-

do dicis, exinaniti ſunt inferi *Ibid.* [s] Ἂν εἰς ᾅδὺ καταβῇ, συγκατάβηθι· μάθοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστήρια, τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τῆς διπλῆς καταβάσεως, τίς ὁ λόγος· ἁπλῶς σώζει πάντας ἐπιφανεὶς, ἢ χαίρει τοῖς πιστεύσασι. Greg. Nazianz. orat. 42. quæſt. 2. in Paſch. [t] Εἰ γ' οὖν ὁ Κύριος διὰ ἕδου ἕτερον εἰς ᾅδου κατῆλθεν, ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ὥσπερ κατῆλθεν, &c. Clem. Alexandr. lib 6 Strom. [u] Δῆλόν που καὶ τοῦτο νόμῳ χωμένῳ, διὰ τῆς τῆς φωνῆς (leg. φύσεως) ἰδιότητα ὀρθῶς βεβιωκότας, εἰ καὶ ἐν ᾅδου ἔτυχον ὄντες καὶ ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐπακούσαντας τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου φωνῆς, εἴτε τῆς αὐθεντικῆς, εἴτε καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνεργείας ἢ τάχος ὑπήκοα γενομένους καὶ πιστεύσαι. Ibid.

that

that [x] in Hell things were ſo ordered, *that even there all the ſoules, having heard this preaching, might eyther ſhew their repentance, or acknowledge their puniſhment to be juſt, becauſe they did not beleeve.* Hereupon, when *Celſus* the Philoſopher made this objection concerning our Saviour: [y] *Surely you will not ſay of him, that when he could not perſwade thoſe that were here, he went unto Hell to perſwade thoſe that were there: Origen*, the ſcholler of *Clemens*, ſticketh not to returne unto him this anſwer. [z] *Whether he will or no, we ſay this, that both being in the bodie he did perſwade, not a few, but ſo many, that for the multitude of thoſe that were perſwaded by him he was layd in wayt for: and after his ſoule was ſeparated from his body, hee had conference with ſoules departed from their bodies, converting of them unto himſelfe ſuch as would, or ſuch as he diſcerned to be more fit for reaſons beſt knowne unto himſelfe.*

The like effect of *Chriſts* preaching in Hell, is delivered by [a] *Anaſtaſius Sinaita*, [b] *Iobius* or *Iovius*, [c] *Damaſcen*, [d] *Oecumenius*, [e] *Michael Glycas*, and his tranſcriber [f] *Theodorus Metochites*. The author of the Commentary upon S. Pauls Epiſtles, attributed to *Ambroſe*, ſaith, that * *having triũphed over the Divell, he deſcended into the heart of the earth; that the ſhewing of him might bee the preaching of the dead, and that as many as were deſirous of him might be delivered. Proco-*

x ἀχὰ ἀχ ἐν ἅδῃ ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία, ἵνα κἀκεῖ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ, ἀκούσασαι τ κηρύγματος, ἢ πρὸ μετανοίαν ἐνδείξωνται, ἢ πρὸ κόλασιν δικαίαν ὑπόσχωσιν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἐπράξαν, ὁμολογήσωσι. ibid.

y Οὐ δήπου φήσετε σὲ αὐτὸν, ὅτι μὴ πείσας τοὺς ὧδε ὄντας ἐξέλλετο εἰς ἅδου πείσων τοὺς ἐκεῖ. Celſ.

z Κἂν μὴ βούληται, τοῦτο φαμὲν, ὅτι ἀχ ἐν σώματι ὢν ὀλίγους ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ πολλοὺς, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τ πεισθέντων ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἀχ ὁρώμενος σώματι ἀλλόμενος ψυχῇ, τ γυμνὰς σωμάτων ὡμίλει ψυχὰς, ὅσπερ ἔφαμεν κ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων τὰς βουλομένας πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἢ ὡς ἔφερε δι' ἃς ἤδει αὐτὸς λόγους ἐπιτηδειοτέρας. Origen. lib. 2. contra Celſum. a *Anaſtaſ. Sinait. vel Nican. quæſt.* 111. b *Iobius, de Verbo incarnato, lib.* 3. *cap.* 38. *in Photii Bibliothecâ, volum.* 222. c *Io. Damaſcen. de Orthodoxâ fide, lib.* 3. *cap. ult. & in Serm. de Deſunct.* d *Oecumen. in* 1. *Petr.* 3. e *Mich. Glyc. part.* 3. *Annalium.* f *Theodor. Metochit. in Hiſtoriâ Romanâ, à Meurſio nuper editâ: quæ ex Glycâ tota eſt deſumpta.* * Triumphato Diabolo deſcendit in cor terræ, ut oſtenſio eius prædicatio eſſet mortuorum, ut & quotquot cupidi eius eſſent, liberarentur. *Ambroſ. in Epheſ. cap.* 4.

pius

pius ſaith; that [g] *he preached to the ſpirits that were in Hell, reſtrayned in the priſon houſe, releaſing them all from the bonds of neceſsitie.* wherein hee tolloweth S. *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, writing upon the ſame place, [h] *that Chriſt went to preach to the ſpirits in Hell, and appeared to them that were detayned in the priſon houſe, & freed them all from bonds, and neceſsitie, and paine, and puniſhment.* The ſame S. *Cyrill* in his Paſchall homilies affirmeth more directly, that our Saviour, [i] *entring into the lowermoſt dennes of Hell, and preaching to the ſpirits that were there;* [k] *emptied that unſatiable denne of death, ſpoyled Hell of ſpirits;* & having thus [m] ſpoyled *all Hell, left the Divell there ſolitary and alone.* [n] For when *Chriſt deſcended into Hell*, ſaith *Andronicus, not onely the ſoules of the Saints were delivered from thence; but all thoſe that before did ſerve in the error of the Divell and the worſhip of idols, being enriched with the knowledge of God, obtained ſalvation: for which alſo they gave thankes, prayſing God.* Whereupon the author of one of the Sermons upon the Aſcenſion, fathered upon S. *Chryſoſtome*, bringeth in the Divell complayning, that the Sonne of *Mary*, [o] *having taken away from him all thoſe that were with him from the very beginning had left him deſolate.* and in another Sermon, held to be his indeed, our Savi-

g Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾅδου, κατειργμένοις ἐν εἱκῷ φυλακῆς, κηρύξας πεδίλασιν, ἐκ δεσμῶν αὐτοὺς ἀγκης πάντας ἀνεῖς. Procop. in Eſai. cap. 42.

h Quòd ſpiritibus in inferno prædicaturus abierit, & detentis in domo cuſtodiæ apparuerit Chriſtus, & omnes vinculis liberaverit, & neceſſitate, & pœnâ, & ſupplicio. *Cyrill. Alexand. fin. lib. 3. in Eſai. cap. 42.*

i Καὶ κατελθὼν ἐν τοῖς καταντάτοις τοῦ ᾅδου μυχοῖς, καὶ διελεγχθεὶς τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πεδίλοις. Id. Homil. Paſchal. 10.

k Τὸν ἄπληστον τοῦ θανάτου κευ-

νώσας μυχὸν. Id. hom. 11. l Σεσύληται τὰ πεδίλατων ὁ ᾅδης Id. hom. 6. m Ὅλον γὰρ ἁρπάσας τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κεκοιμημένων πεδίλοις ἀναπετάσας πύλας, ἔρημόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀφεὶς ἐκεῖσε τὸν διάβολον, ἀνέπτη πτήμερος. Id. hom. 7. n Nam Chriſto ad inferos deſcendente, non ſanctorum animæ tantùm liberatæ ſunt inde; ſed omnes adeò priùs in Diaboli errore, & ſimulachrorum cultu ſervitutem ſervientes, auctâ agnitione Dei, ſalutem ſunt conſecuti: quare & gratias agebant, Deum laudentes. *Andronic. Dialog. contra Iudæos, cap. 60.* o Omnibus, qui jam inde ab initio apud me fuerant, tanquam accipiter celeriter advolans, abreptis; deſertum me reliquit. *Chryſoſt. in Aſcenſ. Domini, ſerm. 3. à Ger Voſſio edit.*

our is said to * *have made the whole prison of Hell desolate.* Whereas the undoubted *Chrysostome* writing upon the eleventh of S. *Matthew* doth at large confute this fond opinion: censuring the maintayners thereof, as the p *bringers in of old wives conceits and Iewish fables.* Yea, q *Philastrius*, and S. r *Augustin* out of him, doth brand such for *heretickes*: whose testimonie also is urged by S. *Gregory* against *George* and *Theodore*, two of the clergie of *Constantinople*; who held in his time (as many others did before and after them) that s *our omnipotent Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ descending into Hell, did save all those who there confessed him to be God, and did deliver them from the paines that were due unto them.* and when *Clement* our countryman, about 150. yeares after, did renue that old error in *Germany*, that t *the Sonne of God descending into Hell, delivered from thence all such as that infernall prison did detayne, beleevers and unbeleevers, praysers of God and worshippers of idols*: the u *Romane* Synod held by Pope *Zacharie*, condemned him and his followers for it.

* Ἐπέσχε τὸν ᾅδην ἔρημον αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν φυλακὴν ἐποίησεν ἅπασαν Id. in nomē Cœmeterii & in Crucem, serm. 81. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 565.

p Μὴ δὴ τοιαῦτα λοιπὸν εἰσάγωμεν δόγματα γραώδη καὶ μυθώδη Ἰουδαϊκά. Chrysost. in Matth. homil. 36. edit. Græc. vel 37. Latin.

q Alii sunt hæretici, qui dicunt Dominum in infernum descendisse, & omnibus post mortem etiam ibidem renunciâsse (se nunciâsse, *corrigendum est ex Gregorio*) ut confitentes ibidem salvarentur. *Philastr. Brixiens. de Hæresib. cap. 74. ubi respicere videtur ad illa Clementis Alexandrini verba, libro 6. Stromat.* σωθήσονται πάντες οἱ πεδίσαντες, κἂν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὄντες τύχωσιν, ἐξομολογησάμενοι ἤδη ἐκεῖ.

r Alia (*hæresis*) descendente ad inferos Christo credidisse incredulos & omnes inde existimat liberatos. *Augustin. de Hæresib. cap. 79.*

s Omnipotentem Dominum salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum ad inferos descendẽtem, omnes qui illic confitorentur eum Deũ, salvâsse atque à pœnis debitis liberâsse. *Vid. Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 15. & in Evangel. hom. 22.*

t Qui contra fidem sanctorum contendit, dicens; quòd Christus filius Dei descendens ad inferos, omnes quos inferni carcer detinuit inde liberâsset, credulos & incredulos, laudatores Dei simul & cultores idolorum. *Bonifac. Moguntin. ad Zachariam P. epist. 135.*

u Dominum Iesum Christum descendente.n ad inferos, omnes pios & impios exinde prædicat abstraxisse. ab omni sit sacerdotali officio nudatus, & anathematis vinculo obligatus; pariterque Dei judicio condemnatus, vel omnis qui ejus sacrilegis consenserit prædicationibus. *Synod. Romana sub Zachariâ P. ann. 745. habita; Ibid. & Concilior. tom. 3.*

But

But to leave *Clemens Scotus*, and to returne unto *Clemens Alexandrinus*, at whom *Philastrius* may seeme to have aymed specially: it is confessed by our Adversaries, that hee fell into this error, partly being [x] deceived with the superficiall consideration of the words of S. *Peter*, touching *Christs preaching to the spirits in prison*, 1. Pet. 3. 19. partly being deluded with the authoritie of *Hermes*, the supposed scholler of S. *Paul*; by whose [z] dreames hee was perswaded to beleeve, that not onely *Christ* himselfe, but his Apostles also did descend into Hell; to preach there unto the dead, and to baptize them. But touching the words of S. *Peter*, is the maine doubt: whether they are to bee referred unto *Christs* preaching by the ministerie of *Noë* unto the world of the ungodly; or unto his owne immediate preaching to the spirits in Hell after his death upon the Crosse. For seeing it was *the spirit of Christ* which spake in the *Prophets* (as S. [a] *Peter* sheweth in this same Epistle) and among them was *Noë* [b] *a preacher of righteousnes* (as he declareth in the next) even as in S. *Paul*, *Christ* is said to have [c] *come and preached* to the *Ephesians*, namely by his spirit in the mouth of his Apostles; so likewise in S. *Peter* may hee be said to have *gone and*

x Deceptus fuit superficie verborum Petri; quem non animadvertit longé distinctiùs loqui, atque primâ facie videatur. *Henric. Vicus, de Descens. Christi ad inferos, sect.* 43.

y Delusus authoritate Hermetis, putat Christum evangelium prædicâsse damnatis, & eorum aliquos liberâsse, qui ex gentilibus sanctè vixerãt. *Alphons. Mendoz. in Controv. Theologic. quæst.* 1. *positiv. sect.* 4. *secutus Andradium, lib.* 2. *Defens. fidei Tridentinæ.*

z Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι, οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κοιμηθέντες, τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ, ἐκήρυξαν τοῖς τεθνεκόσιν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ κηρύγματος Θ. Κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν. ἀλλ' ἔτοι μὲν ζῶντες κατέβησαν, καὶ πάλιν ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ τεθνεκότες μεμιλυσμένοι, νεκροὶ κατέβησαν ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν· διὰ τούτων ἐν ἐζωοποιήθησαν, καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συναναέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ συνήρμοσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου. καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνῳκοδομήθησαν, ὅτι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἁγνείᾳ, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σφραγῖδα ταύτην οὐκ ἔσχον. Hermes in Pastore, lib. 3. similitud. 9. Citatur à Clemente Alexandrino, lib. 2. Stromat. a 1. *Pet.* 1. 11. b 2. *Pet.* 2. 5. c *Ephes.* 2. 17.

d Nehem.9.30. Zach.7.12. 2.Sam.23.2.
e Gen.6.3.

preached to the old world,[d] by his ſpirit in the mouth of his Prophets (& of *Noë* in particular) when God having ſaid that his [e] *Spirit* ſhould *not alwayes ſtrive with man, becauſe he was fleſh*, did in his long ſuffering wayt the expiration of the time which hee then did ſet for his amendment, even an hundred and twenty yeares. For which expoſition the *Aethiopian* Tranſlation maketh ſomething: where the *Spirit*, by which *Chriſt* is ſaid to have beene *quickned* and to have *preached*, is by the Interpreter termed ሠናፍስ፡ቅዱስ *Manephas Kodus*, that is, *the Holy Spirit*. the addition of which epithet wee may obſerve alſo to be uſed by S. *Paul* in the mention of the *reſurrectiõ*, & by S. *Luke* in the matter of the *preaching* of our Saviour *Chriſt*. for of the one we reade, Rom. 1.4. that hee was declared to bee the Sonne of God, with power, according to the *Spirit of holyneſſe*, (or, the moſt holy Spirit) *by the reſurrection from the dead*. and of the other, Act. 1.2. that hee *gave commandements to the Apoſtles by the holy Spirit*.

f Vir prudentiſsimus. *Hieronym. lib.15. in Eſai. cap.54.*
g Prædicavit ſpiritibus in carcere conſtitutis, quando Dei patientia expectabat in diebus Noë, diluvium impiis inferens. *Ibid.*

Thus doth S. *Hierome* relate, that [f] *a moſt prudent man* (for ſo hee termeth him) did underſtand this place: [g] *Hee preached to the ſpirits put in priſon, when the patience of God did wayte in the dayes of Noë, bringing in the flood upon the wicked.* as if this preaching were then performed, when the patience of God did expect the converſion of thoſe wicked men in the dayes of *Noë*. S. *Auguſtine* more directly wiſheth us to [h] *conſider, leſt happely all that which the Apoſtle Peter*

h Conſidera tamen, ne fortè totum illud, quod de concluſis in carcere ſpiritibus, qui in diebus Noë non crediderant, Petrus Apoſtolus dicit, omninò ad inferos non pertineat; ſed ad illa potiùs tempora, quorum formam ad hæc tempora tranſtulit. *Auguſt. ep. 99.*

ſpeaketh

ſpeaketh of the ſpirits ſhut up in priſon, which beleeved not in the daies of Noë, pertaine nothing at all unto Hell, but rather to thoſe times which hee compareth as a paterne with our times. For *Chriſt* (ſaith hee) [i] *before ever hee came in the fleſh to dye for us, which once hee did, came often before in the ſpirit to ſuch as hee pleaſed, admoniſhing them by viſions in the ſpirit as hee pleaſed: by which ſpirit hee was alſo quickened, when in his paſſion hee was mortified in the fleſh.* Venerable *Bede*, and *Walafridus Strabus* in the Ordinary Gloſſe after him, ſet downe their mindes herein yet more reſolutely. [k] *Hee who in our times comming in the fleſh, preached the way of life unto the world, even hee himſelfe alſo before the flood, comming in the ſpirit, preached unto them which then were unbeleevers & lived carnally. For by his holy ſpirit he was in Noë, and the reſt of the holy men which were at that time; & by their good converſation, preached to the wicked men of that age, that they might bee converted to a better courſe of life.* The ſame expoſition is followed by *Anſelmus Laudunenſis* in the Interlineary Gloſſe, [l] *Thomas Aquinas* in his Summe, and diverſe others in their Commentaries upon this place. Yea, ſince the Councell of *Trent*, and in a book written in defence of the faith of *Trent*, Doctor *Andradius* profeſſeth that hee thinketh this to bee the plaine meaning of the place. [m] *In which ſpirit he himſelfe*

i Quoniam priuſquàm veniret in carne pro nobis moriturus, quod ſemel fecit, ſæpè anteà veniebat in ſpiritu ad quos volebat, viſis eos admonens ſicut volebat utique in ſpiritu; quo ſpiritu & vivificatus eſt, cùm in paſſione eſſet carne mortificatus. *Ibid.*

k Qui noſtris temporibus in carne veniens iter vitæ mundo prædicavit, ipſe etiam ante diluvium eis qui tunc increduli erant & carnaliter vivebant, ſpiritu veniens prædicavit. Ipſe enim per ſpiritum ſanctum erat in Noë,

cæteriſque qui tunc fuere ſanctis; & per eorum bonam converſationem, pravis illius ævi hominibus, ut ad meliora converterentur prædicavit. *Bed. in 1. Pet. 3. & Gloſſ. ordinar. ibid.*

l *Thom. 3. part. Sum. queſt. 52. artic. 2. ad 3.* m In quo ſpiritu jam olim ipſe veniens (ne nunc primùm Eccleſiæ curam eum ſuſcepiſſe arbitraremur) prædicavit ſpirritibus illis, qui nunc in carcere meritas jam infidelitatis ſuæ pœnas luunt; quippe qui Noë recta monenti, & arcam Dei juſſu conſtruenti, fidem habere nunquàm voluerunt, quamvis Dei illos patientia diutiſſimè, hoc eſt, centum aut eo ampliùs annos expectaret. *Andrad. Defenſ. Tridentinæ fidei, lib. 2.*

ſelfe long ſince comming (that we may not imagine, that hee now firſt undertook the care of his Church) did preach unto thoſe ſpirits, which now in priſon doe ſuffer the deſerved puniſhment of their infidelity; foraſmuch as they would not beleeve Noë giving them good counſaile, and building the Arke by Gods appointment, notwithſtanding the patience of God did waite for them very long, to wit, a hundred yeares or more. which accordeth fully with that interpretation of S. *Peters* words, which is delivered by the learned of our ſide. *In which* ſpirit *hee had gone and preached to them* that now are *ſpirits in priſon:* becauſe they *diſobeyed when the time was: when the patience of God once waited in the daies of Noë, while the Arke was a preparing.* (1. Pet. 3. 19, 20.)

But there were diverſe apocryphall Scriptures and traditions afoot in the ancient Church, which did ſo poſſeſſe mens mindes with the conceit of *Chriſts* preaching in Hell, that they never ſought for any further meaning in S. *Peters* words. as that ſentence eſpecially, which was fathered upon the Prophet *Eſay* or *Ieremy*; and from whence, if Cardinall [n] *Bellarmines* wifedome may bee heard, *It is credible that S. Peter tooke his words.* namely: • *The Lord the holy one of Iſrael remembred his dead,* which *ſlept in the earth of their graves; and deſcended to them, to preach unto them his ſalvation.* and that blinde tradition, which *Anaſtaſius Sinaita* doth thus lay downe, immediately after his citation of S. *Peters* text. [p] *It is*

n *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Chriſto, cap. 13.*

o Ἐμνήσθη ὁ Κύριος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. Citatur à Iuſtino Martyre in Dialogo cum Tryphone: & Irenæo, lib. 3. cap. 23. lib. 4. cap. 39. & lib. 5. cap. 31.

p Καὶ γοῦν φέρεται εἰς ἀρχαίας παραδόσεις, ὅτι τὸ σωτηρικὸς πολλὰ κατηφέσατο τῷ Πλάτωνα τῷ φιλόσοφον. Φαίνεται ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ὕπνους ὁ Πλάτων, λέγων· Ἄνθρωπε παῦσαι τῷ καταρᾶσθαί με, σαυτὸν γὰρ κλάπτεις. ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτωλὸς γέγονα ἐκ ἀρνοῦμαι. Πλὴν κατελθόντος τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ, ὄντως οὐδεὶς ὀπίστευσε πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς αὐτόν. Anaſt. Sin. vel Nicæn. qu. 111.

now

now related among the old traditions, that a certaine Scholler using many opprobrious speeches against Plato the Philosopher; Plato appeared unto him in his sleepe, and said. Man, forbeare to use opprobrious speeches against mee: for thereby thou hurtest thy selfe. That I was a sinfull man I doe not denie: but when Christ descended into Hell, in very deed none did beleeve in him before my selfe. *Nicetas Serronius* reciteth this out of the *histories of the Fathers:* [q] *which whether it bee to be beleeved or no, I leave* (saith hee) *to bee judged by the hearers.* as if any great matter of judgement should bee requisite for the discerning of this to bee (as *Bellarmine* doth censure it) [r] *a fable*, or (as *Dionysius Carthusianus* before him) [s] *an apochryphall dreame.* The like stuffe is that also which was vented heretofore unto the world in the apocryphall gospell of *Nicodemus*. to say nothing of that sentence which is read in the old Latine edition of the booke of *Ecclesiasticus*; [t] *I will pearce all the lowermost parts of the earth, and behold all that are asleepe, and enlighten all them that hope in the Lord.* which although it bee not now to bee found in the Greeke originall, and hath perhaps another meaning than that to which it is applied; yet is it made by the authour of the imperfect worke upon *Matthew*, one of the chiefe inducements, which ledde him to thinke that our Saviour descended into *Hell*, to visite there the soules of the righteous.

The tradition that of all others deserveth greatest consideration, is the Article of the Creed touching

q Hoc de Platone commemoratur: quod credendum sit necne, auditoribus judicandum relinquo. *Niceta. commentar. in Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 2. de Pascha.*

r Quare inter fabulas numeranda est illa narratio, quam in historiis Patrum circumferri dicit Niceras, &c. Hæc quidem fabula est. *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Christo, cap. 16.*

s Istud inter Apocryphorum computandum est somnium. *Dionys. Carthusian. in 1. Pet. 3.*

t Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terræ, & inspiciam omnes dormientes, & illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino. *vel ut ab authore Operis imperfecti in Matth. (inter opera Chrysostomi) homiliâ 4. citatur.* Descendam ad inferiores partes terræ, & visitabo omnes dormientes, & illuminabo sperantes in Deum. *Ecclesiastic. 24. 45.*

Christs descent into Hell: which [u] *Genebrard* affirmeth to have beene so hatefull to the *Arrians*, that, as *Ambrose* reporteth upon the *fift* Chapter of the epistle to the *Romanes*, they strucke it quite out of the very Creed of the *Apostles*. But neither is there the least footstep of any such matter to bee seene in S. *Ambrose*: and it sufficiently appeareth otherwise, that the *Arrians* did not onely adde this article unto their Creedes, but also set it forth and amplified it with many words; so farre off were they from being guiltie of suppressing it. For as the Fathers of the first generall Councell, held in the yeare of our Lord CCCXXV. at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, did publish a Creed against the *Arrians*: so the *Arrians* on the other side, in the yeare CCCLIX. set out a Creed of their owne making, in a Synod purposely kept by them at *Nice* in *Thracia*, [x] that by the ambiguitie of the Councells name, the simpler sort might bee more easily induced, to mistake this *Nicene* for that other Catholicke *Nicene* Creed. And whereas the true *Nicene* fathers had in their Creed omitted the article of the descent into Hell (which, as wee shall afterwards heare out of *Ruffinus*, was not to bee had in the Symbols of the *Easterne* Churches:) these bastard fatherlings in their *Nicene* Creed, did not onely insert this clause, [y] *He descended to the places under the earth*; but added also for further amplification, *Whom Hell it selfe trembled at*. The like did they (with the words a little altered) in another [z] Creed set out in a conventicle gathered at *Constantinople*: and in a third Creed likewise (framed by them at *Sirmium*, and confirmed the same yeare in their great Councell at *Ariminum*) they put it

u Ambrosius in quintum caput ad Romanos auctor est Arianos huic articulo ita fuisse adversatos, ut eum de Symbolo Apostolorũ expũgerent. *Gilbert. Genebrard. lib. 3. de Trinitate; in Symboli Athanasiani expositione.*

x *Sozomen. lib. 4. hist. cap. 18. Nicet. Thesaur. lib. 5. cap. 17.*

y Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, ὃν φόβος ὁ ἅιδης ἐθεμάξε. *Theodoret. lib. 2. hist. cap. 21.*

z Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια διελθόντα, ὃν τινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἅιδης ἔπτηξε. *Athanas. in epist. de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ. Socrat. lib. 2. hist cap. 41. edit. Græc. vel 32. Latin.*

it in with a more large augmentation, after this manner. [a] *Hee descended to the places under the earth, and disposed things there; whom the keepers of Hell gates seeing, shooke for feare.* If therefore any fault were committed in the omission of this article; it should touch the orthodoxe Fathers of *Nice*, and *Constantinople* rather: whom the [b] *Latines*, disputing with the *Grecians* in the Councell of *Ferrara*, doe directly charge with subtracting this article from the Apostles Creed; although they free them from blame in so doing, *because they that tooke it away* (say they) *did not denie it, nor fight against the truth.*

But first they should have shewed, that the Fathers of *Nice* and *Constantinople* did finde this article of *Christs* descent into Hell in the Apostles Creed: before they excused them from taking it away from thence. For the Creed of the Councell of *Constantinople* (which commonly goeth under the name of the *Nicene* Creed) being much larger than our common Creed, and it selfe also (no lesse than the other) being heretofore both [c] accounted and [d] named the *Apostles Creed*: it is not to bee thought that it would leave out any article, which was then commonly beleeved to have beene any parcell of the Creed received from the Apostles. Adde hereunto the ingenuous confession of *Busæus* the Iesuite, in his positions touching *Christs* descent into Hell. [e] S. *Cyprian or*

a Καὶ εἰς τὰ κατὰ χθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν. Athanas. ibid. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37. edit. Græc. vel 29. Latin. The speech is taken from Iob 38. 17. in the *Septuagint.*

b Constat ex hoc, nihil esse de Symbolo Apostolorum subtrahendum. Subtractum tamen est illud: Descendit ad inferos. Verùm qui detraxerunt, id non negabant, neque cum veritate pugnabant. *Ioann. Forolivien. episc. in Session. 10. Concil. Ferrar.*

c *Epiphan. in* Ἀγκυρωτ. pag. 518. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. d *In Missâ Latinâ antiquâ, edit. Argentin. an.* 1557. *pag.* 41. *post recitatum Symbolum Constantinopolit. subjicitur.* Finito Symbolo Apostolorum dicat sacerdos. Dominus vobiscum. e Beatus Cyprianus, vel potiùs Ruffinus, in expositione symboli, negat hunc articulum legi in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo, & Orientis Ecclesiis: & vetustissimi patres quidam, dum vel summam fidei Christianæ, vel symbolum Apostolicum exponunt, hoc dogma prætermiserunt. Quando autem insertum sit Symbolo, certè constitui non potest. *Io. Buse. de descensu Christi ad inferos, Thes.* 33.

Ruffinus

Ruffinus rather, in his exposition of the Creed, denyeth that this article is read in the Creed of the Church of Rome, or the Churches of the East: and some of the most ancient Fathers, while either they gather up the summe of the Christian faith, or expound the Creed of the Apostles, have omitted this point of doctrine. But at what time it was inserted in the Creed, it cannot certainely bee determined. The first particular Church that is known to have inserted this article into her Creed, is that of *Aquileia*: which added also the attributes of [f] *invisible and impassible*, unto *God the Father almightie* in the beginning of the Creed; as appeareth by *Ruffinus*, who [g] framed his exposition of the Creed according to the order used in that Church. But whether any other Church in the world for 500. yeares after *Christ*, did follow the *Aquileians* in putting the one of these additions to the Apostolicall Creed, more than the other; can hardly, I suppose, bee shewed by any approved testimony of antiquitie.

Cardinall *Bellarmine* noteth, that S. [h] *Augustine in his booke de fide & Symbolo., and in his foure bookes de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, maketh no mention of this part, when hee doth expound the whole Creed five severall times.* Nay, *Petrus Chrysologus*, who was Archbishop of *Ravenna* 450. yeares after *Christ*, doth [i] *six* severall times goe over the exposition of the Creed: and yet never medleth with this article. The like also may bee observed in [k] *Maximus Taurinensis* his exposition of the Creed. For as for the two [l] *Latine* expositions thereof that goe under the name of S.

f Omnipotentem.] His additur: Invisibilem & impassibilem. Sciendum quòd duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos hæreseos causâ Sabellij. *Ruffin. in expos. Symb.*

g Nos tamen illum ordinem sequimur, quem in Aquileiensi Ecclesiâ per lavacri gratiam suscepimus. *Id. ibid.*

h Augustinus in libro de Fide & Symbolo, & quatuor libris de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, non meminit hujus partis, cùm totum Symbolum quinquies exponat. *Bellarm. de Christo, lib. 4. cap. 6.*

i *Petr. Chrysolog. serm. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62.*

k *Maxim. Homil. de traditione Symboli.*

l *Tom. 5. Oper. Chrysost. Latin.*

Chrysostome

Chryſoſtome (the latter whereof hath it, the former hath it not) and the others that are found in the tenth Tome of S. *Auguſtins* workes among the Sermons *de Tempore* (m foure of which doe repeat it, and n two doe omit it:) becauſe the authors of them, together with the time wherein they were written, bee altogether unknowne; they can bring us little light in this inquiry. Only for the Greeke Symboll this is certaine, that as it is not found in the recitall which *Marcellus Ancyranus* maketh thereof in his * epiſtle to *Iulius* Biſhop of Rome; ſo is it likewiſe wanting in the Greeke Creed written in Saxon characters, which is to bee ſeene at the end of King *Æthelſtanes* Pſalter in Sr. Robert Cottons rare Treaſury. And after it came to bee admitted more generally into the Latine, as it was there at firſt a *Deſcendit ad inferna*, and at laſt *Deſcendit ad inferos*: ſo with a like diverſitie doe I finde the ſame added to the Greeke alſo; κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ καταώτατα being put to expreſſe the one, and κατελθόντα εἰς ᾅδου to anſwer the other. the latter whereof is to be ſeene in our common printed copies: the former in a Manuſcript of Benett Colledge librarie in Cambridge; where the Symboll of the Apoſtles togither with the whole Pſalter is ſett downe in Greeke and Latin, but the Greeke written in Latin letters.

m *Serm. de Tempore*, 115. 131. 181. 195.
n *Serm.* 119. & 123.

* *Epiphan. hæreſ.* 72. *pag.* 356. *edit. Græc.*

a *Vid. Veterem Ordinem Romanum; & Innocentium III. de myſteriis Miſſæ, lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

Neyther is there by this which hath beene ſaid any whit more derogated from the credite of this article, than there is from others, whoſe authority is acknowledged to bee undoubted and beyond all exception: as namely that of our Saviours *death*, and the *Communion of Saints*. the one whereof as ſufficiently

ently implied in the article of the *Crucifixion* as a conſequent, or the *buriall* as a neceſſary antecedent thereof; the other as virtually contained in the article of the *Church*, wee finde omitted not in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Symboll alone, and in the ancient Apoſtolicall Creeds expounded by *Ruffinus*, *Maximus*, and *Chryſologus*, but alſo in thoſe that are extant in [o] *Venantius Fortunatus* 580. and in [p] *Etherius* and *Beatus*, 785. yeares after *Chriſt*. as in the two Greeke ones likewiſe: that of *Marcellus*, and the other written in the time of the *Engliſh Saxons*. In all which likewiſe may be noted, that the title of *Maker of heaven and earth* is not given to the Father in the beginning of the Creed: which out of the Creed of *Conſtantinople* wee ſee is now every where added thereunto. Of which additions as there is now no queſtion any where made: ſo [q] by the conſent of both ſides, this of the deſcent into Hell alſo, is now numbred among the articles of the Apoſtles Creed. For the [r] Scripture having expreſſely teſtified, that the prophecy of the Pſalmiſt, [ſ] *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoule in Hell*, was verified in *Chriſt*; S. *Auguſtines* concluſion muſt neceſſarily be inferred thereupon. [t] *Who therefore but an Infidell will deny that Chriſt was in Hell?* Thus [u] *all agree, that Chriſt did ſome manner of way deſcend into Hell:* ſaith Cardinall *Bellarmine*. *But the whole queſtion is touching the expoſition of this article.* The common expoſition which the *Romiſh* Divines give thereof, is this: that by *Hell* is here under-

o *Fortunat. lib. 11. num. 1. in Expoſit. Symboli.*

p *Ether. & Beat. lib. 1. contra Elipandum Toletan. pag. 51. edit. Ingolſtad.*

q Deſcenſum ad inferos nunc, conſentientibus ſectariis, inter germanos Symboli Apoſtolici articulos numeramus. *Io. Buſæus, de deſcenſ. theſ. 33.*

r *Act. 2. 27, 31.*

ſ *Pſalm. 16. 10.*

t Quis Ergo niſi infidelis negaverit fuiſſe apud inferos Chriſtum? *Auguſtin. epiſt. 99.*

u Ac primùm omnes conveniunt, quòd Chriſtus aliquo modo ad inferos deſcenderit, &c. At quæſtio tota eſt de explicatione hujus articuli. *Bellarm. de Chriſto, lib. 4. cap. 6.*

ſtood,

ſtood, [x] not that place wherein the wicked are tormented, but the boſome of *Abraham*, wherein the godly Fathers of the old Teſtament reſted; for whoſe deliverie from thence, they ſay our Saviour tooke his journey thither. But S. *Auguſtine* in that ſame place, wherein hee counteth it a point of Infidelitie to denie the going of *Chriſt* into Hell, gainſayeth this expoſition thereof: profeſſing, that hee could finde the name of Hell no where given unto that place wherein the ſoules of the righteous did reſt. [y] *Wherefore* (ſaith hee) *if the holy Scripture had ſaid, that Chriſt being dead did come unto the boſome of Abraham; not having named Hell and the paines thereof: I marvayle whether any would have beene ſo bold, as to have avouched that Chriſt deſcended into Hell. But becauſe evident teſtimonies doe make mention both of Hell and paines: I ſee no cauſe, why our Saviour ſhould be beleeved to have come thither, but that hee ſhould deliver men from the paines thereof.* And [a] *therefore what benefite hee brought unto thoſe juſt men that were in the boſome of Abraham, when he did deſcend into Hell, I have not yet found.* Thus farre S. *Auguſtine.*

For the better underſtanding of this, wee are to call unto minde that ſaying of the [b] Philoſophers: that *they who do not learne rightly to underſtand words,*

x *In* 3. *Sent. diſt.* 22. D. Thom. Bonavent. Richard. Gab. Palud. & Marſil. quæſt. 13. & reliqui in hoc conveniunt, quòd ad locum damnatorum non deſcendit. *Fr. Suarez, tom.* 2. *in* 3. *part. Thom. diſp.* 43. *ſect.* 4. Non deſcendit ad inferos reproborum ac in perpetuum damnatorum, quoniam ex eo nulla eſt redemptio: igitur ad eum locum deſcendit, qui vel Sinus Abrahæ, vel communiter Limbus Patrum appellatur. *Fr. Feuardent. Dialog.* 6. *contr. Calvinian. pag.* 509. *edit. Colon.*

y Quapropter ſi in illum Abrahæ ſinum Chriſtum mortuorum veniſſe ſancta ſcriptura dixiſſet, non nominato inferno ejuſque doloribus: miror ſi quiſquam ad inferos eum deſcendiſſe aſſerere auderet. Sed quia evidentia teſtimonia & infernum commemorant & dolores; nulla cauſſa occurrit, cur illò credatur veniſſe ſalvator, niſi ut ab ejus doloribus ſalvos faceret. *Auguſt. epiſt.* 99. a Vnde illis juſtis qui in ſinu Abrahæ erant, cùm ille in inferna deſcenderet, nondum quid contuliſſet inveni; à quibus eum ſecundùm beatificam præſentiam ſuæ divinitatis nunquam video receſſiſſe. *Id. ibid.* b Λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τὸ τὰ μὴ μανθάνοντας ὀρθῶς ὀνόματα, κακῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι. Plutarch. in lib. de Iſide & Oſiride.

uſe

use to bee deceived in the things themselves. It will not bee amisse therefore, to consider somewhat of the name of *Hell*: that the [c] nature of the word being rightly understood, wee may the better conceive the truth of the thing that is signified thereby. carrying alwaies in remembrance that necessary Rule, delivered by *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch*, in his exposition upon Iob. 38.28. that * *it is fit wee should understand names according to the qualitie of the matters subject, and not regulate the truth according to the abuse of words.* Wee are to know then first of our English word *Hell*, that the originall thereof is by diverse men delivered diversly. Some derive it from the Hebrew word *Sheól*: eyther subtracting the first letter, or including it in the aspiration. For [d] *this letter* S (saith *Priscian*) *hath such an affinitie with the aspiration; that the Bœotians in some words were wont to write* H *for* S, *saying Muha for Musa.* Others bring it from the Greeke word ἕλος, which signifieth *a lake*: others from the English *hole*, as signifying *a pit-hole*; others from *hale*, as noting the place that haleth or draweth men unto it. Some say, that in the old Saxon or German, *Hell* signifieth *deepe*; whether it bee *high* or *low*. But the derivation given by [e] *Verstegan*, is the most probable; from being *helled* over, that is to say, hidden or covered. For in the old German tongue (from whence our English was extracted) [f] *Hil* signifieth *to hide*: and *Hiluh* in *Otfridus Wissenburgensis*, is *hidden*: And in this countrie, with them that retaine the ancient language which their forefathers brought with them out of England, *to hell the head* is as much as *to cover the head*: and hee that *covereth* the house with tile or slate,

c Ὃς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα εἰδῇ, εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα. Plato, in Cratylo.

* Πάλιν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σημαντικὰ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων φύσεις, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰ κατάχρησιν τῶν λέξεων τ' ἀληθῆ χαρακτηρίζειν. Sever. in Catenâ Græcâ in Iob, pag. 491. edit. Venet.

d Adeò autem cognatio est hujus literæ, id est S, cum aspiratione; quòd pro eâ in quibusdam dictionibus solebant Bœoti pro S, H scribere, Muha pro Musa dicentes. *Priscian. lib.* 1.

e *Rich. Verstegan. Restitution of English antiquities, chap.* 7.

f *Vid. Goldasti animadvers. in Winsbekij Paræneses, pag.* 400.

ſlate, is from thence commonly called *a hellier*. So that in the originall proprietie of the word, our *Hell* doth exactly anſwer the Greeke ἅιδης, which denoteth τὸν ἀϊδῆ τόπον, the place which is unſeene or removed from the ſight of man.

Wee are in the ſecond place therefore to obſerve, that the tearme of *Hell*, beſide the vulgar acception, wherein it ſignifieth that which Luke 16.28. is called the *place of torment*; is, in the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of the word, extended more largely to expreſſe the Greeke word *Hádes*, and the Latine *Inferi*, and whatſoever is contained under them. Concerning which S. *Auguſtine* giveth this note: [g] *The name of Hell is variouſly put in Scriptures, and in many meanings, according as the ſenſe of the things which are entreated of doth require.* and Maſter *Caſaubon* (who underſtood the property of Greeke and Latine words as well as any) this other. [h] *They who thinke that* HADES *is properly the ſeate of the damned, be no leſſe deceived, than they who, when they reade* INFEROS *in Latine writers, doe interpret it of the ſame place.* The leſſe cauſe have we to wonder, that *Hell* in the Scripture ſhould bee made the place of all the dead in common, and not of the wicked onely. as in Pſalm. 89. 47,48. *Remember how ſhort my time is: wherefore haſt thou made all men in vaine? what man is hee that liveth, and ſhall not ſee death: ſhall hee deliver his ſoule from the hand of* HELL? and Eſai. 38.18,19. HELL *cannot praiſe thee, death cannot celebrate thee, they that goe downe into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.* The LIVING, *the* LIVING, *he ſhall praiſe thee, as I doe this day.* Where the oppoſition betwixt *Hell* and the ſtate of *life* in this

g Variè in Scripturis & ſub intellectu multiplici, ſicut rerum de quibus agitur ſenſus exigit, nomen ponitur inferorum. *Auguſtin. iqueſt. ſuper. Numer. cap.* 29.

h Qui ἅιδην propriè ſedem damnatorum eſſe exiſtimant, non minùs hallucinantur, quàm illi qui cùm legunt apud Latinos ſcriptores, Inferos, de eodem loco interpretantur. *Caſaub. in Gregor. Nyſſen. epiſt. ad Euſtath. Ambroſ. & Baſiliſſ. not.* 116.

this world, is to bee obſerved. Now as the common condition of the dead is conſiderable three manner of wayes, either in reſpect of the body ſeparated from the ſoule, or of the ſoule ſeparated from the body, or of the whole man indefinitely conſidered in this ſtate of ſeparation: ſo doe wee finde the word *Hádes* (which by the Latines is rendred *Infernus* or *Inferi*, and by the Engliſh *Hell*,) to bee applied by the ancient Greeke interpreters of the old Teſtament to the common ſtate and place of the bodie ſevered from the ſoule, by the heathen Greekes to the common ſtate and place of the ſoule ſevered from the body, and by both of them to the common ſtate of the dead, and the place proportionably correſpondent to that ſtate of diſſolution. And ſo the Doctors of the Church, ſpeaking in the ſame language which they learned both from the ſacred and the forraine writers, are accordingly found to take the word in theſe three ſeverall ſignifications.

Touching the firſt wee are to note, that both the *Septuagint* in the Old Teſtament, and the *Apoſtles* in the [i] New, doe uſe the Greeke word ᾍδης HADES (and anſwerably thereunto, the Latine Interpreters the word *Infernus* or *Inferi*, and the Engliſh the word *Hell*) for that which in the Hebrew text is named שְׁאוֹל SHEÓL: on the other ſide, where in the New Teſtament the word HADES is uſed, there the ancient Syriacke tranſlator doth put ܫܐܘܠ *Shejul*, and the Æthiopian ሲኦል *Siolo* in ſteed thereof. Now the Hebrew *Sheól* (and ſo the *Chaldy*, *Syriacke*, and *Æthiopian* words which draw their originall from thence) doth properly denote the interior parts of the

[i] *Act.* 2. 27. 1. *Cor.* 15. 55.

the earth, that lye hidden from our ſight; namely whatſoever tendeth downward from the ſurface of the earth unto the center thereof. In which reſpect wee ſee that the Scripture deſcribeth *Sheól* to bee a deepe place; and oppoſeth the depth thereof unto the height of Heaven. (Iob 11.8. Pſalm. 139.8. Amos 9.2.) Againe, becauſe the bodies that live upon the ſurface of the earth, are corrupted within the bowels thereof; [k] *the duſt returning to the earth as it was*; therefore is the word commonly put for the ſtate and the place wherein dead bodies doe reſt, and are diſpoſed for corruption. And in this reſpect wee finde that the Scripture doth oppoſe *Sheól* not onely unto *Heaven*, but alſo unto this *land of the living* wherein wee now breathe. (Eſai. 38.10,11. Ezech. 32.27.) the ſurface of the earth being the place appointed for the habitation of the living; the other parts ordained to bee the chambers of death. Thus they *that are in the graves* (Ioh. 5.28.) are ſaid to *ſleep in the duſt of the earth* (Dan. 12.2.) The Pſalmiſt, in his prophecie of our Saviours humiliation, tearmeth it *the duſt of death*: (Pſal. 22.15.) which the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt expoundeth בית קבורתא *the houſe of the grave*; interpreting *Sheól* after the ſelfeſame maner, in Pſalm. 31.18. & 89.49. In the Hebrew Dictionary, printed with the Complutenſe Bible an. 1515. the word שאול *Sheól* is expounded *infernus ſive inferus, aut fovea, vel ſepulchrum*: *Hell, the pit, or the grave*. R. *Mardochai Nathan* in his Hebrew Concordance giveth no other interpretation of it, but onely קבר, or, *the grave*: R. *Abraham Aben-Ezra* in his commentary upon thoſe words, Gen. 37.35. *I will*

k Eccleſ. 12.7. Iob 34.15.

l זבח תעה מתרגם לטיעים שתרגם שאול גיהנם

Aben-Ezra, in Genes. 37.

* An לטיעים ibi positum pro לטיבים, id est, Lanionum?

goe downe into *Sheól* unto my *Son* mourning; writeth thus. l *Here the Translator of the erring persons* (hee meaneth the Vulgar * Latine translation used by the Christians) *erreth, in translating Sheól Hell* or *Gehenna: for behold, the signification of the word is* קבר or *the grave*. for proofe whereof hee alledgeth divers places of Scripture. Where by the way you may note, that in the last edition of the Masoriticall and Rabbinicall Bible, printed by *Bomberg*us, both this and diverse other passages elsewhere have beene cut out by the Romish Correctors: which I wish our *Buxtorfius* had understood, when hee followed that mangled and corrupted copie in his late renewed edition of that great worke. R. *Salomo Iarchi*, writing upon the same words, Gen. 37. 35. saith, that m *according to the literall sense, the interpretation thereof is the Grave: (In my mourning I will bee buried, and I will not bee comforted all my dayes:) but after the Midrash* or *Allegoricall interpretation, it is Gehenna.* In like manner, R. *David Kimchi* expounding that place, Psalm. 9. 17. *The wicked shall turne into Hell, and all the nations that forget God*; acknowledgeth, that by the *Derash* or * Allegoricall exposition, into *Hell* is as much to say, as into *Gehenna*: but according to the literall meaning he expoundeth it, לקבר *into the grave*; intimating withall, that the Prophet n useth here the tearme of *turning* or *returning*, with reference to that sentence, Gen. 3. 19. Dust thou art, and *unto dust shalt thou returne.*

m כפשוטן לשון קבר הוא באבלו אקבר ולא אתנחם כי ומדרשו גיהנם Salom. Iarchi, in Gen. 37.

* Elias in Tischbi, verb. דרש.

n ואמר ישובו כמו ואל עפר תשוב Kimchi in Mal. 9.

Out of which observation of *Kimchi* we may further note, that the Hebrews, when they expound *Sheól* to bee the *grave*, doe not meane so much thereby,

by an artificiall grave (to wit, a pit digged in the earth, or a tomb rayſed above ground) as a naturall ſepulchre: ſuch as *Macenas* ſpeaketh of in that verſe;

o *Nec tumulum curo, ſepelit natura relictos.*

and *Seneca* in his Controverſies. p *Nature hath given a buriall unto all men: ſuch as ſuffer ſhipwracke the ſame wave doth bury, that caſt them away; the bodies of ſuch as are crucified, drop away from the Croſſes unto their buriall; to ſuch as are burnt alive, their puniſhment is a funerall.* For this is the difference that is made by authors, betwixt *burying* and *interring*: that q *hee is underſtood to bee buried who is put away in any manner, but hee to bee interred who is covered with the earth.* Hence different kindes of r *burials* are mentioned by them, according to the different uſages of ſeverall nations: the name of a *ſepulture* being given by them, as well to the s *burning* of the bodies of the dead, uſed of old among the more civill nations; as to the devouring of them by *dogges*, which was the barbarous cuſtome of the t *Hyrcanians*. Therefore u *Diogenes* was wont to ſay, that if the dogs did teare him, hee ſhould have an *Hyrcanian buriall*: and thoſe beaſts which were kept for this uſe, the x *Bactrians* did terme in their language *Sepulchrall dogges*; as *Strabo* relateth out of *Oneſicritus*. So in the Scripture, the Prophet *Ionas* calleth the belly of the Whale, wherein hee was de-

o *Senec. epiſt. 92.*

p Omnibus natura ſepulturam dedit. naufragos idem fluctus qui expulit, ſepelit. ſuffixorum corpora crucibus in ſepulturam ſuam defluunt; eos qui vivi uruntur, pœna funerat. *Id. lib. 8. Controverſ. 4.*

q Sepultus intelligitur quoquo modo conditus: humatus verò humo contectus. *Plin. lib. 7. nat. hiſt. cap 54.*

r Διαλόμβανει κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς ταφάς, ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκκαιουσιν, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἐθάπτευ, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ὑάλῳ θεσπείει, ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατασθιει, ταριχεύει

ὁ Αἰγύπτ. Lucianus, de luctu. s Nec diſperſis buſtis humili ſepulturâ crematos. *Cicer. Philippic. 14.* Ἐμὲ μὲν ἢ τοὺ ἐμὺς πάδας τό δε τὺ πῦρ δάλλει: inquit uxor Aſdrubalis, apud Appianum in Punicis: Vide & Cteſiam (in Photii Bibliothecâ, col. 129. edit. Græcolat.) ὡς τὸ δάλλειν τὸ πατέρα διὰ τὸ πυρός. t Eamque optimam illi cenſent eſſe ſepulturam. *Cicero. lib. 1. Tuſcul. queſt.* u Ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, ὅτι ἂν μὴ κύνες αὐτὸν ἀπαγξώσιν, Ὑρκανία ἔσται ἡ ταφή. Stobæus. x Τὰς γὰρ ἀπειρηκότας διὰ γῆρας ζῶντας παραβάλλειν τοῖς κυσὶν, ὅπως μὴ τὸν τάφον ἀπαρισὰς ἔχωσι τῇ παρᾳνομίᾳ. Strabo Geograph. lib. 11.

voured, [y] *the belly of Sheól*, that is, of Hell or the Grave. For [z] *Ionas* (saith *Basil* of *Seleucia*) *was carried in a living grave, & dwelt in a swimming prison; dwelling in the region of death, the common lodge of the dead and not of the living, while he dwelt in that belly which was the mother of death.* and in the prophecie of *Ieremy*, King *Iehojakim* is said to bee [a] *buried*, (although *with the buriall of an asse,*) when his carkasse was *drawne and cast forth beyond the gates of Ierusalem.*

——[b] *capit omnia tellus*
Quæ genuit: cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.

The earth which begetteth all, receiveth all: and he that wanteth a coffin, hath the welkin for his winding sheet. [c] The earth is our great mother;

[d] *Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulcrum.*

the common mother, out of whose wombe as naked wee came, so [e] *naked shall wee returne thither.* according to that, in Psal. 146. 4. *His spirit goeth forth, hee returneth to* HIS *earth.* and Psalm. 104. 29. *Thou takest away their breath, they die, and turne to* THEIR *dust.* And this is the *Sheól* which *Iob* wayted for, when hee said: [f] *Sheól* or *the grave*, (for that is the *Hell* which is meant here: as is confessed not by *Lyranus* onely, but by the Iesuite *Pineda* also) *is mine house; I have made my bedde in the darkenesse. I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worme, Thou art my mother, and my sister.*

This is that common sepulchre, *non factum sed natum*, not made by the hand of man, but provided by nature it selfe: betwixt which naturall and artificiall grave these differences may bee observed. The artificiall may bee appropriated to this man or that man.

The

y *Jon.* 2. 2.
z ἦν Ιωνᾶς ἐν ζωῦ τάφῳ φερόμενος, νηχόμενον οἰκῶν δεσμωτήριον, συγκινούμενον φάρυγξι θανάτου χάος οἰκῶν, νεκρῶν πανδοχεῖον ἐζῶντων, οἰκῶν μᾶλλον θανάτου μητέρα. *Basil. Seleuc. orat.* 12. *quæ in Ionam est* 1ª.
a *Ier.* 22. 19.
b *Lucan. lib.* 7.
c Magna parens terra est. *Ovid.* 1. *Metamorph.*
d *Lucret. de rer. natur. lib.* 5.
e *Iob* 1. 21.
f *Iob* 17. 13, 14.

The Patriarch David is both dead and buried, & his sepulchre is with us unto this day: saith S. *Peter*, Acts 2. 29, and *Yee build the tombes of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous:* saith our Saviour, Matth. 23. 29. But in the naturall there is no such distinction. It cannot bee said, that this is such or such a mans *Sheól:* it is considered as the common receptacle of all the dead. as wee read in *Iob: g I know that thou wilt bring mee to death, and to the house appointed for all living.* h For, *to every man* (as *Olympiodorus* writeth upon that place) *the earth it selfe is appointed as a house for his grave.* i There *the prisoners rest together* (saith *Iob*) *they heare not the voyce of the oppressor. The small & great are there; and the servant, free from his master.* Againe, into a made grave a man may enter in alive and come out alive againe (as k *Peter* and *Iohn* did into the sepulchre of *Christ:*) but *Sheól* eyther findeth men dead when they come into it (which is the ordinarie course) or if they come into it alive (which is l a new and unwonted thing) it bringeth death upon them; as wee see it fell out in *Korah* and his complices, who are said to have *gone downe alive into Sheól*, when the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up. (Numb. 16.30.33.) Lastly, as many living men doe goe into the grave made with hands, and yet in so doing they cannot be said to goe into *Sheól* (because they come from thence alive againe:) so some dead men also want the honour of such a grave (as it was the case of Gods servants, m whose bodies were kept from buriall) & yet thereby are not kept from *Sheól*; which is the way that all flesh must goe to: For, * *all goe unto one place; all are*

g *Iob* 30.23.
h Cuilibet enim homini domus pro sepulchro, ipsa terra est constituta. *Olympiodor. Caten. Grec. in illud Iob* 30.23. *secundùm* LXX. οἶκος γὰρ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ γῆ.
i *Iob* 3.18,19.
k *Iob.* 20.6,8.
l *Num.* 16.30.
m *Psal.* 79.2,3. *Rev.* 11.8,9.
* Eccles. 3.20. & 6.6.

of the duſt. and all turne to duſt againe. Wee conclude therfore, that when *Sheól* is ſaid to ſignifie the *grave*; the tearme of *grave* muſt be taken in as large a ſenſe, as it is in that ſpeech of our Saviour, Iohn 5. 28. *All that are in the graves ſhall heare his voice, and ſhall come forth; they that have done good, unto the reſurrection of life; and they that have done evill, unto the reſurrection of damnation.* and in Eſai. 26. 19. according to the *Greeke* reading: *The dead ſhall riſe, and they that are in the graves ſhall bee rayſed up.* upon which place *Origen* writeth thus. [a] *In this place, and in many others likewiſe, the graves of the dead are to bee underſtood according to the more certaine meaning of the Scripture, not ſuch onely as we ſee are builded for the receiving of mens bodies, eyther cut out in ſtones, or digged downe in the earth: but every place wherein a mans body lyeth, either entire or in any part, albeit it fell out that one body ſhould be diſperſed through many places; it being no abſurditie at all, that all thoſe places in which any part of the body lyeth, ſhould bee called the ſepulchres of that body. For if wee doe not thus underſtand the dead to bee raiſed by the power of God out of their graves: they which are not committed to buriall, nor laid in graves, but have ended their life either in ſhipwracks or in ſome deſert places, ſo as they could not be committed to buriall, ſhould not ſeeme to bee reckoned among them who are ſaid ſhould bee*

[a] Sepulchra autem mortuorum in hoc loco, ſimiliter & in multis aliis, ſecundùm certiorem Scripturæ ſenſum accipienda ſunt, non ſolùm ea quæ ad depoſitionem humanorum corporum videntur eſſe conſtructa, vel in ſaxis exciſa, aut in terrâ defoſſa; ſed omnis locus in quocunque vel integrum humanum corpus, vel ex parte aliquâ jacet: etiam ſi accidat ut unum corpus per loca multa diſperſum ſit, abſurdum non erit omnia ea loca in quibus pars aliqua corporis jacet, ſepulchra corporis ejus dici. Si enim non ita accipiamus reſurgere de ſepulchris ſuis mortuos divinâ virtute: qui nequaquam ſunt ſepulturæ mandati, neque in ſepulchris depoſiti, ſed ſive naufragiis, ſive in deſertis aliquibus defuncti ſunt locis, ita ut ſepulturæ mandari non potuerint; non videbuntur annumerari inter eos, qui de ſepulchris reſuſcitandi dicuntur. Quod utique valdè abſurdum eſt. *Origen. in Eſai. lib. 28. citatus à Pamphilo, vel Euſebio potius, in Apologiâ pro Origene.*

rayſed

rayſed up out of their graves. which would bee a very great abſurditie. Thus *Origen.*

Now you ſhall heare, if you pleaſe, what our Romiſh Doctors do deliver touching this point, [o] *There bee two opinions,* ſaith *Pererius* upon Geneſ. 37. 35. *concerning this queſtion. The one of the Hebrews, and of many of the Chriſtians in this our age, but eſpecially of the Heretickes, affirming that the word Sheól ſignifieth nothing elſe in the Scripture, but the pit or the grave, and from thence reaſoning falſly, that our Lord did not deſcend into Hell.* [p] *The other opinion is of undoubted and certaine truth: that the Hebrew word Sheól, and the Latine Infernus anſwering to it, both in this place of Scripture and elſewhere oftentimes doth ſignifie, not the pit or the grave, but the place of Hell, and the places under the earth, wherein the ſoules are after death.* [q] Whereſoever *Hierome* (ſaith *Auguſtinus Steucus* upon the ſame place) *and the Septuagint have tranſlated Hell, it is in the Hebrew, Sheol, that is, the pit or the grave. For it doth not ſignifie that place, wherein Antiquitie hath thought that the ſoules of the wicked are received.* The *Hebrew word properly ſignifieth the grave:* ſaith *Ianſenius* upon Proverb. 15. 12. the *Grave properly*, and Hell onely *metaphorically*: ſaith *Arias Montanus*, in his anſwer unto *Leo à Caſtro.* and, [r] *in the old Teſtament, the name of Hell doth alwaies almoſt import the*

o Duæ ſuper hâc queſtione ſunt ſententiæ. Vna eſt Hebræorum, & de Chriſtianis multorum in hâc ætate noſtrâ, maximè verò Hæreticorum affirmantium vocem Sceol non ſignificare aliud in Scripturâ niſi foſſam ſive ſepulchrum, & ex hoc falſo argumentantium, Dominum noſtrum non deſcendiſſe ad Infernum. *Perer. in Geneſ. 37. ſect. 92.*

p Altera eſt ſententia exploratæ certæque veritatis; vocem Hebræam Sceol, & Latinam ei reſpondentem Infernus, & in hoc loco Scripturæ, & alibi ſæpenumerò ſignificare non foſſam vel ſepulchrum, ſed locum inferorum, & ſubterranea loca, in quibus ſunt animæ poſt mortem. *Ibid. ſect 96.* q Hebraicè, ubicunque Hieronymus ac Septuaginta infernum interpretati ſunt, eſt Sheol, hoc eſt, foſſa ſive ſepulchrum. Neque enim ſignificat eum locum, ubi ſceleratorum animas recipi antiquitas opinata eſt. *Aug. Steuch. in Gen. cap. 37.* r Feré ſemper Inferni nomen ſepulchrum ſonat in veteri Teſtamento. *Alphonſ. Mendoz Controverſ. Theologic. qu. 1. poſitiv. ſect. 5.*

Grave: ſaith *Alphonſus Mendoza*. The Ieſuite *Pineda* commendeth one [s] *Cyprian* a *Ciſtercian* monke, as a man *famous for learning and piety:* yet holdeth him worthy to bee cenſured, for affirming that *Sheól* or *Hell is in all the old Teſtament taken for the Grave.* Another croaking monke (*Crocquet* they call him) crieth out on the other ſide, that wee ſhall [t] never be able to prove, by the *producing of as much as one place of Scripture*, that *Sheól* doth ſignifie the *Grave.* Cardinall *Bellarmine* is a little (and but a very little) more modeſt herein. The Hebrew *Sheól*, hee ſaith, [u] *is ordinarily taken for the place of ſoules under the earth; and eyther rarely or never, for the grave:* but the Greek [x] word *Hádes alwaies ſignifieth Hell, never the grave.* But *Stapleton* will ſtand to it ſtoutly, [y] *that neither Hádes nor Sheól is in the Scriptures ever taken for the grave, but alwaies for Hell.* [z] The word *Infernus, Hades, Sheól*, ſaith hee, *is never taken for the grave. The grave is called in Greeke* ᾅδης, *in Hebrew* קבר. *Wherefore all the Paraphraſts of the Hebrewes alſo doe expound that word Sheol by the word Gehenna; as Genebrard doth ſhew at large in his third Booke of the Trinity.* Where yet hee might have learned ſome more moderation from *Genebrard* himſelfe, unto whom hee referreth us: who thus layeth downe his judgement of the matter in the place by him alledged.

ſ Illud non præteribo, parùm conſideratè (ne graviori inuriam notâ) Cyprianum Ciſtercienſem (virum alioqui doctrinâ & pietate conſpicuũ) affirmâſſe, Sheol, id eſt, inferos vel infernum in toto veteri Teſtamento accipi pro ſepulchro. *Io. Pined. in Iob. cap. 7. verſ. 9. num. 2.*

t Et ne vehementiùs ſibi placeant ob ſuum illud Sheol; nunquam efficient ut uno ſaltem Scripturæ loco prolato præclaram illam interpretationem ſepulchri confirment. *Andr. Crocquet. Catechef. 19.*

u Ordinariè accipitur pro loco animarum ſubterraneo; & vel raro vel nunquam, pro ſepulchro. *Bellarmin. lib. 4. de Chriſto, cap. 10.* x Vox ᾅδης ſignificat ſemper infernum, nunquam ſepulchrum. *Ibid. cap. 12.* y Contra Bezam latè oſtendimus, nec ᾅδης, nec שאול pro ſepulchro unquam, ſed pro inferno ſemper in Scripturis accipi. *Stapleton. Antidot. in 1. Corinth. 15. 55. & Act. 2. 27.* z Cæterùm pro ſepulchro vox infernus, ᾅδης, שאול, nunquam accipitur. Sepulchrum Græcè τάφος, Hebraicè קבר vocatur. Quare & omnes paraphraſtæ Hebræorum illam vocem שאול explicant per vocem gehennæ; ut latè oſtendit Genebrardus lib. 3. de Trinitate. *Ibid. in Act. 2. 27.*

As

[a] *As they bee in an error who contend that Sheól doth never designe the grave: so have they a shameleſſe forehead, who denie that it doth any where ſignifie the region of the damned* or *Gehenna.*

It is an *error* therefore in *Stapleton* (by his owne authors confeſſion) to maintaine that *Sheól* is never taken for the *grave*; and in ſo doing, he doth but bewray his old wrangling diſpoſition. But leſt any other ſhould take the *ſhameleſſe forehead* from him, hee faceth it downe, that *all the Paraphraſts of the Hebrews* doe interpret *Sheól* by the word *Gehenna.* Whereas it is well knowne, that the two Paraphraſtes that are of greateſt antiquitie and credit with the Hebrewes, *Onkelos* the interpreter of *Moſes,* and *Ionathan ben VZZiel* of the *Prophets,* never tranſlate it ſo. Beſide that of *Onkelos,* wee have two other Chaldee Paraphraſes which expound the harder places of *Moſes*; the one called the *Targum* of *Ieruſalem,* the other attributed unto *Ionathan:* in neither of theſe can wee finde, that *Sheól* is expounded by *Gehenna*; but in the latter of them wee ſee it [b] twice expounded by בו קבור תא *the houſe of the grave.* In the Arabicke interpretations of *Moſes,* where [c] the tranſlator out of the Greeke hath الجحيم *al-giahimo*, Hell; there [d] the tranſlator out of the Hebrew putteth الثرى *al-tharay*, which ſignifieth *earth* or *clay.* [e] *Iacobus Tawoſius,* in his Perſian tranſlation of the Pentateuch, for *Sheól* doth alwaies put * *Gor,* that is, *the grave.* The Chaldee Paraphraſe upon the *Proverbs* keepeth ſtill the word שיול deflected a little from the Hebrew: the Paraphraſt upon *Iob* uſeth that word [f] thrice; but קבורא and [g] קבורתא (which ſignifieth *the grave*) [h] in

a Quemadmodum in errore verſantur, qui eam vocem nunquam ſepulchrum deſignare contendunt: ſic fronte ſunt perfrictâ, qui uſpiam Gehennæ regionem negant ſignificare. *Genebrard. de Trinitat. lib. 3. in Symbol. Athanaſiani Expoſitione.*

b *Gen* 37 35. & 44. 29.

c *Ibidem* (in *Geneſi, quam cum commentario Arabico MS. penes me habeo: & Deuteronom.* 32. 22.

d *Pentateuch. Arabic. ab Erpenio, edit. an.* 1622.

e *Pentateuch. Quadrilingue, à Judæis Conſtantinopoli exiuſ.*

* *Iet apud Armenios & Turcas* terram *ſignificat.*

f *Iob* 11. 8. & 24. 19. & 26. 6.

g *Iob* 21. 13.

h *Iob* 7. 9. & 14. 13. & 17. 13, 16.

in ſteed thereof five ſeverall times. In *Eccleſiaſtes* the word commeth but [i] once: and there the Chaldee Paraphraſt rendreth it בית קבורתא *the houſe of the grave*. R. *Ioſeph Cæcus* doth the like in his paraphraſe upon Pſalm. 31.17. & 89.48. In Pſalm. 141.7. hee rendreth it by the ſimple קבורתא *the grave*: but in the 15. and 16. verſes of the 49. Pſalme, by גהנם or *Gehenna*. And onely there, and in Cantic. 8.6. is *Sheól* in the Chaldee paraphraſes expounded by *Gehenna*: whereby if wee ſhall underſtand the place, not of dead *bodies* (as in that place of the Pſalme the Paraphraſt maketh expreſſe mention of the [k] *bodies waxing old* or conſuming *in Gehenna*) but of tormented *ſoules* (as the [l] Rabbines more commonly do take it) yet doe our Romaniſts get little advantage thereby, who would faine have the *Sheól* into which our Saviour went, bee conceived to have beene a place of reſt, and not of torment; the boſome of *Abraham*, and not *Gehenna* the ſeat of the damned.

i *Eccleſ.* 9.10.

k גופיהון יתבלין בגיהנם
Pſal. 49.15. *Chald.*

l *Elias in Tiſchbi, verb.* גיהנם.

As for the Greeke word *Hádes*: it is uſed by *Hippocrates* to expreſſe the firſt matter of things, from which they have their beginning, and into which afterwards being diſſolved they make their ending. For having ſaid, that in nature nothing properly may bee held to be newly made, or to periſh: hee addeth this. [m] *But men doe thinke, that what doth grow from Hádes into light, is newly made; and what is diminiſhed from the light into Hádes, is periſhed.* by *light* underſtanding nothing elſe but the viſible ſtructure and exiſtence of things: and by *Hádes*, that inviſible and inſenſible thing which other Philoſophers commonly call ὕλην, [n] *Chalcidius* the Platonicke tranſlateth *Sylvam*,

m Νομίζεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀδοῦς εἰς φῶς αὐξανόμενον γίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ φάους εἰς ἄδηλον μειούμενον, ἀπόλλυσθαι. Hippocrat. de diætâ, ſive victus ratione, lib. 1.

n *Chalcid. in Timæum Platonis.*

vam, the Aristotelians more fitly *Materiam primam*. whence also it is supposed by • Master *Casaubon*, that those passages were borrowed, which we meet with all in the bookes that beare the name of *Hermes Trismegistus*. ᵖ *In the dissolution of a materiall body, the body it selfe is brought to alteration, and the forme which it had is made invisible:* ᵠ *and so there is a privation of the sense made, not a destruction of the bodies.* ʳ *I say then that the world is changed, inasmuch as every day a part thereof is made invisible, but never utterly dissolved.* wherewith wee may compare likewise that place of *Plutarch* in his booke of *living privately*. Generation ˢ *doth not make any of the things that be, but manifesteth them: neither is corruption a translation of a thing from being to not being, but rather a bringing of the thing that is dissolved unto that which is unseene. Whereupon men, according to the ancient traditions of their fathers, thinking the Sunne to bee Apollo, called him Delius and Pythius:* (namely from *manifesting* of things): *and the ruler of the contrary destinie (whether hee be a God, or an Angell) they named Hádes, by reason that wee, when wee are dissolved, doe goe unto an unseene and invisible place.* By the Latins this *Hádes* is termed *Dispiter* or *Diespiter*: which name they gave unto this ᵗ *lower ayre that is joyned to the earth, where all things have their beginning and ending; quorum quòd finis or-*

• *Casaub. in Baron. exercit. 1. cap. 10.*

ᵖ Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναλύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς ὑλικῆς, παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν· καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὃ εἶχεν ἀφανὲς γίνεται. *Herm. Pœmand. serm. 1.*

ᵠ Καὶ οὕτω στέρησις γίνεται τῆς αἰσθήσεως, οὐκ ἀπώλεια τῶν σωμάτων. *Id. serm. 8.*

ʳ Καὶ τὸ κόσμον φημὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ γίνεσθαι μέρος αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ ἀφανεῖ, μηδέποτε δὲ λύεσθαι. *Id. serm. 11.*

ˢ Οὐ γὰρ ποιεῖ, τὴν γνωμένων ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ δείκνυσιν· ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φθορὰ τοῦ ὄντος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ὄν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἄδηλον ἀπαγωγὴ τοῦ διαλυθέντος. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς δόξαντες νομίζοντες. Δήλιον καὶ Πύθιον προσαγορεῦσαι. τὸν δὲ ἐναντίας κύριον μοίρας, εἴτε θεὸς, εἴτε δαίμων ὅστις, Ἅιδην ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀόρατον ἡμῖν, ὅταν διαλυθῶμεν, βαδίζόντων. Plutarch. in illud, Λάθε βιώσας. ᵗ Idem hic Diespiter dicitur, infimus aër, qui est conjunctus terræ, ubi omnia oriuntur, ubi aboriuntur: quorum quòd finis ortus, Orcus dictus. *Varro, de linguâ Latin. lib. 4. cap. 10.*

tus,

tus, Orcus dictus, saith *Varro*. [u] *All this earthly power and nature*, saith *Iulius Firmicus*, *they named Ditem patrem, because this is the nature of the earth, that all things do both fall into it, & taking their originall from thence, doe againe proceed out of it.* Whence the earth is brought in, using this speech unto God, in *Hermes*. [x] *I doe receive the nature of all things. For I, according as thou hast commanded, doe both beare all things, and receive such as are deprived of life.*

The use which wee make of the testimony of *Hippocrates*, and those other authorities of the heathen, is to shew, that the Greeke Interpreters of the old Testament did most aptly assume the word *Hádes*, to expresse that common state and place of corruption which was signified by the Hebrew *Sheól*. and therefore in the last verse of the 17. of *Iob*, where the Greeke maketh mention of *descending into Hádes*; [y] *Comitolus* the Iesuite noteth that S. *Ambrose* rendreth it, *in sepulchrum, into the grave*. which agreeth well with the paraphrase that the Greeke Scholiasts make upon that place. [z] *Is it not a thing common unto all men, to die? is not Hell* (or *Hádes*) *the house for all? doe not all finde there an end of their labours?* Yea, some doe thinke, that *Homer* himselfe doth take ἄϊδης either for the *earth* or the *grave*, in those verses of the *eighth* of his *Iliads*.

Ἠ μὲν ἑλὼν, ῥίψω εἰς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,
Τῆλε μάλ' ἧχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἔστι βέρεθρον.
Ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι, καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
Τόσσον ἔνερθ' ἄϊδεω, ὅσσον ἀπὸ γαίης.

[u] Terrenam vim omnem atque naturam, Ditem patrem dicunt: quia hæc est natura terræ, ut & recidunt in eam omnia, & rursus ex eâ orta procedant. *Iul. Firmic. Matern. de errore profan. relig. ex Ciceron. lib. 2 de natur. Deor.*

[x] Χωρῶ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ φύσιν πάντων· αὐτὴ γὰρ, ὡς σὺ προστέταξας, καὶ φέρω πάντα, καὶ τὰ φθειρόμενα δέχομαι Herm. Minerva Mundi, apud Io. Stobæum in Eclogis Physicis, pag. 124.

[y] *Paul. Comitol. Caten. Græc. in Iob 17. vlt.*

[z] An non commune est mortalium omnium movi? an non Infernus est omnium domicilium? an non illic omnes suorum laborum exitum inveniunt? *Polychronius, vel Olympiodorus, in Catenâ, ibid.*

I'le

——*Ile cast him downe as deepe*
As Tartarus (the brood of night) where Barathrum doth steepe
Torment in his profoundest sinkes; where is the floore of brasse,
And gates of iron: the place, for depth as far doth Hell surpasse,
As heaven for height exceeds the earth.

For *Tartarus* being commonly acknowledged to be a part of *Hádes*, and to bee the very *Hell* where the wicked spirits are tormented: they thinke the *Hell*, from whence *Homer* maketh it to bee as farre distant as the heaven is from the earth, can bee referred to nothing so fitly as to the *Earth* or the *Grave*. It is taken also for a *tombe* in that place of *Pindarus*.

a —— Ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες ἀΐδαν Βασιλέες ἱεροὶ ἐντί.

a Pindar. Pyth. Od. 5.

Other sacred Kings have gotten a tombe apart by themselves before the houses, or before the gates of the Citie. And therefore wee see that Ἄϊδας is by *Suidas* in his Lexicon expressely interpreted ὁ τάφος, and by *Hesychius*, τύμβος, τάφος, *a tombe*, or *a grave*. and in the Greeke Dictionarie set out by the Romanists themselves, for the better understanding of the Bible, it is noted, that b *Hádes* doth not onely signifie that which wee commonly call *Hell*, but the *Sepulchre* or grave also. Of which, because *Stapleton* and *Bellarmine* doe denie that any proofe can be brought: these instances following may be considered.

b Ἅιδης, Orcus, Tartarus, Sepulchrum. *Lexic. Græcolat. in sacro Apparatu Biblior. Regior. edit. Antuerp. An.* 1572.

In the booke of *Tobi*, chap. 3. 10. *I shall bring my fathers old age with sorrow*, εἰς ᾅδου, *vnto Hell*: what can it import else, but that which is in other wordes expressed

preſſed, *chap.* 6. 14. *I ſhall bring my fathers life with ſorrow*, εἰς τὸν τάφον, *vnto the grave?* In the 93. and 113. Pſalmes, according to the Greeke deviſion, or the 94. and 115. according to the Hebrew; where the Hebrew hath דומה the place of *ſilence* (meaning the *grave*, as our Adverſaries themſelves do grant) there the Greeke hath *Hádes* or *Hell*. In *Eſai.* 14. 19. where the vulgar Latine tranſlateth out of the Hebrew; *Deſcenderunt ad fundamenta laci, quaſi cadaver putridum: They deſcended vnto the foundations of the lake* or *pit, as a rotten carkaſſe*: in ſtead of the Hebrew בור which ſignifieth *the lake* or *pit*, the Greeke both there and in *Eſai.* 38. 18. putteth in *Hádes* or *Hell*. and on the other ſide, *Ezech.* 32. 21. where the Hebrew ſaith, *The ſtrong among the mightie ſhall ſpeake to him out of the middeſt of Sheól*, or *Hell*; there the Greeke readeth, εἰς ᾅδου λάκκου, or ἐν ᾅδου βόθρῳ *in the depth of the lake*, or *pit*: by *Hell*, *lake* and *pit*, nothing but the *grave* being underſtood; as appeareth by comparing this verſe with the five that come after it. So in theſe places following, where in the Hebrew is *Sheól*, in the Greeke *Hádes*, in the Latine *Infernus* or *Inferi*, in the Engliſh *Hell*: the place of dead bodies, and not of ſoules is to bee underſtood. *Gen.* 44. 29. *Yee ſhall bring downe my gray haires with ſorrow vnto Hell*. and verſe 31. *Thy ſervants ſhall bring downe the gray haires of our father with ſorrow vnto Hell*. where no lower Hell can bee conceited, into which gray haires may bee brought, than the Grave. So 1. *King.* 2. 6. *David* giveth this charge vnto *Salomon* concerning *Ioab*: *Let not his hoare head goe downe to Hell in peace*. and in the ninth verſe concerning *Shimei*: *His hoare head bring*

thou

thou downe to Hell with blood. Psalm. 141.7. *Our bones are scattered at the mouth of Hell.* Esai. 14. 11. *Thy pompe is brought downe to Hell: the worme is spread under thee, and the wormes cover thee.* Psalm. 6.5. *In death there is no remembrance of thee: in Hell who shall give thee thankes?* of which there can bee no better paraphrase, then that which is given in *Psalm.* 88.11,12. *Shall thy loving kindenesse bee declared in the grave? or thy faithfulnesse in destruction? Shall thy wonders be knowne in the darke? and thy righteousnesse in the land of forgetfulnesse?*

Andradius in his defence of the faith of the Councell of *Trent*, speaking of the difference of reading which is found in the Sermon of Saint *Peter*, Act. 2. 24. (where God is said to have raised up our Saviour, *loosing the sorrowes of Death*, as the Greek bookes commonly reade, or *the sorrowes of Hell*, as the Latin) saith for reconciliation thereof, that [c] *there will be no disagreement betwixt the Latine and Greeke copies, if wee doe marke that Hell in this place is used for Death and the Grave, according to the Hebrewes manner of speaking: as in the* 15. *Psalme, which Peter presently after citeth; Because thou wilt not leave my soule in Hell.* and Esai. 38. *For Hell cannot confesse unto thee. For when he disputeth* (saith he) *of the resurrection of Christ, hee confirmeth by many and most evident testimonies of David, that Christ did suffer death for mankinde in such*

c Nullum erit inter Latina Græcaq; exemplaria dissidiū, si animadvertamus infernū hoc loco pro morte atque sepulchro, Hebræorum dicendi more, usurpari: ut Psal. 15. quem mox Petrus citat; Quoniam non derelinquisti animam meam in inferno.

& Esai. 38. Quia non infernus confitebitur tibi. Nam cum de Christi resurrectione disseruerat; multis atque apertissimis Davidis testimoniis confirmat, ita pro humano genere mortem Christum obiisse, ut morte obrui & delitescere inter mortuos diu non posset. Videtur autem mihi per dolores inferni sive mortis, mortem doloris atque miseriarum plenam, Hebræorum dicendi more, significari: sicut Matthæi cap. 24. abominatio desolationis accipiatur pro desolatione abominanda. *Andrad. defens. Triden. fid. lib. 2.*

sort,

sort, that hee could not bee overwhelmed with death nor long lye hidden among the dead. And it seemeth to mee, that by the sorrowes of Hell or Death, a death full of sorrow and miseries is signified, according to the Hebrewes manner of speaking: as in Matth. 24. the abomination of desolation is taken for an abominable desolation. Thus farre Andradius: cleerely forsaking herein his fellow-defenders of the Tridentine faith, who by the one text of *looſing the ſorrowes of death*, would faine prove Chriſts deſcending to free the ſoules that were tormented in Purgatory; and by the other of *not leauing his ſoule in Hell*, his deſcending into Limbus to deliver the ſoules of the fathers that were at reſt in Abrahams boſome.

The former of theſe texts, *Act.* 2. 24. is thus expounded by *Ribera* the Ieſuite. [d] *God raiſed him up looſing and making void the ſorrowes of death, that is to ſay, that which death by ſo many ſorrowes had effected; namely, that the ſoule ſhould bee ſeparated from the body.* His fellow *Sà* interpreteth *the looſing of the ſorrowes of death* to bee the [e] *delivering of him from the troubles of death: although ſorrow* (ſaith hee) *may bee the epithet of death; becauſe it uſeth to bee joyned with death.* The Apoſtles ſpeech hath manifeſt reference to the words of *David*, 2. *Sam.* 22. 5, 6. and *Pſal.* 18. (al. 17.) 4,5. where in the former verſe mention is made of חבלי מות *the ſorrowes of death*, in the latter of חבלי שאול which by the *Septuagint* is in the place of the Pſalmes tranſlated ὠδῖνες ᾅδου, *the ſorrowes of Hell*, in 2. *Sam.* 22. 6. [f] ὠδῖνες θανάτου, *the ſorrowes of Death*; according to the explication following in the end of the ſelfe ſame verſe. The ſorrowes of *Hell* compaſſed me about;

d Suſcitavit illum Deus, ſolvens & irritans dolores mortis, hoc eſt, quod per tot dolores mors effecerat, ut ſcilicet anima ſepararetur à corpore. Fr. Ribera, in Hoſe. cap. 13. num. 23.

e Quaſi dicat, Ereptu à mortis moleſtiis: has enim dolores vocat quamquam mortis epitheton poſſit eſſe dolor; quod morti conjungi ſoleat. Emman. Sá, Notat. in Act. 2. 24.

f Iuedit. Aldinâ & Vaticanâ. nam Complutenſis habet ὠδῖνα ᾅδου.

about; the ſnares of *Death* prevented mee. and in *Pſal.* 116.3. The ſorrowes of *Death* compaſſed mee, and the paines of *Hell* found mee, or, gate hold vpon mee. where *Lyranus* hath this note. [g] *In the Hebrew for Hell is put Sheól: which doth not ſignifie onely Hell, but ſignifieth alſo the pit, or the grave; and ſo it is taken here, by reaſon it followeth upon Death.* The like expli catorie repetition is [h] noted alſo by the Interpreters to have beene uſed by the Prophet, in that other text alleaged out of *Pſal.* 16.10. as in *Pſal.* 30. (*al.* 29.) 3. Ἀνήγαγες ἐξ ᾅδου τὴν ψυχήν μου, ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβαινόντων εἰς λάκκον. *Thou haſt brought up my ſoule from Hell, thou haſt kept mee ſafe* (or *alive*) *from thoſe that goe downe to the pit.* and *Iob* 33.22. Ἤγγισε δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾅδῃ. *His ſoule drew neere unto death, and his life unto Hell.* whence that in the prayer of *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sirach* is taken *Eccleſiaſtic.* 51. Ἤγγισεν ἕως θανάτου ἡ ψυχή μου, καὶ ἡ ζωή μου ἦν σύνεγγυς ᾅδου κάτω. *My ſoule drew neere unto death, and my life was neere to Hell beneath.* And therefore for *Hell* doth *Pagnin* in his tranſlation of the ſixteenth Pſalme, put the *Grave* (being therein alſo followed in the Interlinearie Bible [i] approved by the Cenſure of the Vniverſitie of *Louain*) and in the notes upon the ſame, that goe under the name of *Vatablus*, the word *Soule* is (by comparing of this with *Levit.* 21.1.) expounded to bee the *Body*. So doth *Arias Montanus* directly interpret this text of the Pſalme: [k] *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoule in the grave, that is to ſay, my body.* and *Iſidorus Clarius* in his annotations upon the *ſecond* of the *Acts*, ſaith that,

g In Hebræo pro inferno ponitur *Sheol*: quod non ſolùm ſignificat infernum, ſed etiam ſignificat foſſam, ſive ſepulturam; & ſic accipitur hîc, eò quòd ſequitur ad mortem. *Nic. de Lyra, in Pſal.* 114.

h בפל ענין במלות שונות R Dav. Kimchi in Pſal. 16 10. Hoc meliùs ex ſuâ conſuetudine explicans, exaggeranſq; 5 Nec dabis ſanctũ tuũ videre corruptionem. *Aug. Steuchus.*

i Cenſorum Lovanienſium judicio examinata, & Academiæ ſuffragio comproba ta. *Biblia interlin. edit. an.* 1572

k Non relinques animam meam in ſepulchro. *Pſal.* 16.10. id eſt, Corpus meum. *Ar. Montan. in Hebraicæ linguæ Idiotiſmis, voc. Anima, in ſacr. Bibl. Apparat. edit. an.* 1572.

[*My ſoule in Hell*] in that place is according to the manner of ſpeech uſed by the Hebrewes, put for [[1] *My body in the grave or tombe.*] leſt any man ſhould thinke that Maſter *Beza* was the firſt deviſer or principall author of this interpretation.

1 Heb. pro, Corpus meum in ſepulchro vel tumulo. *Iſid. Clarius, in Act. 2.*

Yet him alone doth Cardinall *Bellarmine* ſingle out here, to trie his manhood upon: but doth ſo miſerably acquit himſelfe in the encounter, that it may well be doubted whether hee laboured therein more to croſſe *Beza*, then to ſtrive with himſelfe in the wilfull ſuppreſſing of the light of his owne knowledge. For whereas *Beza* in his notes upon *Act.* 2.27. had ſhewed out of the 1. and 11. verſes of the 21. chapter of *Leviticus*, and other places of Scripture, that the Hebrew word נפש, which wee tranſlate *Soule*, is put for a dead body: the Cardinall, to rid himſelfe handſomely of this which pinched him very ſhrewdly, telleth us in ſober ſadneſſe, [m] *that there is a very great difference betwixt* the Hebrew נפש & the Greek ψυχὴ. *For* נפש (ſaith hee) *is a moſt generall word, and ſignifieth without any trope as well the ſoule as the living creature it ſelfe, yea and the body it ſelfe alſo; as by very many places of Scripture it doth appeare.* And therefore in *Leviticus*, where that name is given unto dead bodies, *one part is not put for another, to wit, the ſoule for the body; but a word, which doth uſually ſignifie the body it ſelfe: or the whole at leaſtwiſe is put for the part, namely the living creature for the body thereof. But in the ſecond of the Acts* ψυχὴ *is put, which ſignifieth the ſoule alone.*

[m] Dico, multũ inter נפש & ψυχὴ intereſſe. Nam נפש eſt generaliſsima vox, & ſignificat ſine ullo tropo tam animam, quàm animal, immò etiam corpus; ut patet ex plurimis Scripturæ locis. &c. Itaque in Levitico non ponitur pars pro parte, id eſt, anima pro corpore; ſed vocabulum, quod ipſum corpus ſignificare ſolet: aut certè ponitur totum pro parte, id eſt, vivens pro corpore. At Actor. 2. ponitur ψυχὴ, quæ animam ſolam ſignificat. *Bellarm. de Chriſt. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

alone. Now did not the Cardinall know (thinke you) in his owne conſcience, that as in the *ſecond* of the *Acts*, ψυχὴ is put, where the originall text of the Pſalm there alleaged hath נפש, ſo on the other ſide, in thoſe places of *Leviticus* (which hee would faine make to bee ſo different from this) where the originall text readeth נפש, there the Greeke alſo putteth ψυχὴ? Doe wee not there reade, Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν, *Levit.* 21. 1. and in the 11. *verſe*: ὅτι πάσῃ ψυχῇ τετελευτηκυίᾳ οὐκ εἰσπορεύσεται, *Hee ſhall not goe in to any dead ſoule*, that is, to any dead body? The Cardinall himſelfe bringeth in *Num.* 23. 10. and 31. 35. and *Gen.* 37. 21. and *Num.* 19. 13. to prove that נפש doth ſignifie either the whole man, or his verie bodie: and muſt not the word ψυχὴ, which the Greeke Bible uſeth in all thoſe places, of neceſſitie alſo bee expounded after the ſame manner? Take, for example, that laſt place (which is moſt pertinent to the purpoſe) *Numb.* 19. 13. Πᾶς ὁ ἁπτόμενος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου, which the vulgar Latine rendreth, *Omnis qui tetigerit humanæ animæ morticinum*: and compare it with the 11. *verſe*; Ὁ ἁπτόμενος τοῦ τεθνηκότος πάσης ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου, *Hee that toucheth any ſoule of a dead man* (that is, as the vulgar Latin rightly expoundeth the meaning of it, *Qui tetigerit cadaver hominis*, *Hee that toucheth the dead body of any man*) *ſhall bee uncleane ſeven dayes*. and we ſhall need no other proofe, that the Greeke word ψυχὴ, being put for the Hebrew נפש, may ſignifie the *dead body* of a man: even as the Latin *Anima* alſo doth, in that place of the heathen Poet, --[n] *animamq; ſepulchro Condimus*. *Wee buried his ſoule in the grave*. The argument therefore drawne from the nature of

n *Virgil. AEneid.* 3.

the word ψυχὴ doth no way hinder that in *Act.* 2. 27. *Thou wilt not leave my ſoule*, ſhould bee interpreted, either *Thou wilt not leave mee* (as in the 31. verſe following, where the Greeke text ſaith that *his ſoule was not left*, the old Latin hath, *Hee was not left*) or, *Thou wilt not leave my body*. as the Interpreters, writing upon that place, *Geneſ.* 46. 26. *All the ſoules that came with Iacob into Egypt which came out of his loynes*, doe generally expound it, either by a *Synecdoche*, whereby the one part of the man is put for the whole perſon (as wee may ſee in the commentaries upon Geneſis attributed to *Eucherius*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 31. *Alcuinus* in *Geneſ. interrog.* 269. *Anſelmus Laudunenſis* in the interlinearie Gloſſe, *Lyranus* and others) or by a *Metonymie*, whereby that which is contained is put for that which doth containe it; for illuſtration whereof, S. *Auguſtine* very aptly bringeth in this example.[o] *As wee give the name of a Church unto the materiall building, wherein the people are contained, unto whom the name of the Church doth properly appertaine; by the name of the Church, that is, of the people which are contained, ſignifying the place which doth containe them: ſo becauſe the ſoules are contained in the bodies, by the ſoules here named the bodies of the ſonnes* (of *Iacob*) *may bee underſtood. For ſo may that alſo be taken, where the Law ſaith that hee is defiled, who ſhall goe into a dead ſoule*, (Levit. 21. 11.) *that is, to the carkaſſe of a dead man; that by the name of a dead ſoule, the dead body may bee underſtood which did containe the ſoule:*

o Sicut ergo appellamus Eccleſiam baſilicam, quâ continetur populus, qui verè appellatur Eccleſia; ut nomine Eccleſiæ, id eſt, populi qui continetur, ſignificemus locum qui continet: ita quòd animæ corporibus continentur, intelligi corpora filiorum per nominatas animas poſſunt. Sic enim meliùs accipitur etiam illud quod Lex inquinari dicit eum, qui intraverit ſuper animam mortuam, hoc eſt, ſuper defuncti cadaver; ut nomine animæ mortuæ, mortuum corpus intelligatur, quod animam continebat: quia & abſente populo, id eſt Eccleſiâ, locus tamen ille nihilominus Eccleſia nuncupatur. *Auguſt. epiſt.* 157. *ad Optat.*

even

even as when the people are abſent, which bee the Church, yet the place nevertheleſſe is ſtill tearmed the Church.

Yea but [p] *the word Hádes* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *as wee have ſhewed, doth alwayes ſignifie Hell, and never the Grave. But the body of Chriſt was not in Hell: therefore his ſoule was there.* If hee had ſaid, that the word *Hádes* did either *rarely or never* ſignifie the *Grave*, although hee had not therein ſpoken truly, yet it might have argued a little more modeſtie in him, and that hee had taken ſome care alſo, that his latter conceits ſhould hold ſome better correſpondencie with the former. For hee might have remembred, how in the place unto which hee doth referre us, hee had ſaid, that [q] the LXXII. Seniors did *every where* in their tranſlation put *Hádes* in ſtead of *Sheól*: which (as he there hath told us) *is ordinarily taken for the place of ſoules under the earth, and either rarely or never for the grave.* But wee have ſhewed, not onely out of thoſe Dictionaries, unto which the [r] Cardinall doth referre us (having forgotten firſt to looke into them himſelfe) but by allegation of diverſe particular inſtances likewiſe (unto none of which hee hath made any anſwer) that *Hádes* in the tranſlation of the LXXII. Seniors is not rarely, but very uſually taken for the place of dead bodies. So for the uſe of the word *Infernus* in the Latin tranſlation; *Lyranus* noteth, that it is [s] *taken in the Scripture*, not for the place of the damned onely, but alſo *for the pit wherein dead mens carkaſſes were laid.* And among the Ieſuites, *Gaſpar Sanctius* yeeldeth for the generall, that [t] *Infernus* or Hell *is frequently in the Scripture taken for buriall:*

p Vox ἅδης, ut ſuprà oſtendimus, ſignificat ſemper infernum, nunquam ſepulchrum. At corpus Chriſti non fuit in inferno: ergo anima ibi fuit. *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Chriſto, cap. 12.*

q *Id. ibid. c. 10.*

r Conſulantur omnia dictionaria. *Ibid. c. 12.*

s Accipitur Infernus in Scripturâ dupliciter. uno modo pro foſsâ, ubi ponuntur mortuorum cadavera. Alio modo pro loco ubi deſcendunt animæ damnatorum ad purgandum, & generaliter illorum, qui non admittuntur ſtatim ad gloriam. *Lyran. in Eſai. 5.*

t Eſt in Scripturâ frequens infernum pro ſepulturâ, atq; adeò pro morte ſumi. *Gaſp. Sanct. commentar. in Act. 2. ſect. 56.*

and in particular, *Emmanuel Sà* confeſſeth it to bee ſo taken, in Gen. 42. 38. 1. Sam. 2. 6. Iob 7. 9. and 21. 13. Pſal. 29. 4. and 87. 4. and 93. 17. and 113. 17. and 114. 3. and 140. 7. (according to the Greeke diviſion) Prov. 1. 12. and 23. 14. Eccleſiaſt. 9. 10. Cantic. 8. 6. Eccleſiaſtic. 51. 7. Eſai. 28. 15. and 38. 10. Baruch. 2. 17. Dan. 3. 88. (in the Hymne of the three Children) and 2. Maccab. 6. 23. in all which places, *Hádes* being uſed in the Greeke, and *Inferi* or *Infernus* in the Latin, it is acknowledged by the [u] *Ieſuite*, that the *Grave* is meant: which by [x] *Bede* alſo is termed *Infernus exterior*, the *exterior Hell*. So *Alcuinus*, moving the queſtion, how that ſpeech of *Iacob* ſhould bee underſtood, Geneſ. 37. 35. *I will goe downe to my ſonne mourning into Hell.* maketh anſwer: that [y] *theſe be the words of a troubled & grieving man, amplifying his evils even from hence. or elſe* (ſaith hee) *by the name of Hell hee ſignified the Grave: as if hee ſhould have ſaid. I remaine in ſorrow, untill the earth doe receive mee, as the grave hath done him.*

So *Primaſius*, expounding the place, Hebr. 13. 20. [z] *God the father* (ſaith hee) *brought his Sonne from the dead, that is to ſay, from Hell; or from the Grave: according to that which the Pſalmiſt had foretold; Thou wilt not ſuffer thine holy one to ſee corruption.* And *Maximus Taurinenſis* ſaith, that [a] *Mary Magdalene received a reproofe, becauſe after the Reſurrection ſhee ſought our Lord in the grave, and not remembring his words, whereby hee had ſaid that the third day he would returne from*

u *Emm. Sà, Notat. in Scriptur.*

x *Bed. in Pſalm. 48.*

y Perturbati & dolentis verba ſunt, mala ſua etiam hinc exaggerantis. vel etiam inferni nomine ſepulchrum ſignificavit, quaſi diceret: In luctu maneo donec me terra ſuſcipiat, ſicut illum ſepulchrum. *Alcuin. in Gen. Interrog. 256.*

z Deus ergo pater eduxit filium ſuum de mortuis: hoc eſt, de inferno, vel de ſepulchro, juxta quod Pſalmiſta prædixerat: Non dabis ſanctum tuum videre corruptionem. *Primaſ. in. Hebr. 13.*

a Maria Magdalene non leviter fuit objurgata, cur poſt reſurrectionem Dominum quæreret in ſepulchro; & non reminiſcens verborum ejus, quibus ſe ab inferis tertiâ die rediturum eſſe dixerat, putaret eum inferni legibus detineri. *Maxim. Taurin. de ſepultur. Dom. homil. 4.*

Hell,

Hell, ſhee thought him ſtill to bee detained by the lawes of Hell. And therefore (ſaith hee) while [b] *ſhee did ſeeke the Lord in the Grave among the reſt of the dead, ſhee is reprehended, and it is ſaid unto her: Why ſeekeſt thou him that liveth, among the dead? that is to ſay, Why ſeekeſt thou him among them that are in the Infernall parts, who is now knowne to have returned unto the Supernall?* [c] *For hee that ſeeketh for him either in the infernall places, or in the graves, to him it is ſaid; Why ſeekeſt thou him that liveth among the Dead?* And to the ſame purpoſe hee applieth thoſe other words of our Saviour unto *Mary*; *Touch mee not, for I am not yet aſcended unto my Father.* As if he had ſaid. [d] *Why doeſt thou deſire to touch mee, who while thou ſeekeſt mee among the Graves, doeſt not as yet beleeve that I am aſcended to my Father: who while thou ſearcheſt for mee among the Infernals, doeſt diſtruſt that I am returned to the Cœleſtials; while thou ſeekeſt mee among the dead, doeſt not hope that I doe live with my Father?* Where his *Inferi* and *Inferna*, doe plainly import no more but *Tumulos* and *Sepulchra*.

Hereupon *Ruffinus* in his Expoſition of the Creed, having given notice, [e] *That, in the Symbol of the Church of Rome there is not added, Hee deſcended into Hell, nor in the Churches of the Eaſt neither*; adioyneth preſently: *Yet the force* or meaning *of the word ſeemeth to bee the ſame, in that he is ſaid to have beene buried.* Which ſome thinke to bee the cauſe, why in all the

b Vnde & illa Maria Magdalene, quæ Dominum inter cæteros defunctos in ſepulchro querebat, arguitur, & dicitur illi: Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? hoc eſt, Quid quæris apud inferos, quem redijſſe jam conſtat ad ſuperos? *Id. de eâd. homil.* 3.

c Nam qui eum aut in infernis requirit, aut tumulis, dicitur ei; Quid quæris viventem cum mortuis? *Ibid.*

d Quid me contingere cupis, quæ me dum inter tumulos quæris, adhuc ad Patrem aſcendiſſe non credis: quæ dum me inter inferna ſcrutaris, ad cœleſtia rediiſſe diffidis; dum inter mortuos quæris, vivere cum Deo patre meo non ſperas? *Id. de ſepultur. Dom. homil.* 4.

e Sciendum ſanè eſt, quòd in Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum; Deſcendit ad inferna: ſed neque in Orientis eccleſijs habetur hic ſermo. Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur eſſe in eo quod ſepultus dicitur. *Ruffin. in expoſit. Symbol.*

ancient Symbolls that are knowne to have beene written within the first 600. yeares after Christ (that of *Aquileia* onely excepted, which *Ruffinus* followed) where the *buriall* is expressed, there the descending into *Hell* is omitted; as in that of *Constantinople*, for example, commonly called the *Nicene* Creed: and on the other side, where the *descent into Hell* is mentioned, there the article of the *buriall* is past over; as in that of *Athanasius*. And to say the truth, the tearmes of *buriall* & *descending into Hell* in the Scripture phrase tend much to the expressing of the selfe same thing: but that the bare naming of the one doth lead us onely to the consideration of the *honour of buriall*, the addition of the other intimateth unto us that which is more *dishonourable* in it. Thus under the *buriall* of our Saviour may be comprehended his ἐνταφιασμὸς and ταφὴ, his *funeration* and his *interring*: which are both of them set downe in the end of the 19. Chapter of the Gospell according to Saint *Iohn*. the latter in the two last verses, where *Ioseph* and *Nicodemus* are said to have *laide him in a new Sepulcher, wherin was never man yet laide*: the former in the two verses going before, where it is recorded that they *wound his body in linnen cloathes, with spices*, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν, *as it is the manner of the Iewes to burie*. For to the ἐνταφιασμὸς or *funeration* belongeth the imbalming of the dead body, and all other offices that are performed unto it while it remaines above ground. So *Genes.* 50. 2. where the *Physitians* are said to have *imbalmed Israel*; the Greeke translators render it: ἐνεταφίασαν οἱ ἐνταφιασταὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ. And when *Mary* powred the precious ointment upon our Saviour; himselfe

himſelfe interpreteth this to have beene done for his [f]*funeration* or buriall. [g] *For it was a cuſtome in times paſt* (ſaith *Euſebius*, commonly called *Emiſſenus*) *that the bodies of noble men being to bee buried, ſhould firſt bee annointed with precious Oyntments, and buried with Spices.* And [h] *who knoweth not* (ſaith *Stapleton*) *that a Sepulcher is an honour to the dead, and not a diſgrace?* But the mention of *Sheól* (which hath ſpeciall relation, as hath beene ſhewed, to the diſpoſing of the dead body unto *corruption*) and ſo of *Hádes*, *Infernus*, or *Hell*, anſwering thereunto, carrieth us further to the conſideration of that which the Apoſtle calleth the *ſowing* of the body in *corruption* and *diſhonour*. (1. Corinth. 15. 42, 43.) For which, that place in S. *Auguſtine* is worth the conſideration. [i] *Did not the Hells* (or, the Grave) *give teſtimony unto Chriſt, when looſing their power, they reſerved* Lazarus *(whom they had received to diſſolve) for foure dayes together; that they might reſtore him ſafe againe, when they did heare the voice of their Lord commanding it?* where you may obſerve an *Hell* appointed for the diſſolution of dead mens bodies: the deſcending into which (according to *Ruffinus* his note) differeth little or nothing from the deſcending into the *Grave*.

In the thirteenth of the Acts S. *Paul* preacheth unto the Iewes, that God raiſed up his Sonne from the dead, [k] *not to returne now any more unto corruption:* and yet preſently addeth, that therein was verified that propheſie in the Pſalme; [l] *Thou wilt not ſuffer thy*

f *Matth.* 26. 12. *Mar.* 14. 8. *Ioh.* 12. 7.

g Mos enim antiquitùs fuit, ut nobilium corpora ſepelienda vnguentis pretioſis vngerentur, & cum aromatibus ſepelirentur. *Euſeb. Emiſſ. homil. Dominic. in Ramis Palmarum.*

h Quis neſcit ſepulchrum mortuo honori eſſe, non dedecori; & quorandam ſceleribus ſepulchra negari? *Stapleton. Antidot. in* 1. *Cor.* 15. 55.

i Nonne inferna Chriſto teſtimonium perhibuerunt, quando jure ſuo perdito Lazarum, quem diſſolvendum acceperant, integrum per quatriduum reſervaverunt; ut incolumen redderent, cùm vocem Domini ſui jubentis audirent? *Orat. contra Judæos, Pagan. & Arrian. cap.* 17. *tom.* 6. *Oper. Auguſtin.*

k Μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν. Act. 13. 34. l Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. Ibid. verſ. 35. ex Pſal. 16. 10.

Holy

Holy one to ſee corruption. implying thereby, that hee deſcended in ſome ſort for a time into corruption, although in that time hee did not ſuffer corruption. And [m] *doe not wonder* (ſaith S. *Ambroſe*) *how he ſhould deſcend into corruption, whoſe fleſh did not ſee corruption. Hee did deſcend indeed into the place of corruption, who pierced the Hells; but being uncorrupted hee ſhut out corruption.* For as the word שחת, which the Prophet uſeth in the Pſalme, doth ſignifie as well the *Pit* or place of corruption, as the *corruption* it ſelfe: ſo alſo the word διαφθορὰ, whereby S. *Luke* doth expreſſe the ſame, is uſed by the Greeke Interpreters of the old Teſtament to ſignifie not the corruption it ſelfe alone, but the very place of it likewiſe. As where we reade in Pſalm. 7. 15. *Hee is fallen into the pit which hee made.* and, Pſalm. 9. 16. *The Heathen are ſunke downe in the pit that they made.* and Proverb. 26. 27. *Who ſo diggeth a pit, ſhall fall therein. Aquila* in the firſt place, the *Septuagint* in the ſecond, *Aquila* and *Symmachus* in the third, retaine the Greeke word διαφθορὰ. So that our Saviour deſcending into *Sheól, Hades,* or *Hell,* may thus bee underſtood to have *deſcended into corruption,* that is to ſay, into the pit or *place of corruption,* (as S. *Ambroſe* interpreteth it) although he were free in the meane time from the *paſsion of corruption.* And becauſe שאול and שחת, ᾅδης and διαφθορὰ, *Hell* & *Corruption,* have reference to the ſelfe ſame thing: therefore doth the Arabicke interpreter, * tranſlated by *Iunius,* in Acts 2. 31. (or, as the Arabian divideth the booke, Acts 4. 10.) confound them together, and retaine the ſame word in both the parts of the ſentence, after this manner. *Hee was not left in perdition,*

m Ne miteris quomodo deſcenderit in corruptionem; cujus caro non vidit corruptionem. Deſcendit quidem in locum corruptionis, qui penetravit inferna; ſed corruptionem incorruptus excluſit. *Ambroſ. de Virginib. lib. 3.*

* *Ann.* 1578. although in the Arabick Teſtament, printed by Erpenius *anno* 1616. the termes be varied:

الهاوية al-hawiyato *being put for* Hell, *and*

فساد phalada *for* corruption.

dition, neither did his fleſh ſee perdition. even as in the 29. Pſalme (or the 30. according to the diviſion of the Hebrewes) the Arabicke readeth, [n] الجحيم *algiahymo* or *Hell*, where the Greeke hath διαφθορὰν, the Hebrew שחת, and the Chaldee paraphraſe בית קבורתא that is, *the houſe of the Grave.*

Athanaſius in his booke of the Incarnation of the Word, written againſt the Gentiles, obſeveth that when God threatned our firſt parents, that whatſoever day they did eate of the forbidden fruit they ſhould *die the death*, by [o] *dying the death*, hee ſignified, *that they ſhould not onely die, but alſo remaine in the corruption of death:* and that our Saviour comming to [p] free us from this corruption, *kept his owne body uncorrupted, as a pledge and an evidence of the future reſurrection of us all.* which hath wrought ſuch a contempt of death in his diſciples, that (as he addeth afterwards) we may [q] *ſee men which are by nature weake, leaping or dancing unto death, being not agaſt at the corruption thereof, nor fearing the deſcents into Hell.* So the Grecians ſing in their Liturgie at this day: [r] *The corruption-working pallace of Hell was diſſolved, when thou didſt ariſe out of the Grave, O Lord.* And againe; [s] *The ſtone is rowled away, the grave is emptied. Behold corruption is trodden under by life. That which was mortall is ſaved by the fleſh of God. Hell mourneth.* For God (ſaith

n *Pſalter Arabic. edit. Genuæ, an. 1516. & Romæ, an. 1619. Verùm in duobus meis Mss. exẽplaribus habetur hic.* الجحيم al-haláco, *quod* perditionem *vel* interitum *notat.*

o Τὸ γὰρ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε, τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀποθνήσκειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς θανάτου φθορᾷ διαμένειν; Athan. de Incarnat. Verbi, tom. 1. Oper. Græcolat. p. 29.

p Τοῦτο γὰρ ἵνα τῆς θανάτου ζύμωσιν, πάντας πεισώματος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν φθορὰς ἀπαλείψῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀφθαρσίαν εἰς πάντων ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον καὶ γνώρισμα τὴν ὅλην πάντας ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως τετήρηκεν ἄφθαρτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα. Ibid. pag. 54. q Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃ τις ἀνθρώπους ἀδεεῖς ὄντας τῇ φύσει, προπηδῶντας εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ μὴ καταπτήσσοντας αὐτοῦ τοῦ φθορέως, μηδὲ τὰς ἐν ᾅδου καταδόσεις δειλιῶντας, &c. Ibid. pag. 59.

r Κατελύθη καὶ τὸ τοῦ ᾅδου φθοροποιὸν βασιλεῖον, ἀναστάντος ἐκ τάφου σου Κύριε. Græci in Octoecho Anaſtaſimo.

s Ὁλίθος κεκύλισται, ὁ τάφος κεκένωται. ἴδετε τοῦ φθορέως τὴν ζωὴν πατηθεῖσαν &c. τὸ θνητὸν σῶμα σαρκὶ θεοῦ. ὁ ᾅδης θρηνεῖ. Cumulas, in Græcorum Pentecoſtario.

Origen)

† Origen) will neither leave our ſoules in Hell, nor ſuffer us to remaine for ever in Corruption: but hee that recalled him after the third day from Hell, will recall us alſo in fit time; and hee who granted unto him, that his fleſh ſhould not ſee corruption, will grant alſo unto us, not that our fleſh ſhall not ſee corruption, but that in fit time it ſhall bee freed from corruption.

† Neq; noſtras animas derelinquet in inferno nec dabit nos in corruptione in perpetuum manere: ſed qui illum poſt diem tertium revocavit ab inferis, & nos revocabit in tempore opportuno; & qui illi donavit, ut non videat caro ejus corruptionem, nobis donabit, non quidem ut non videat caro noſtra corruptionem, ſed ut liberetur à corruptione tempore opportuno. *Origen. tract.* 35. *in Matth. cap.* 27.

It may here alſo further be obſerved, that although the *Grecians* doe diſtinguiſh the *funeration* (whereof we ſpake) and the *interring*, by the different tearmes of ἐνταφιασμὸς and ταφὴ: yet the *Latins* doe uſe the ſelfe ſame word of *ſepulture* to denote the one as well as the other. And therefore in Geneſ. 50. 2. where wee read according to the Hebrew, that *Ioſeph commanded his ſervants the Phyſitians to imbalme his father*: the ancient Latin tranſlation made out of the Greek, expreſſed it thus; *Dixit Ioſeph ſervis ſuis ſepultoribus, ut ſepelirent patrem ejus. Ioſeph gave order to his ſervants the buryers, that they ſhould bury his father.* upon which place S. *Auguſtine* giveth this note. * *The Latin tongue doth not finde how it ſhould fitly expreſſe the Greeke word* ἐνταφιασὰς. *For they are not they that bury, that is, commit to the earth the bodies of the dead: which is not in Greeke* ἐνταφίασαν, *but* ἔθαψαν. *Thoſe* ἐνταφιασταὶ *therefore doe that which is performed to the bodies that are to bee interred, either by ſeaſoning or drying or lapping or binding*

* Non invenit lingua Latina quemadmodũ appellaret ἐνταφιασὰς. Non enim ipſi ſepeliunt, id eſt, terræ mandant corpora mortuorum: quod non eſt Græcè ἐνταφίασαν, ſed ἔθαψαν. Illi ergo ἐνταφιασταὶ id agunt quod exhibetur corporibus humandis, vel condiendo vel ſiccando, vel involvendo & alligando: in quo opere maximè Ægyptiorum cura præcellit. Quod ergo dicit etiam ſepelierunt, curaverunt intelligere debemus. Et quod dicit quadraginta dies ſepulturæ, ipſius curationis accipiendæ ſunt. Sepultus enim ille non eſt niſi ubi ſe mandaverat ſepeliri. *Auguſtin. Locution. de Geneſi, num.* 203.

binding them: in which worke the care of the Ægyptians exceedeth all others. Where therefore it is ſaid that they buried him, wee ought to underſtand that they dreſſed him: and what is ſpoken of his forty daies buriall, is to bee taken for this cure or dreſſing. For hee was not buried, but where hee commanded himſelfe to bee buried: namely, in the land of *Canaan*, not, where this was done, in the land of *Ægypt*.

And thus in the New Teſtament wee ſtill finde this ἐνταφιασμὸς in the vulgar Latine rendred by the tearme of *ſepulture*, and in our common Engliſh tranſlations by the word of *buriall*. As in the ſpeech of our Saviour touching his anointment by *Mary*, Matt. 26. 12. *Ad ſepeliendum me fecit. Shee did it for my buriall.* Marc. 14. 8. *Prævenit ungere corpus meum in ſepulturam. Shee is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.* Ioh. 12. 7. *Sinite illam, ut in diem ſepulturæ meæ ſervet illud.* which wee tranſlate: *Let her alone, againſt the day of my burying hath ſhee kept this.* and in the Hiſtory afterwards, Ioh. 19. 40. *Acceperunt ergo corpus Ieſu, & ligaverunt illud linteis cum aromatibus, ſicut mos eſt Iudæis ſepelire. Then tooke they the body of Ieſus, and wound it in linnen clothes with the ſpices, as the manner of the Iewes is to bury.* Which rite of *funeration* being ſo carefully recorded by the Evangeliſts, and by the old *Latin* Interpreter, expreſſely named his *ſepulture*, & withall made a diſtinct act from his laying in the *grave*: their opinion wanteth not ſome probability, who thinke that in the *Latin* Creed (for that which we commonly call the Creed of the Apoſtles was proper to the *Latin* Church, and both for the brevitie of the matter and the frame of

the

the words diverſe from the Eaſterne Symbols) in the *Latin* Creed, I ſay, *ſepultus*, or *buried*, might anſwer to the *funeration* (as in thoſe texts cited out of the Goſpell) and *Deſcendit ad inferna* or *inferos*, *Hee deſcended into Hell*, to his laying in the *grave*. which two diſtinct things, [a] *Ramus* alſo noteth in the French tongue to bee expreſſed by two diſtinct words, *Enſevelir* and *Enterrer*.

a P. Ramus, in Commentar. Relig. Chriſt. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Neither is it any whit ſtrange unto them that are converſant in the writings of the ancient Doctors, to heare that our Saviour by his going to the grave, deſcended into Hell, ſpoyled Hell, and brought away both his own body and the bodies of the Saints from Hell. We finde the queſtion moved by *Gregory Nyſſen*, in his Sermon upon the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*; [u] *how our Lord did diſpoſe himſelfe at the ſame time three manner of waies? both in the heart of the Earth,* (Matth. 12. 40.) *and in Paradiſe with the Thiefe,* (Luk. 23. 43.) *and in the hands of his Father.* (Luk. 23. 46.) [x] *For neither will any man ſay,* (quoth hee) *that Paradiſe is in the places under the earth, or the places under the earth in Paradiſe, that at the ſame time hee might bee in both; or that thoſe* (infernall) *places are called the hand of the Father.* Now for the laſt of theſe, hee ſaith the caſe is [y] plaine, that being in *Paradiſe* hee muſt needs bee in his *Fathers hands* alſo: but the greateſt doubt hee maketh to be, [z] *how hee ſhould* at the ſame time bee both in *Hádes and in Paradiſe*. For with

u Ζητεῖν γὰρ τὸν φιλοιμαθέστερον εἰκὸς, πῶς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τρισὶν ἑαυτὸν ὁ κύριος δέδωκεν, τῇ τε καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τῷ παραδείσῳ αὖ τῷ λῃστῇ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς χερσί. Greg. Nyſſ. in Paſcha, & Chriſti Reſurrect. tom 2. Oper. Græco-lat. pag. 823.

x Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ᾅδου χθονίοις εἶναί τις ἂν τὸν παράδεισον, ὅτε ἐν παραδείσῳ τὰ ᾅδου χθόνια (ὥστε κατὰ ταὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι) ἢ χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς λέγεσθαι ταῦτα. Ibid.

y Δῆλον ὅτι ὁ ἐν παραδείσῳ γενόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς πάντως ἐγκαταλέλειπται παλάμαις. Ibid pag. 825.

z Πῶς κατὰ ταὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ὁ Κύριος. Ibid pag. 824.

him,

him, the *heart of the earth*, the places *under the earth*, and *Hádes* or *Hell*, are in this queſtion one and the ſame thing. And his finall reſolution is, that in this Hell *Chriſt* remained with his dead Body, when with his ſoule hee brought the Thiefe into the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe. [a] *For by his body* (ſaith hee) *wherein hee ſuſtained not the corruption that followeth upon death, he deſtroyed him that had the power of Death: but by his ſoule he led the Thiefe into the entrance of Paradiſe. And theſe two did worke at the ſelfe ſame time, the Godhead accompliſhing the good by them both: namely, by the incorruption of the body, the diſſolution of death, and by the placing of the ſoule in his proper ſeat, the bringing backe of men unto Paradiſe againe.*

The like ſentence do we meet withall in the ſame Fathers Epiſtle unto *Euſtathia*, *Ambroſia*, and *Baſiliſſa*. [b] *His body hee cauſed by diſpenſation to bee ſeparated from his ſoule: but the indiviſible Deitie being once knit with that ſubject, was neither diſ-ioyned from the Body, nor the Soule, but was with the ſoule in Paradiſe, making way by the Thiefe for an entrance unto Mankinde thither; and with the body in the heart of the earth, deſtroying him that had the power of Death.* Wherewith wee may compare that place, which wee meet withall in the workes of S. *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*: wherein our Saviour is brought in ſpeaking after this

a Διὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ καταφθορὸν ἐκ ἐδέξατο, κατήργησε τὸ ἔχοντα τὸ θανάτου τὸ κράτος, διὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡδοποίησε τῷ λῃσῇ τὸν ὅπη τὸ παραδείσου εἴσοδον. καὶ τὰ δύο ἅμα ταύτην ἐνεργεῖται, δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῆς θεότητος τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατορθώσης· διὰ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἀφθαρσίας, τὸν τοῦ θανάτου καταλύσιν, διὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν πρὸς τὸν ἰδίαν ὁδὸν ἐπεισαγωγήν, τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ παραδείσου τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν. Ibid. pag. 825.

b Τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διαζεχθεῖσαι κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐποίησεν· ἡ δὲ ἀμέριστος θεότης ἅπαξ ἀνακραθεῖσα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ὅτε τοῦ σώματος ὅτε τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀπεσπάσθη. ἀλλὰ μὴν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γίνεται ὁδοποιοῦσα διὰ τοῦ λῃστοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις τὸν εἴσοδον· διὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς, ἀναιροῦσα τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου. Id. in Epiſt. ad Euſtath. ibid. pag. 1093.

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manner. [c] *I must descend into the very bottome of Hell, for the dead that are detained there. I must by the three dayes death of my Flesh overthrow the power of long continuing Death. I must light the lampe of my* BODY *unto them which sit in darkenesse & in the shadow of death.* And that of S. *Chrysostome* (who is accounted also to bee the author of that other Sermon attributed unto S. *Gregory* :) [d] *How were the brazen gates broken, and the iron barres burst? By his* BODY. *For then appeared first a body immortall, and dissolving the tyrannie of Death it selfe: whereby was shewed, that the force of Death was taken away, not that the sinnes of those who dyed before his comming were dissolved.* and that which wee reade in another place of his workes : [e] *He spoyled Hell, descending into Hell: hee made it bitter, when it tasted of his flesh. Which* Esay *understanding before hand, cryed out, saying: Hell was made bitter, meeting thee below.* (so the *Septuagint* render the words, Esai. 14. 19.) *it was made bitter: for it was destroyed. It was made bitter: for it was mocked. It received a* BODY, *and light upon God: it received Earth, and met with Heaven. it received that which it saw, and fell from that which it did not see.*

Thus *Cæsarius* expoũding the Parable, Luk. 13. 21.

c Δεῖ μεκατελθεῖν κὴ εἰς αὐτὸν τ̃ τ̃ ἅδε πυθμένα, ἵνα τοὺς ὀμεῖ κατεχομένους νεκρούς. δεῖ με τῇ τριημέρῳ τελευτῇ τ̃ ἐμῆς σαρκὸς καθελεῖν τ̃ πολυχρονίου θανάτου τὸ κράτ⊙. δεῖ με τ̃ σώματ⊙ μου τὸν λύχνον ἀνάψαι τοῖς ἐν σκότει κὴ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις. Gregor. Nocæs. serm. in Theophania, pag. 111. Oper. edit. Mogunt. & inter Opera Chrysost. tom. 7. edit. Savilian. pag. 660.

d Πῶς ἦν σωσχίδησαν πύλαι χαλκαῖ, κὴ μοχλοὶ σιδηροῖ συνεθλάσθησαν; διὰ τ̃ σώμα⊙ αὐτ̃. τότε γὰρ πρῶτον εἶδεί χθη τὸ ἀθάνατον κὴ διαλυτὸν αὐτῆ θανάτου τὸ τυραννίδα. ἄλλως ἢ, τοῦτο δεικνυσι τῆ θανάτου τὸ ἰσχὺν ἀνῃρημένην, ὃ ἦν πρὸ τ̃ παρουσίας αὐτ̃ τελευτησάντων τὰ ἀμαρτήματα λελυμένα. Chrysost. in Matth. cap. 11. hom. 36. edit. Græc. vel 37 Latin. e Ἐκάλασε τ̃ ἅδην ὁ καταλθὼν εἰς τ̃ ἅδην. ὀπίκρανεν αὐτὸν, γλυσάμενο⊙ (γλυσάμενον reponendum, ex MS. Constantinopolitano) τ̃ σαρκὸς αὐτ̃. Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Ἡσαΐας ἐβόησεν. Ὁ ἅδης φησὶν, ὀπικράνθη, συναντήσας σοι κάτω ὀπικράνθη, κὴ γὰρ καθηρέθη· ὀπικράνθη, κὴ γὰρ ἐνεπαίχθη· ἔλαβε σῶμα, κὴ Θεῷ προσέτυχεν· ἔλαβε γῆν, κὴ συνλύτησεν οὐρανῷ· ἔλαβεν ὅπερ ἔβλεπεν κὴ πέπτωκεν ὅθεν οὐκ ἔβλεπεν. Orat. Catechetic. in S. Pascha; tom. 5. oper. Chrysost. edit. Savil. pa. 916. & in Græcorũ Pentecostario: ubi pro primâ voce ἐκάλασε rectiùs habetur ἐσκύλευσε.

where-

wherein the kingdome of God is likened unto *leaven, which a woman tooke, & hid in three pecks of floure, till all was leavened:* saith that [f] *the three pecks of floure are, first the whole nature of mankinde, secondly Death, and after that, Hádes; wherein the divine* BODY *being hidden by* BVRIALL, *did leaven all unto resurrection and life.* Whereupon hee bringeth in our Saviour in another place speaking thus. [g] *I will therefore bee buried, for their sakes that be in Hádes: I will therefore as it were with a stone strike the gates thereof, bringing forth the prisoners in strength, as my servant David hath said.* So S. *Basil* asketh, [h] *How wee doe accomplish the descent into Hell?* and answereth, that wee doe it in *imitating the* BVRIALL *of Christ, in Baptisme. For the bodies of those that bee baptized, are as it were buried in the water:* saith hee. S. *Hilary* maketh mention of *Christs* [i] *flesh quickened out of Hell by himselfe.* and *Arator* in like manner:

* *Infernum Dominus cùm destructurus adiret,*
Detulit inde suam spoliato funere carnem.

When the Lord went to Hell to destroy it, He brought from THENCE *his owne flesh, spoyling the grave.*

[k] *Philo Carpathius* addeth, that *in his grave hee spoyled Hell.* Whereupon the Emperour *Leo* in his oration upon the buriall of our Saviour, wisheth us to

f Ἀλλ᾽ ὃ φησὶ τὰ τρία σάτα ἀλεύρου ἐνκρυφθῆναι μέχρις οὗ ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ἐζυμώθη, ἡ πᾶσα τῶν θνητῶν φύσις, ὁ θάνατος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ᾅδης. ἐν ᾧ ἐγκρυφὲν διὰ ταφῆς τὸ θεῖον σῶμα, ἐζύμωσε πάντα εἰς ἀνάστασιν καὶ ζωήν. Cæsarius, Dialog. 4. quæst. 197.

g Τούτῳ παρίσομαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ᾅδῃ πεζεύοντας· τούτῳ οἷονεὶ πήχει πατάξω ἐκείνης πύλας ἐξάξων πεπεδημένους ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ, καθώς φησιν ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ οἰκέτης μου. Id. Dialog. 3. quæst. 166.

h Πῶς ἂν κατορθώσωμεν τὴν εἰς ᾅδου κάθοδον; μιμούμενοι τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦτο. οἷονεὶ γὰρ ἐνδάπτεται τῷ ὕδατι τὰ βαπτιζόμενα σώματα. Basil. de spiritu sancto, cap. 15. i Et hæc vermis, vel non ex conceptu communium originum vivens, vel è profundis terræ vivus emergens, ad significationem assumptæ & vivificatæ per se etiam ex Inferno carnis profectus est. *Hilar. de Trinitat. lib.* 11.

* *Arator. Histor. Apostolic. lib.* 1. k *Philo in Cantic.* 5. 2. Ἐγὼ καθεύδω, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου ἀγρυπνεῖ] Ἐν τῷ τάφῳ σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην, inter fragmenta Melitonis in Cantic. à Meursio edita, pag. 52.

honour it, by adorning our ſelves with vertues, and not by putting him in the grave againe. *For it behoved* (ſaith hee) *that this ſhould bee once done, to the end that Hell might bee ſpoyled: and it was done.* And the Grecians retaine the commemoration hereof in their Liturgies unto this day: as their *Octoëchon Anaſtaſimon* and *Pentecoſtarion* doe teſtifie; wherein ſuch hymnes and prayers as theſe are frequent. [m] *Thou didſt receive death in thy fleſh, working thereby immortalitie for us, O Saviour: and didſt dwell in the grave, that thou mighteſt free us from Hell, raiſing us up together with thy ſelfe.* [n] *When thou waſt put in the tombe as a mortall man, the keepers of Hell gates ſhooke for feare: for, having overthrowne the ſtrength of Death, thou diddeſt exhibite incorruption to all the dead by thy Reſurrection.* [o] *Although thou didſt deſcend into the grave as a mortall man, O giver of life, yet didſt thou diſſolve the ſtrength of Hell, O Chriſt, raiſing up the dead together with thy ſelfe, whom it had alſo ſwallowed; and didſt exhibite the reſurrection, as God, unto all that in faith and deſire do magnifie thee.* [p] *Thou who by thy three-daies Buriall didſt ſpoyle Death, and by thy life-bringing reſurrection didſt raiſe up corrupted man (O Chriſt our God) as a lover of mankinde: to thee be glory.* [q] *Thou who by thy three-daies buriall didſt ſpoyle Hell, and by thy reſurrection didſt ſave man; have mercy upon mee.*

l Τιμήσωμεν ὃ οὐχ ἡμεῖς τὴν θείαν ταφὴν· τιμήσωμεν ὃ οὐκ ὀθόναις αὐτὸν περιστέλλοντες, οὐδὲ τάφῳ καταπρέποντες· ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σκυλευθῆναι τὸν ᾅδην ἔδει γενέσθαι, καὶ γέγονεν· ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ περιστέλλοντες ἀρετῇς. Leo Imp. hom. 1.

m Θανάτου κατεδέξω σαρκὶ, ἡμῖν ἀθανασίαν περιγράψας σάρκωσιν, σῶτερ, καὶ ἐν τάφῳ ᾤκησας ἵνα ἡμᾶς τοῦ ᾅδου ἐλευθερώσῃς, σωσάνεις ἡμᾶς, ἐκ νεκρῶν.

n Ἔφριξαν ἅδου πυλωροὶ, ὅτε ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ὡς θνητὸς κατέβης· καὶ γὰρ τὸν θανάτου καταργήσας τῷ ἰσχύϊ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι πᾶσιν ἀφθαρσίαν παρέχεις τῇ ἀναστάσει σου.

o Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ κατῆλθες ὡς θνητὸς, ζωοδότα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ᾅδου τῇ ἰσχύϊ διέλυσας Χριστὲ, συναναστήσας νεκροὺς, ὡς καὶ συγκατέπεσε· καὶ ἀνάστασιν πᾶσι παρέχεις ὡς θεὸς, τοῖς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ σε μεγαλύνουσι.

p Τῇ τριημέρῳ ταφῇ σε σκυλεύσας τὸν θάνατον, καὶ φθαρέντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ ζωηφόρῳ ἐγέρσει σε ἀνάστασις, Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς, ὡς φιλάνθρωπος, δόξα σοι.

q Ὀτριημέρῳ ταφῇ σε σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ τῇ ἐγέρσει σου σῶσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐλέησόν με.

r By thy three-daies buriall the enemie was ſpoyled, the dead looſed from the bands of Hell, death deaded, the palaces of Hell voyded. Therefore in hymnes doe wee honour and magnifie thee, O giver of life. s Thou waſt put in the tombe, being voluntarily made dead; and didſt emptie all the palaces of Hell (O immortall King) rayſing up the dead with thy Reſurrection. t Thou who ſpoyledſt Hell by thy buriall, bee mindfull of mee.

r Τειημέρῳ σε ταφῇ ἐσκυλεύθη ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ὁ τῆ τῶδε βιωσίμων ἀπολυθησαν νεκροὶ, νενέκρωται ὁ θάνατος, ἐκενώθη τὰ βασίλεια τῶ ᾅδου· διὸ σε ζωοδότην ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

s Ἐτέθης ἐν μνημείῳ, ὁ ἐκουσίως νεκρωθείς, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶ ᾅδου, βασιλεῦ ἀθάνατε, ἅπαντα ἐκένωσας, νεκροὺς τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐγείρας τῇ σῇ.

t Μνήσθητι μου ὃ τῶ ἅδου σκυλεύσας τῇ ταφῇ σου. Tom. 6. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. an. 1589. col. 128.

Hitherto alſo belongeth that of *Prudentius*, in his *Apotheoſis*:

----tumuloq; infernа refringens
Regna, reſurgentes ſecum iubet ire ſepultos.
Cœlum habitat, terris intervenit, abdita rumpit
Tartara, vera fides, Deus eſt, qui totus ubiq; eſt.

where, in ſaying that our Saviour *by his grave did breake up the infernall kingdomes*, and *commanded thoſe that were buried to riſe up with him*; he hath reference unto that part of the hiſtory of the Goſpell, wherein it is recorded, that *The graves were opened, and many bodies of the Saints which ſlept aroſe, and came out of the graves after his reſurrection, and went into the holy Citie, and appeared unto many.* (Matth. 27. 52, 53.) upon which place S. *Hilary* writeth thus. u *Inlightning the darkeneſſe of death, and ſhining in the obſcure places of Hell; by the reſurrection of the Saints that were ſeene at the preſent, hee tooke away the ſpoyles of death it ſelfe.* To the ſame effect writeth S. *Ambroſe* alſo. x *Neither did*

u Illuminans enim mortis tenebras, & infernorum obſcura colluſtrans; in ſanctorum ad præſens conſpicatorum reſurrectione mortis ipſius ſpolia detrahebat. *Hilar. in Matth. Canon.* 33.

x Sed nec ſepulchrum quidem ejus miraculo caret. Nam cùm eſſet unctus à Ioſeph, & in ejus monumento ſepultus; novo opere quodam, ipſe defunctus defunctorum ſepulchra reſerabat. Et corpus quidem ejus jacebat in tumulo, ipſe autem inter mortuos liber, remiſſionem in inferno poſitis, ſolutâ mortis lege donabat. Erat enim caro ejus in monumento, ſed virtus ejus operabatur è cœlo. *Ambroſ. de Incarnat. cap.* 5.

his ſepulchre want a miracle. For when hee was annoynted by Ioſeph, and buried in his tombe; by a new kinde of worke, hee that was dead himſelfe did open the ſepulchres of the dead. His body indeed did lye in the grave; but he himſelfe being free among the dead, did give libertie unto them that were placed in Hell, diſſolving the law of death. For his fleſh was in the tombe, but his power did worke from heaven. which may bee a ſufficient commentary upon that ſentence, which wee reade in the Expoſition of the Creed attributed unto S. *Chryſoſtome.* [y] *Hee deſcended into Hell, that there alſo he might not want a miracle. For many bodies of the Saints aroſe with Chriſt.* namely, [z] HELL *rendring up the* BODIES *of the Saints alive againe:* as eyther the ſame, or another author that goeth under the like name of *Chryſoſtome,* doth elſewhere directly affirme. which is a further confirmation of that which wee have heard delivered by *Ruffinus,* touching the Expoſition of the article of the *Deſcent into Hell*; that the ſubſtance thereof ſeemeth to bee the ſame with that of the *Buriall.* For what other *Hell* can wee imagine it to be but the *Grave,* that thus receiveth and giveth up the *bodies* of men departed this life?

And hitherto alſo may bee referred that famous ſaying of *Chriſts deſcending alone and aſcending with a multitude:* which wee meet withall in foure ſeverall places of antiquitie. Firſt, in the heads of the ſermon of *Thaddæus,* as they are reported by *Euſebius* out of the Syriack records of the citie of *Edeſſa.* [a] *He*

y Deſcendit ad infernum, ut & ibi à miraculo non vacaret. Nam multa corpora ſanctorum reſurrexerunt cum Chriſto. *Homil. 2. in Symbol. tom. 5. Latin. Oper. Chryſoſtom.*

z Reddunt inferi corpora rediviva ſanctorum: & in occurſum authoris inferos penetrantis, temporalem accipiunt beatæ animæ commeatum. *Homil. 4. de Proditore, & Paſſ. Dominic. tom. 3. Latin. Oper. Chryſoſt.*

a Πῶς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἐτάφη εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ χαλέντα, καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ σεσήμηκε τοὺς τοῦ ἅδου, καὶ ἀπ' αἰῶνων κεκοιμημένους· καὶ πῶς κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ὄχλων τοὺς τῶν πατέρας αὐτῶν. Thaddæus, apud Euſeb. lib. 1. hiſt. Eccl. cap. ult.

was

was crucified, and descended into Hádes or *Hell, and brake the rampiere never broken before since the beginning; & rose againe, and rayſed up with him thoſe dead, that had ſlept from the beginning: and deſcended alone, but aſcended to his Father with a great multitude.* Secondly, in the Epiſtle of *Ignatius* unto the *Trallians*. [b] *Hee was truly, and not in opinion, crucified, and died; thoſe that were in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth, beholding him. thoſe in heaven, as the incorporeall natures. thoſe in earth, to wit the Iewes and the Romanes, and ſuch men as were preſent at that time, when the Lord was crucified. thoſe under the earth, as the multitude that roſe up together with the Lord: for many bodies (ſaith hee) of the Saints which ſlept aroſe, the Graves being opened. And hee deſcended into Hádes* or *Hell alone, but returned with a multitude, and brake the rampiere that had ſtood from the beginning, and overthrew the partition thereof.* Thirdly, in the diſputation of *Macarius* Biſhop of *Ieruſalem*, in the firſt generall Councell of *Nice*. [c] *After death wee were carried into Hádes* or *Hell. Chriſt tooke upon him this alſo, and deſcended voluntarily into it; hee was not detained as wee, but deſcended onely. For hee was not ſubjected unto death, but was the Lord of death. And deſcending alone, hee returned with a multitude. For he was that ſpirituall graine of wheat, falling for us into the earth, and dying in the fleſh; who*

b Ἀληθῶς ὄν, καὶ οὐ δοκήσει, ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἀπέθανε, βλεπόντων ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ καταχθονίων. ἐπουρανίων μὲν, ὡς τῶν ἀσωμάτων φύσεων· ἐπιγείων δὲ, Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τῶν παρόντων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν, σταυρωμένου τοῦ Κυρίου· καταχθονίων δὲ, ὡς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ συναναστάντων τοῦ Κυρίου. Πολλὰ γάρ, φησὶ, σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη, τῶν μνημείων ἀνεῳγότων. καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου μόνος, ἀνῆλθε δὲ μετὰ πλήθους, καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν, καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον ἄνω ἔλυσε. Ignat. Epiſt. 2. ad Trallian.

c Κατεφερόμεθα μὲν τὸν θάνατον εἰς τὸν ᾅδην· ἀνεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ κατῆλθεν ἑκουσίως εἰς αὐτὸν· ὃ κατηνέχθη καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατῆλθεν. ὁ γὰρ ἰδίου ἐκουσίως ἐμοῦ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλ' ἐξουσιαστὴς τοῦ θανάτου. Καὶ μόνος κατελθὼν, μετὰ πλήθους ἀνελήλυθεν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἰδίου ὁ νοερὸς κόκκος τοῦ σίτου, ὁ ἐκπεσὼν ἡμῶν πρὸς γῆν, καὶ ἀποθανὼν σαρκὶ, ὃς τῇ τῆς δεότητος αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἀνέστησε τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν, καὶ τὰς γραφὰς, καρποφορήσαντα τοῖς πάντας ἀνθρωπείοις γόνυ κλίσαν. Macar. Hieroſolym. apud Gelaſium Cyzicen. in Act. Conc. Nicæn. l. 1. c. 23. al. 24.

by the power of his Godhead raised up the temple of his body, according to the Scriptures, which brought forth for fruit the Resurrection of all mankinde. Fourthly, in the Catechises of *Cyrill* Bishop of *Ierusalem*: whose words are these. [d] *I beleeve that Christ was raised from the dead. For of this I have many witnesses, both out of the divine Scriptures, and from the witnesse and operation even unto this day of him that rose againe: of him* (I say) *that descended into Hádes* or *Hell alone, but ascended with many. For hee did descend unto death; and many bodies of the Saints that slept were raysed by him.* Which resurrection hee seemeth afterward to make common unto all the Saints that dyed before our Saviour. [c] *All the righteous men* (saith hee) *were delivered, whom death had devoured. For it became the proclaimed King, to bee the deliverer of those good proclaymers of him. Then did every one of the righteous say: O Death where is thy victorie? O Hell, where is thy sting? for the Conqueror hath delivered us.* wherewith wee may compare that saying of S. *Chrysóstome* [f] *If it were a great matter, that* Lazarus *being foure daies dead should come forth: much more, that all they who were dead of old should appeare together alive. which was a signe of the future resurrection. For many bodies of the Saints which slept, arose*; saith the Text. and those other, attributed unto him in the Greeke Euchologe. * *The monuments* (or *graves*) *were opened, and they that were dead*

d Πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται. πολλὰς δὲ ἔχω τὰς ἀποδείξεις τούτου μάρτυρας, ἔκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέχρι σήμερον τοῦ ἀναστάντος ἀμαρτυρίας καὶ ἐνεργείας· τοῦ μόνου μὲν καταβάντος εἰς ᾅδου, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀναγαγόντος· κατῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἐγέρθη δι' αὐτοῦ. Cyrill. Hierosol. Cateches. 14.

e Ἐλυτρώσατο πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, οὓς κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κηρυχθέντα βασιλέα, τῶν καλῶν κηρύκων ἡμᾶς ἀθλῆσαι λυτρωτήν. Εἶτα ἕκαστος τῶν δικαίων ἔλεγε· ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ ζωὴ τὸ κέντρον; ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ νικητοὺς. Id. ibid.

f Εἰ γὰρ τὸ τεταρταίων ἐξελθεῖν Λάζαρον, μέγα· πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους τοὺς πάλαι κοιμηθέντας φανῆναι ζῶντας· ὃ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως σημεῖον ἦν. Πολλὰ γὰρ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη, φησὶ. Chrysost. in Matt. 27. hom. 88. edit. Græc. vel 89. Lat. ubi tamen Interpres vertit: Multo majus profectò est multos jam olim mortuos in vitam reduxisse. * τὰ μνημεῖα ἠνεῴχθησαν, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος θανόντες ἀνέστησαν. Eucholog. fol. 166. b.

from

from the beginning aroſe. The Lord [a] *deſcending into Hádes, and ſhaking out the moniments thereof, freed all thoſe that were detained bound therein, and called them unto himſelfe.* and theſe Articles of the Confeſſion of the Armenians. [g] *According to his body, which was dead, hee deſcended into the grave; but according to his Divinitie, which did live, hee overcame Hell in the meane time. The third day hee roſe againe: but withall raiſed up the ſoules* (or *perſons*) *of the faithfull together with him, and gave hope thereby, that our bodies alſo ſhould riſe againe like unto him at his ſecond comming.*

Of thoſe who aroſe with our Saviour from the *Grave*, or (as anciently they uſed to ſpeake) from *Hell*; two there bee whom the Fathers nominate in particular: *Adam* and *Iob*. unto whom * *Euſebius* alſo thinketh fit that *David* ſhould bee added. Of *Iob*, S. *Ambroſe* writeth in this manner. [h] *Having heard what God had ſpoken in him, and having underſtood by the Holy Ghoſt, that the Sonne of God was not onely to come into the earth, but that hee was alſo to deſcend into Hell that hee might raiſe up the dead, (which was then done, for a teſtimony of the preſent, and an example of the future:) hee turned himſelfe unto the Lord and ſaid: O that thou wouldeſt keepe mee in Hell, that thou wouldeſt hide mee untill thy wrath bee paſt, and that thou wouldeſt appoint mee a time in which thou wouldeſt remember me.* (Iob 14.13.) in which words hee affirmeth that *Iob*

a ὁ καταβὰς εἰς τὸν ᾅδου καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα αὐτῶν ἐκπινάξας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατεχομένους δεσμίους ἐλευθερώσας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναστήσας. Ibid.

g Ergo & in ſepulchrum quoad corpus, quod mortuum erat, deſcendit: juxta verò divinitatem, quæ vivebat, infernum interè à devicit. Tertio die reſurrexit: ſed & animas fidelium ſecum unâ ſuſcitavit; & dedit ſpem corporibus etiam à morte reſurgendi ſibi ſimiliter in ſecundo adventu. *Confeſſ. Armen. artic.* 122. 123. 124.

* *Euſeb. in Pſal.* 3.5. *in Catenâ Danielis Barbari & Aloyſij Lippomani.*

h Audito igitur quid locutus eſſet in eo Deus, & cognito per Spiritum Sanctum quòd filius Dei non ſolùm veniret in terras, ſed etiam deſcenſurus eſſet ad inferos, ut mortuos reſuſcitaret, (quod tunc quidem factum eſt ad teſtimonium præſentium, & exemplum futurorum) converſus ad Dominum, ait: Vtinam in inferno conſervares, abſconderes autem me donec deſinat ira tua, & ſtatuas mihi tempus in quo memoriam mei facias. *Ambroſ. de Interpellatione Iob, lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

did prophecie, [i] *that hee ſhould be raſed up at the paſſion of our Lord*; *as in the end of this Booke*, ſaith hee, *hee doth teſtifie.* meaning the apocryphall Appendix, which is annexed to the end of the Greeke edition of *Iob*: wherein wee reade thus. [k] *It is written, that he ſhould riſe againe, with thoſe whom the Lord was to raiſe.* which although it bee accounted to have proceeded from the *Septuagint*; yet the thing it ſelfe ſheweth, that it was added by ſome that lived after the coming of our Saviour *Chriſt*. Touching *Adam*, S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that [l] *the whole Church almoſt did conſent*, that *Chriſt* looſed him in Hell. *which wee are to beleeve* (ſaith hee) *that ſhee did not vainly beleeve, whenceſoever this tradition came*; *although no expreſſe authoritie of the Canonicall Scriptures bee produced for it.* The onely place which hee could thinke off that ſeemed to looke this way, was that in the beginning of the *tenth* Chapter of the Booke of *Wiſdome*: *Shee kept him who was the firſt formed father of the world, when hee was created alone, and brought him out of his ſinne.* which would bee much more pertinent to the purpoſe, if that were added, which preſently followeth in the [m] Latin text (I meane in the old edition: for the new corrected ones have left it out) *Et eduxit illum de limo terræ, and brought him out of the clay of the earth.* which being placed after the *bringing of him out of his ſinne*, may ſeeme to have reference unto ſome deliverance (like that of *Davids*, Pſalm. 40. 2. *Hee brought mee up out of the horrible pit, out of the myrie clay*) rather than unto his firſt creation out of the

i Quòd in paſſione Domini reſuſcitandus foret; ſicut in fine hujus libri teſtatur. *Ibid.*

k Γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστῆναι, μετ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησι καὶ ἀνέστησε. Append. ad Iob. vid. Clement. Conſtitut. Apoſtolic. lib. 5. cap. 6.

l Et de illo quidem primo homine patre generis humani, quòd eum ibidem ſolverit, Eccleſia ferè tota conſentit: quod eam non inaniter credidiſſe credendum eſt, undecunq; hoc traditum ſit, etiamſi canonicarum ſcripturarum hinc expreſſa non proferatur auctoritas. *Aug. Epiſt.* 99.

m *In Bibliis Complutenſibus, & Regijs edit. Antuer. an.* 1572. *& magnis Latinis Bibliis edit. Venet. an.* 1588. *ubi in hanc particulam habentur nota Gloſſæ interlinealis & Nic. Lyrani.*

duſt

duſt of the earth. So *limus terræ* may here anſwer well unto the Arabians الثرى *al-tharay*: which properly ſignifying *moyſt earth* or *ſlime* or *clay*, is by the Arabicke interpreter of Moſes uſed to expreſſe the Hebrew [n] שאול which wee tranſlate *Hell* or *Grave*. And as this place in the booke of *Wiſdome* may bee thus applied unto the rayſing of *Adams* body out of the earth wherein hee lay buried: ſo may that other tradition alſo, which was ſo currant in the Church, bee referred unto the ſelfe ſame thing; even to the bringing of *Adam* out of the Hell of the Grave.

The verie Liturgies of the Church doe lead us unto this interpretation of the tradition of the Church: beſide the teſtimony of the Fathers, which diſcover unto us the firſt ground and foundation of this tradition. In the Liturgie of the Church of *Alexandria*, aſcribed to S. *Marke*, our Saviour *Chriſt* is thus called upon. [o] *O moſt great King, and coeternall to the Father, who by thy might didſt ſpoyle Hell, and tread downe Death, and binde the ſtrong one, and raiſe Adam out of the grave by thy divine power and the bright ſplendour of thine unſpeakeabe Godhead.* In the Liturgie of the Church of *Conſtantinople* tranſlated into Latine by *Leo Thuſcus*, the like ſpeech is uſed of him. [p] *Hee did voluntarily undergoe the Croſſe for us, by which hee rayſed up the firſt formed man, and ſaved our ſoules from death.* And in the *Octoëchon Anaſtaſimon* and *Pentecoſtarion* of the Grecians at this day, ſuch ſayings as

[n] *Fr. Raphelengius in Lexico Arabico, pag. 53. & 55.* הרו & הרא *Sepulchrum, infernus,* שאול *Malé: inquit Erpenius, in obſervation. ad hunc locum.* ſignificat terram humidam. *Verùm* Raphelengium *ab hâc reprehenſione vindicat Arabs Pentateuchi interpres ab ipſo* Erpenio *editus: qui* Sheol *vertit* Tharây, *Gen. 37. 35. & 44. 29, 31. item. Num. 16. 30, 33. & Deut. 32. 22.*

[o] Ὁ Ἄναξ μέγας, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συναΐδιος, ὁ τῷ σῷ κράτει τὸν ᾅδου σκυλεύσας, καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμήσας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουργικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αὐγῇ τῆς θεότητός σου. Marci Liturg. [p] Crucem ſponte pro nobis ſubiit, per quam reſuſcitavit protoplaſtum, & à morte animas noſtras ſalvavit. *Chryſoſt. Liturg. Latin.*

theſe

theſe are very uſuall. [q] *Thou didſt undergoe buriall, and riſe in glory, and rayſe up Adam together with thee, by thy allmighty hand.* [r] *Riſing out of thy Tombe, thou didſt raiſe up the dead, and breake the power of death, and raiſe up Adam.* [s] *Having ſlept in the fleſh as a mortall man, O King and Lord, the third day thou didſt ariſe againe; raiſing Adam from corruption, and aboliſhing death.* [t] *Ieſus the deliverer, who raiſed up Adam of his compaſſion, &c.* Therefore doth *Theodorus Prodromus* begin his Tetraſtich upon our Saviours Reſurrection with

Ἔγειρε πρωτόπλαστε παλαίγενες, ἔγειρε τύμβε.

Riſe up, thou firſt formed old man, riſe up from thy grave.

S. *Ambroſe* pointeth to the ground of the Tradition, when hee intimateth that *Chriſt* ſuffered in [u] *Golgotha, where Adams Sepulchre was, that by his Croſſe hee might raiſe him that was dead; that where in Adam the death of all men lay, there in Chriſt might bee the reſurrection of all.* Which hee received (as hee did many other things beſides) from *Origen:* who writeth thus of the matter. [x] *There came unto me ſome ſuch tradition as this, that the body of Adam the firſt man was buried there, where Chriſt was crucified: that as in A-*

q Ταφὶν καταδεξάμενος, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐν δόξῃ, συνανασήσας τὸν Ἀδὰμ χειρὶ παντοδυνάμῳ. Nov. Antholog Græc. edit. Romæ, an. 1598. pag. 235. b.

r Ἐξαναστὰς τῆς μνήματος τοῦ τεθνεῶτας ἤγειρας, καὶ τῆς θανάτου τὸ κράτος συνέτριψας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνέστησας. Ibid. fin pag. 239.

s Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας ὡς θνητὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κύριος, τριήμερος ἐξανέστης Ἀδὰμ ἐγείρας ἐκ φθορᾶς, καὶ καταργήσας θάνατον. Ibid. pag. 262. b.

t Ἰησοῦς ὁ λυτρωτὴς, ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῇ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Ib. p. 278. b.

u Quam ſuſcepit in Golgothâ Chriſtus, ubi Adæ ſepulchrum, ut illum mortuum in ſuâ cruce reſuſcitaret. Vbi ergo in Adam mors omnium, ibi in Chriſto omnium reſurrectio. *Ambroſ. lib. 5. Epiſt. 19.*

x Venit ad me traditio quædam talis, quòd corpus Adæ primi hominis ibi ſepultum eſt ubi crucifixus eſt Chriſtus: ut ſicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ſic in Chriſto omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo qui dicitur Calvariæ locus, id eſt locus capitis, caput humani generis reſurrectionem inveniat cum populo univerſo per reſurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, qui ibi paſſus eſt, & reſurrexit. Inconveniens enim erat, ut cùm multi ex eo nati remiſſionem acciperent peccatorum, & beneficium reſurrectionis conſequerentur; non magis ipſe pater omnium hominum hujuſmodi gratiam conſequeretur. *Origen. tractat. 35. in Matth. cap. 27.*

dam

dam all doe die, ſo in Chriſt all might bee made alive; that in the place which is called the place of Calvarie, that is, the place of the head, the head of mankinde might finde Reſurrection with all the reſt of the people, by the reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour, who ſuffered there and roſe againe. For it was unfit, that when many which were borne of him did receive forgiveneſſe of their ſinnes and obtaine the benefit of Reſurrection, hee who was the father of all men, ſhould not much more obtaine the like grace. Athanaſius, (or who ever elſe was Author of the Diſcourſe upon the Paſſion of our Lord, which beareth his name) referreth this tradition of *Adams* buriall place unto the report of the [y] Doctors of the *Hebrewes* (from whom belike hee thought that *Origen* had received it) and addeth withall, that it was very fit, that where it was ſaid to *Adam, Earth thou art and to earth thou ſhalt returne*; our Saviour finding him there, ſhould ſay unto him againe. *Ariſe thou that ſleepeſt, and ſtand up from the dead, and Chriſt ſhall give thee light.* [z] *Epiphanius* goeth a little further, and findeth out a myſterie in the water and bloud that fell from the Croſſe upon the relicks of our firſt father lying buried under it: applying thereunto both that in the Goſpell, of the *ariſing of many of the Saints*, Matth. 27. 52. and that other place in S. *Paul*, *Ariſe thou that ſleepeſt*, &c. Epheſ. 5. 14. which ſtrange ſpeculation, with what great applauſe it was received by the multitude at the firſt deliverie of it, and for how little reaſon: hee that liſt may reade in the fourth Booke of S. *Hieroms* Commentaries, upon the 27. of S. *Matthew*, and in his third upon the fifth to the *Epheſians*. for upon this firſt point, of *Chriſts* deſcent

y Ὅθεν ἐλθὼν ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν, ἐλθὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον σωτῆρα ἢ εἰς τὸν κρανίου τόπον, ὃν Ἑβραίων οἱ διδάσκαλοι φασι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἶναι τάφον. Athanaſ. in paſſion. & crucem Domini.

z *Epiphan. contr. Tatian. hæreſ. 46. Vide etiam Paulæ & Euſtochy Epiſt. ad Marcellam; tomo 1. oper. Hieronymi, Epiſt. 17.*

ſcent into the Hell of the grave, and the bringing of *Adam* and his children with him from thence, wee have dwelt too long alreadie.

In the ſecond place therefore we are now to conſider, that as *Hádes* and *Inferi*, (which wee call *Hell*) are applied by the Interpreters of the holy Scripture, to denote the place of bodies ſeparated from their ſoules: ſo with forraine Authors (in whoſe language, as being that wherewith the common people was acquainted, the Church alſo did uſe to ſpeake) the ſame tearmes doe ſignifie ordinarily the common lodge of ſoules ſeparated from their bodies, whether the particular place aſſigned unto each of them bee conceived to be an habitation of bliſſe or of miſerie. For as when the Grave is ſaid to bee the common receptacle of dead bodies, it is not meant thereby that all dead carkaſſes are heaped together promiſcuouſly in one certaine pit: ſo when the Heathen write that all the ſoules of the dead goe to *Hádes*, their meaning is not, that they are all ſhut up together in one and the ſelfe-ſame roome: but in generall onely they underſtand thereby the tranſlation of them into the other World, the extreme parts whereof the Poëts place as farre aſunder as wee doe Heaven and Hell. And this opinion of theirs S. *Ambroſe* doth well like off (a wiſhing that they *had not mingled other ſuperfluous and unprofitable* conceits therewith) b *that ſoules departed from their bodies did goe to ἅιδης, that is, to a place which is not ſeene: which place* (ſaith hee) *wee in Latine call Infernus*. So likewiſe ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*. c *The*

a Atq; utinam non ſuperflua his & inutilia miſcuiſſent. *Ambroſ. de bono mortis, cap.* 10.

b Satis fuerat dixiſſe illis, quòd liberatæ animæ de corporibus ἀΐδιον peterent, id eſt, locum qui non videtur. Quem locum Latinè infernum dicimus. *Ibid.*

c Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, καὶ ποιηταὶ, καὶ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ πᾶν ἀνθρώπων γένος συμφωνοῦσιν ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως, καὶ φασὶν εἶναί τινα δικαιοσύνην ἐν ᾅδου. ὅτω φανερὸν, καὶ ὡμολογημένον τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστι, Chryſoſt. in 2. Cor. hom. 9

Grecians

Grecians, and Barbarians, and Poëts, and Philoſophers, and all Mankinde doe herein conſent with us, although not all alike; and ſay that there bee certaine ſeates of judgement in Hádes: ſo manifeſt and ſo confeſſed a thing is this. and againe. [d] *The Grecians were fooliſh in many things; yet did they not reſiſt the truth of this doctrine. If therefore thou wilt follow them, they have granted that there is a certaine life after this, and accounts, and ſeates of judgement in Hádes, and puniſhments, and honours, and ſentences, and judgements. And if thou ſhalt aske the Iewes or Heretickes, or any man; hee will reverence the truth of this doctrine: and although they differ in other things, yet in this doe they all agree and ſay, that there are accounts to be made there of the things that bee done here.* Only among the Iewes, the *Sadducees, which* [e] *ſay that there is no Reſurrection, neither Angell, nor Spirit;* τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι, *take away the puniſhments, and honours that are in Hádes:* as is noted by [f] *Ioſephus.* For which wicked doctrine they were condemned by the other ſects of the Iewes: who generally acknowledged, that there was עולם הנשמות *Olam hanneſhamoth* (for [g] ſo do they in their language untill this day call that, which *Ioſephus* in Greeke termeth *Hádes*) that is to ſay, *the world of ſpirits*, into which they held that the ſoules were tranſlated preſently after death, and there received their ſeverall judgements.

The ſame thing doth *Theodoret* ſuppoſe to be ſignified by that phraſe of being *gathered to ones people*, which is ſo uſuall in the Word of God. For it being

d Τοσαῦτα ἐλήρησαν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὅμως σοὶ πείθονται τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτέσχηται ἀληθὲς εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκολουθήσεις, ἅμιλλος ἔσῃ· ἔχουσι γάρ τινα καὶ ταῦτα βίον, καὶ εὐδύνας, καὶ δικαστήρια ἐν ᾅδου, καὶ κολάσεις, καὶ τιμὰς, καὶ ψήφους, καὶ κρίσεις. κἂν Ἰουδαίους ἐρωτήσῃς, καὶ αἱρετικούς, καὶ ὁντινοῦν ἄνθρωπον, ὁμολογήσουσι τοῦ δόγματος τούτου τὸ ἀληθὲς, καὶ εἰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις διαφέροιντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ πάντες συμφωνοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι δεῖν τὰ ἐντεῦθεν γεγενημένα κρίνεσθαι. Chryſoſt. de fato & providentiâ, orat. 4. tom. 6 edit. Savil. p. 874.

e *Act.* 23. 8. f *Ioſeph. de Bello Iudaic. l.* 2. *c.* 12. *circa finem.* g *Eliæ Levita in Tiſchi, verb.* עולם הבא.

ſaid,

said of *Iacob*, before hee was buried, that hee *gave up the Ghost, and was gathered unto his people*, Genes. 49. 33. *Theodoret* obserueth, that *Moses* [h] *by these words did closely intimate the hope of the Resurrection. For if men* (saith hee) *had beene wholy extinguished, and did not passe unto another life; hee would not haue said, Hee was gathered to his people.* So likewise where it is distinctly noted of *Abraham*, Genes. 25. 8, 9. first, that *hee gaue up the Ghost and dyed*, then, that *he was gathered to his people*, and lastly, that *his sonnes buried him*: Cardinall [i] *Cajetan* and the Iesuite [k] *Lorinus* interpret the first *de compositi totius dissolutione*, of the dissolution of the parts of the *whole man*, consisting of body and soule; the second of the state of the *soule* separated from the body; and the third of the disposing of *the body* parted from the soule. Thus the Scriptures speech of being *gathered to our people* should be answerable in meaning to the phrase used by the heathen of *descending into Hell* or *going to Hades*: which, as [l] *Synesius* noteth out of *Homer*, was by them opposed τῇ ἀκριβεστάτῃ ἀπωλείᾳ, to *a most absolute extinguishment* as well of the soule as of the body. And forasmuch as by that tearme, *the immortalitie of the soule* was commonly signified: therefore doth *Plato* in his *Phædo* disputing of that argument, make this the state of his question; [m] *Whether the soules of men deceased bee in Hádes or no?* and *Olympiodorus*, the Alexandrian Deacon, affirmeth of *Iob*, that hee delivered * *the most excellent doctrine of the immortalitie of*

h Διὰ τούτων ἐν λόγων ἠνίξατο τινὰ ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Εἰ γὰρ πάντα παντάπασι διεφθείρετο, καὶ μὴ εἰς ἕτερον μετέβαινον βίον, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε, Προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Theodoret. in Gen. quæst. 109.

i *Cajetan. in Gen.* 25.

k *Lorin. in Act.* 13. 36.

l *Synes. epist.* 4.

m Εἶτι ἄρα ἐν ᾅδου εἰσὶν αἱ ψυχαὶ τελευτησάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε καὶ ὄυ; Plat. Phædon. pag. 381. edit. Græcolatin. ann. 1590.

* Περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς κάλλιστον εἰσηγεῖται μάθημα· δι' ὧν διδάσκει, μὴ συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχάς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾅδου τυγχάνειν. Olympiodor. Prothcori. in Iob, cap. 5.

the

the ſoule; by teaching, *that ſoules are not extinguiſhed togither with their bodies, but doe remaine in Hádes.* and ſome others alſo of our Eccleſiaſticall writers doe from thence fetch a difference betwixt *Death* and *Hádes*. [n] *You ſhall finde*, ſaith *Theophylact*, *that there is ſome difference betwixt Hádes and Death: namely that Hádes containeth the ſoules, but Death the bodies. For the ſoules are immortall.* The ſame wee reade in [o] *Nicetas Serronius* his expoſition of *Gregorie Nazianzens* ſecond Paſchall oration. *Andreas Cæſareenſis* doth thus expreſſe the difference. [p] *Death is the ſeparation of the ſoule and the body. But Hádes is a place to us inviſible or unſeene and unknowne, which receiveth our ſoules when they depart from hence.* The ordinary Gloſſe, following S. *Hierome* upon the thirteenth of *Hoſea*, thus. [q] *Death is that, whereby the ſoule is ſeparated from the body. Hell is that place, wherein the ſoules are included, either for comfort or for paine.*

The [r] *ſoule goeth to Hádes*, ſaith *Nicetas Choniates* in the Procœme of his Hiſtory: *but the body returneth againe into thoſe things, of which it was compoſed. Caius*, (or who ever elſe was the author of that auncient fragment, which we formerly ſignified to have beene falſely fathered upon *Ioſephus*) holdeth that [s] *in Hádes, the ſoules both of the righteous and unrighteous are*

n Comperies aliquod eſſe inferni & mortis diſcrimen: videlicèt, quòd animas infernus contineat, mors verò corpora. Nam immortales ſunt animæ. *Theophylact. in* 1. *Cor.* 15.

o Hoc dfferunt mors & infernus: quòd illa corpora, hic animas detineat. *Nicet. in Greg. Nazian. Orat.* 42.

p Θανάτος μὲν χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ἅδης δὲ, τόπος ἡμῖν ἀειδὴς, ἄγνωστος καὶ ἀφανὴς, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημούσας δεχόμενος. Andr. Cæſareenſ. in Apocalyps. commentar. cap. 64. edit. Græc. 63. Latin.

q Mors eſt, quâ ſeparatur anima à corpore. Infernus eſt locus ubi recluduntur animæ, vel ad refrigerium, vel ad pœnam. *Strabus in Gloſſ. ordinar. ex Hieron. lib.* 3. *in* [illegible] 13.

r Καὶ τὸ μὲ ἐς ἅδου βέβηκεν ἡ ψυχὴ, σαφὲς· τὸ δὲ, ἐξ ὧν ἠρμόδιο, τὸ σῶμα ἐπανορθούμενον. Nicet. init. Hiſtoriæ.

s Περὶ δὲ ἅδου, ἐν ᾧ σωρεύονται αἱ ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. Caius, in fragmento de Cauſâ ſive ſententiâ Vniverſi: de quo ſuprà, pag. 238.

con-

contained: [t] but that the righteous are led to the right hand by the Angels that awaite them there, and brought unto a lightsome region, wherein the righteous men that have beene from the beginning doe dwell (and this wee call Abrahams bosome: saith hee) whereas the wicked are drawne toward the left hand by the punishing Angels, not going willingly, but drawne as prisoners by violence. Where you may observe how hee frameth his description of *Hádes*, according to that modell wherewith the Pöets had before possessed mens mindes.

[u] *Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,*
Hâc iter Elysium nobis: at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia tartara mittit.

The right hand path goeth underneath the walls of Pluto deepe;
That way wee must, if paths to Paradise wee thinke to keepe:
The left hand leads to paine, and men to Tartarus doth send.

For [x] *as wee doe allot unto good men a resting place in Paradise; so the Greekes doe assigne unto their Heroës the Fortunate Ilands, and the Elysian fields:* saith *Tzetzes*. And as the Scripture borroweth the terme of [y] *Tartarus* from the Heathen: so is it thought by [z] *Tertullian* and [a] *Gregory Nazianzen*, that the Heathen tooke the ground of their *Elysian fields* from the Scriptures *Paradise*.

To heape up many testimonies out of Heathen authors, to prove that in their understanding all soules

went

t Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι εἰς δεξιὰ φυλαγωγέμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑρεσσόντων αὐτοὺς τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑπαντῶντες, ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινὸν· ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαιοι πολιτεύονται, &c. τέτῳ ᾧ ὄνομα κικλήσκομεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι εἰς ἀριστερὰ ἕλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν, οὐκέτι ἑκόντες πορεύόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὡς βίᾳ ὡς δεσμιοὶ ἑλκόμενοι. Ibid.

u Virgil. Æneid. 6. conferend. cum Platonis narratione lib. 10. de Republ. paulò pòst citandâ.

x Ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν μὲν παράδεισον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀποκληρέμεν διαρρίζομεν, ὕτω τοῖς ἥρωσιν ὑπονέμουσιν Ἕλληνες τὰς μακάρων νήσους, καὶ τὸ ἠλύσιον πεδίον. Io. Tzetz. in Hesiodi Ἔργ.

y Σειρῆς ζόφου τartarώσας. 2. Pet. 2. 4.

z Tertull. Apologetic. cap. 47.

a Greg. Nazianz. orat. 20. in laud. Basilii.

went to *Hádes*, and received there either punishment or reward according to the life that they led in this world; would be but a needlesse worke: seeing none that hath read any thing in their writings can bee ignorant thereof. If any man desire to informe himselfe herein, he may repaire to *Plutarches* consolatory discourse written to *Apollonius*: where hee shall finde the testimonies of [b] *Pindarus* and many others alledged, περὶ τῆς εὐσεβῶν ἐν ᾅδου, touching the state of *the godly in Hádes*. Their common opinion is sufficiently expressed in that sentence of *Diphilus*, the old Comicall Poët. [c] *In Hádes wee resolve there are two paths: the one whereof is the way of the righteous, the other of the wicked.* which by [d] *Theodoret* is commended for *true philosophy* indeed: as the like in the Stoicall philosophy of *Zeno*, is by [a] *Lactantius* pronounced to be consonant to the doctrine of the Prophets and the veritie of our Religion. But as in this generall they agreed together both among themselves and with the truth: so touching the particular situation of this *Hádes*, and the speciall places whereunto these two sorts of soules were disposed, and the state of things there, a number of ridiculous fictions and fond conceits are to be found among them; wherein they dissented as much from one another, as they did from the truth it selfe. So wee see, for example, [b] that the best soules are placed by some of them in the companie of their Gods in heaven, by others in the *Galaxias* or *milky circle*, by others about the Moone, by others in the lower ayre, by others beyond the

b *Pindar. Olimp. Od.* 2. *ubi etiam Scholiastes eius meminit* τῶν ἐν ᾅδου δικαίων.

c Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἕνα νομίζομεν δύο τρίβους Μίαν, δικαίων· ἑτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν ἕν' ὁδὸν. *Diphil. apud Clem. Alexandrin. lib.* 5. *Stromat. indeq; apud Euseb. Præp. Evangelic. lib.* 13. *pag.* 400. *edit. Græc. & authorem libri de Monarchiâ apud Iustinum Martyr. qui* Philemoni *hoc attribuit.*

d *Theodoret. in Therapeutic. ad Græc. lib.* 8. *pag.* 88. 89.

a *Lactant. Instit. lib.* 7. *cap.* 7.

b *Vid. Tertullian. de Animâ, cap.* 54. 55. *& Macrob. in Somn. Scipionis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. 10. 11. 12.

Ocean, and by others under the earth:

c Πάντας ὁμῶς θνητοὺς εἰς ἅιδου δέχεται,

yet one *Hades* notwithstanding was commonly thought to have received them all.

Plato relateth this, as a sentence delivered by them who were the first ordainers of the Grecian Mysteries: d *Whosoever goeth to Hades not initiated and not cleansed, shall lye in the mire; but hee that commeth thither, purged and initiated, shall dwell with the Gods.* So *Zoroaster* the great father of the *Magi* in the East, is saide to have used this entrance into his discourse touching the things of the other world. e *These things wrote Zoroaster, the sonne of Armenius, by race a Pamphylian, having beene dead in the warre, which I learned of the Gods, being in Hades.* as *Clemens Alexandrinus* relateth in the *fifth* booke of his *Stromata:* where he also noteth, that this *Zoroaster* is that *Er* the sonne of *Armenius*, a *Pamphylian*, of whom *Plato* writeth in the *tenth* booke of his *Common-wealth*; that being slaine in the warre hee revived the twelfe day after, and was sent backe as a messenger to report unto men here the things which hee had heard and seene in the other world. one part of whose relation was this: that hee saw certaine f gulfes beneath in the earth, and above in the heaven, opposite one to the other; and that the just were commanded by the Iudges that sate betwixt those gulfes, to goe to the *right* hand upward *Heaven*, but the wicked to the *left* hand and downeward. which testimonies g *Eusebius* bringeth in, among many others, to shew the consent that is

a *Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 37. & lib. 3. cap. 6.* Εἰς κοινὸν Ἅιδην πάντες ἤξουσι βροτοί.

d Ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς ᾅδου ἀφίκηται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται· ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος, ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος, μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. Plat. Phædon. pag. 380. f. & 386. a.

e Τὰ δὲ συγγράμματα Ζωροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος, ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνῃρημένος ἐτάφη· παρὰ θεῶν. Zoroaster apud Clem. Alexandr. lib. 5. Stromat. indeq; apud. Euseb. præpar. Evang. lib. 13. pag. 395.

f *Plato, lib. 10. de Repub. pag. 518.*

g *Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 11. pag. 330. Vide & Origenem contra Celsum, lib. 2. pag. 72. edit. Græc.*

betwixt

betwixt *Plato* and the *Hebrewes* in matters that concerne the ſtate of the world to come.

Next to *Zoroaſter* commeth *Pythagoras*: whoſe *golden verſes* are concluded with this diſtiche.

h Ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα, εἰς αἰθὴρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς,
Ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς, ἄμβροτος, οὐκ ἔτι θνητός.

h Pythagor. aur. Carm. cum commentar. Hieroclis, pag. 310.

When thou ſhalt leave the body, and come unto a free heaven; thou ſhalt bee an immortall God, incorruptible, and not ſubject to mortalitie any more. So *Epicharmus* the Scholler of *Pythagoras*: [i] *If thou bee godly in minde, thou ſhalt ſuffer no evill when thou art dead; thy ſpirit ſhall remain above in heaven.* and *Pindarus*: [k] *the ſoules of the ungodly fly under the heaven (or under the earth) in cruell torments under the unavoydable yoakes of evils. But the ſoules of the godly, dwelling in Heaven, doe praiſe that great bleſſed one with ſongs and hymnes:*

i Εὐσεβὴς νῷ ψυχὼς, ἐ πάθοις γ' οὐδὲν κακὸν καὶ θανών. ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ' ἀερτόν. Epicharm. apud. Clement. Alexandr. lib. 4. Stromat.

Α'θανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμάστιοι,

k Ψυχαὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ὑπὸ ζόφον εἰσὶ (al. ὑπ' ἔν τοι) γαίᾳ παντῶν τιμὰν ἐν ἀλγεσι φορίοις, ὑπὸ ζυγλαις ἀφύκτοις κακῶν. Εὐσεβῶν δὲ ἐν πυρσίνοι νάσοις (al. ἐν ἀερτοῖς νάσοις) μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν ἀείδουσ' ἐν ὕμνοις. Pindar. Ibid. & apud Theodoret. in Therapeutic. ad Græcos, lib. 8.

as [a] *Empedocles* ſpeaketh. *conjoyned in the ſame dwelling with other immortall wightes.* Whereunto wee may adde theſe Greeke verſes of *Moſchion* (in *Stobæus*:)

Ἔ'σστ' ἤδη γῆ καλυφθῆναι νεκρὸς,
Ὅθεν δ' ἔκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο,
Ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,
Τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν.

(Suffer now the dead to bee covered with earth; and whence every thing came into the body, thither to returne againe: the ſpirit to heaven, the body to the earth.)

a Empedocl. adud Clement. Alexandrin. lib. 5. Stromat.

and compare them with the like Latine of * *Lucretius*:

* Lucret. de rer. natur. lib. 2.

Cedit enim retrò, de terrâ quod fuit antè,
In terras: & quod missum est ex ætheris oris,
Id rursum cœli rellatum templa receptant.

For that which was before of the earth, giveth backe againe into the earth: and what was sent downe from the heavenly regions, that doe the temples of heaven againe receive transmitted thither.

Cicero in his *Tusculan questions* alledgeth the testimony of [l] *Ennius*, approving the common fame, that *Romulus did leade his life in heaven with the Gods.* and in the *sixth* Booke of his *Common-wealth*, hee bringeth in *Scipio* teaching that [m] *unto all them which preserve, assist, and enlarge their Countrey, there is a certaine place appointed in Heaven, where they shall live blessed world without end.* [n] *Such a life* (saith hee) *is the way to Heaven, and into the company of these, who having lived and are now looosed from their body, doe inhabite that place which thou seest*; pointing to the *Galaxias* or milky circle. whereof wee reade thus also in * *Manilius*.

l Romulus in cœlo cum diis agit ævum: ut famæ assentiens dixit Ennius. *Cic. Tuscul. quæst. lib.* 1.

m Omnibus, qui patriam conservârint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur. *Id. in Somnio Scipionis.*

n Ea vita, via est in cœlum, & in hunc cœtum eorum, qui jam vixerunt, & corpore laxati, illum incolunt locum quem vides (erat autem is splendidissimo candore inter flammas elucens circulus) quem vos, ut à Graiis accepistis, orbem lacteum nuncupatis. *Ibid.*

An fortes animæ, dignataq; nomina cœlo
Corporibus resoluta suis, terræq; remissa;
Huc migrant ex orbe, suumq; habitantia cœlum,
Æthereos vivunt annos, mundoq; fruuntur?

o *Manil. lib.* 1. *Astronom.*

With

With *Damascius* the philosopher of *Damascus*, this circle p *is the way of the soules that goe to the Hades in heaven.* Against whom *Iohannes Philoponus* doth reason thus, from the etymologie of the word. q *If they passe through the Galaxias* or *milky circle; then this should bee that* ἀΐδης or *Hades that is in heaven: and how can that be Hades, which is so lightsome?* To which, they that maintained the other opinion, would peradventure oppose that other common derivation of the word from the Dorick ἄδειν, which signifieth *to please* or *to delight*; or that which r *Plato* doth deliver in the name of *Socrates*, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι from *seeing* or knowing all good things. for, there did *Socrates* looke to finde such things: as appeareth by that speech which *Plato* in his Dialogue of the *Soule* maketh him to use the same day that hee was to depart out of this life. s *The soule, being an invisible thing, goeth hence into such an other noble and pure and invisible place; to Hades, in truth, unto the good and wise God: whither, if God will, my soule must presently goe.* Which place is alledged by t *Eusebius*, to prove that u *in the things which concerne the immortalitie of the soule, Plato doth differ in opinion nothing from Moses.* The tale also which *Socrates* there telleth of the x *pure land* seated above in the *pure heaven*, though it have a number of toyes added to it (as tales use to have) yet the foundation thereof both *Eusebius* and *Origen* doe judge to have beene taken from the speeches of the

p Ὁ ᾅδης ἐστὶ τὸ γάλα τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ ᾅδην. Damasc.

q Εἰ ἔστι τὸν γαλαξίαν διαπορεύονται, ὅτε αὐτεῖν ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ ᾅδης· καὶ πῶς ᾅδης ὁ οὕτω φωτεινός; Philopon. in 1. Meteor. fol. 104. b.

r Καὶ τὸ γε ὄνομα ὁ Ἅδης ἔοικε, Ἑρμογένες, πολλοῦ δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀειδὲς ἐπονομάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι, ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν Ἅδην ἐκλῆσαι. Socrat. apud Platon. in Crarylo. pag. 265.

s Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀφανὲς τὸ ἀειδὲς εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον, γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀειδῆ, εἰς Ἅιδου καὶ ἀειδῆ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον, εἰ ἐθέλοι ὁ θεός, αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἰέναι. Id. apud eund. in Phædon. pag. 285. g. t *Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib.* 11. pag. 325. u Ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας, ὅδε Μωσεῖ ὁ Πλάτων ἐδίδαξε τὴν δόξαν, Ibid. pag. 323. x *Plat. Phædon. pag.* 398. 399.

Prophets touching the land of promise and the heavenly *Canaan*: and for the rest, *Origen* referreth us to *Platoes* interpreters, affirming that [y] *they who handle his writings more gravely, doe expound this tale of his by way of allegory.*

Such another tale doth the same Philosopher relate in the Dialogue which hee intituleth *Gorgias*: shewing, that [z] *among men he that leadeth his life righteously and holily, shall when he is dead goe unto the Fortunate Ilands, and dwell in all happinesse, free from evils. but hee that leadeth it unrighteously and impiously, shall goe unto the prison of punishment and just revenge, which they call Tartarus.* Which *Theodoret* bringeth in, to prove that [a] *Plato did exactly beleeve that there were Iudgements to passe upon men in Hades. For being conversant with the Hebrewes* (saith hee) *in Ægypt, hee heard without doubt the oracles of the Prophets:* and [b] *taking some things from thence, and mingling other things therewith out of the fables of the Greekes, made up his discourses of these things.* Among which mixtures, that which hee hath of the *Fortunate Ilands*, is reckoned by [c] *Theodoret* for one; whereof you may reade in [d] *Hesiod*, [e] *Pindarus*, [f] *Diodorus Siculus*, [g] *Plutarch*, and [h] *Iosephus* also; who treating of the diverse sects that were among the Iewes, sheweth that the *Essenes* borrowed this opinion (of the placing of good mens soules in a certaine pleasant habitation beyond the Ocean) from the Grecians. But the *Pha-*

y Τὸν μὲν ἅγιον παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἑλληνορρήντες μῦθον οἱ σωφρονέστερον τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐξειληφότες, διηγοῦνται. Origen. lib. 7. contra Celsum pag. 362.

z Τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀποίκους, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν· τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως, εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως καὶ τῆς δίκης δεσμωτήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ἰέναι. Plato, in Gorg. pag. 372. c.

a Οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὑπέλαβεν ὁ Πλάτων εἶναι τὰ ἐν ᾅδου κρίσεις. ἐντυχὼν δὲ Ἐβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ θεσπισίων παρ' αὐτῶν λογίων ἐπήκοος. Theodoret. Therapeutic. ad Græc. lib. 11. pag. 155.

b Τὰ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναμίξας μύθων, τοιαῦτα περὶ τούτων ἐπεποίηται τοὺς λόγους. Ibid. pag. 157.

c Ibid.

d Hesiod. in Ἔργ.

e Pindar. Olymp. Od. 2. & Græc. Scholiast. ibid.

f Diodor. Biblioth. lib. 3.

g Plutarch. in vitâ Sertorii.

h Ioseph. de bello Iud. lib. 2. cap. 12. pag. 730. edit. Græc.

risees

riſees (as hee noteth [i] elſewhere) held that the place, wherein both rewards were given to the good and puniſhments to the wicked, was *under the Earth*: which as [k] *Origen* doth declare to have beene the common opinion of the Iewes, ſo doth *Lucian* ſhew that it was the more vulgar opinion among the Grecians. For among them [l] *the common multitude, whom wiſe men* (ſaith hee) *call ſimple people, being perſwaded of theſe things by Homer and Heſiod and ſuch other fabulous authors, and receiving their Poëms for a law; tooke* HADES *to bee a certaine deepe place under the earth.* The firſt originall of which conceit is by *Cicero* derived from hence. [m] *The bodies falling into the ground, and being covered with earth, (whence they are ſaid to bee interred) men thought that the reſt of the life of the Dead was led under the earth. Vpon which opinion of theirs* (ſaith hee) *great errours did enſue: which were increaſed by the Poëts.* Others doe imagine, that the Poëts herein had ſome relation to the [n] *ſpherical* ſituation of the world: for the better underſtanding whereof, theſe particulars following would bee conſidered by them that have ſome knowledge in this kinde of learning.

Firſt, the materiall Spheres in ancient time were not made moveable in their ſockets, as they are now, that they might bee ſet to any elevation of the Pole: but were • fixt to the elevation of xxxvi. degrees;

i Ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν τῶν ψυχῶν πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονε. Id. lib. 18. Antiquit. cap. 2. pag. 548.

k Ῥηλίκον δὲ τὸ, ᾅδου ἅμα γνέσει καὶ συμπληρώσει τὸ λόγῳ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτὸς τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίαν, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν δικαιωτήρια, καὶ τὰς πικρὰς τῶν καλῶς βεβιωκότων. Orig. contr. Celſ. lib. 5. pag. 267.

l Ὅμηρον δὲ πολὺς ὅμιλος, ὃς ἰδιώτας οἱ σοφοὶ καλοῦσιν, Ὁμήρῳ τε καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μυθοποιοῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις πειθόμενοι, καὶ νόμον θέμενοι τὸν ποίησιν αὐτῶν, τόπον τινὰ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν βαθὺν Ἅιδου ὑπειλήφασιν. Lucian. de luctu.

m In terram enim cadentibus corporibus, hiſque humo tectis, ex quo dictum eſt humari; ſub terrâ cenſebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum. quam eorum opinionem magni errores conſecuti ſunt: quos auxerunt Poëtæ. *Cic. Tuſcul. quæſt. lib.* 1.

n *Heraclid. Pontic. de Allegor. Homer. Servius, in Virgil. Æneid. lib.* 6. o Πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ἐν κλίμα καὶ αἱ χρικωτοὶ σφαῖραι καλασκευάζονται καὶ αἱ σφαῖραι. Geminus, in Phænomen. cap. 13.

which was the height of the *Rhodian* climate. *Secondly*, the *Horizon* which divided this Sphere through the middle, & separated the visible part of the world from the invisible, was commonly esteemed the utmost bound of the earth: so that whatsoever was under that *horizon*, was accounted to bee under the earth. For neither the common people, nor yet some of the learned Doctors of the Church (as [p] *Lactantius*, [q] S. *Augustine*, [r] *Procopius*, and others) could be induced to beleeve that which our daily navigations finde now to bee most certaine; that there should be another Southerne hemisphere of the earth, inhabited by any *Antipodes*, that did walke with their feet just opposite unto ours. *Thirdly*, the great Ocean was supposed to bee the thing in nature which was answerable to this *horizon* in the Sphere. Therefore it is observed by [s] *Strabo* that *Homer*, and by [t] *Theon*, [u] *Achilles Statius*, and others, that *Aratus* and the rest of the Poëts doe put the *Ocean* for the *Horizon*: and thereupon where the Astronomers say that the Sun or the Starres at their setting goe under the *horizon*, the common phrase of the Poëts is, that they doe *tingere se Oceano*, dive themselves into the *Ocean*. For as they tooke the Earth to bee but halfe a globe, and not a whole one: so they imagined that demie globe to be as it were a great mountaine or Iland seated in, and invironed round about with the Ocean. Thus

p *Lactant. Instit. lib. 3. cap. 23.*
q *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 9.*
r *Procop. in Genes. cap. 1.*
s *Strabo, Geograph. lib. 1. ad quem doctiss. Casaubonus hanc ex Grammaticis Oceani definitionem producit.* Ὠκεανός ἐστι κύκλος διχάζων ἐννοηματικῶς τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν σφαῖραν κατ' ἰσότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπιπέδου, καὶ τέμνων διχῇ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν αὐτὸν, εἴς τε τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖζων λεγόμενος.

t Ὠκεανὸν δὲ τὸν δείζοντα ὁ Ἄρατος λέγει ποιητικῶς. Theon, in Arat. pag. 6. Ὠκεανὸς γὰρ ὁ δείζων. Ibid. pag. 59 edit Paris.

u Λέγεται δὲ δείζων, διότι δείκει τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον· περὶ γὰρ τὴν σφαῖραν ἔξωθεν ὤν, τάξιν ἔχει τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ὃς ἔξωθεν περικλύζει τὴν γῆν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνατέλλειν καὶ εἰς ὃν δύνειν δοκεῖ τὰ ἄστρα. ὅθεν καὶ Ἄρατος ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν καλεῖ. Achill. Stat. in Arat. pag. 93. edit. Florent. ubi etiam alius Scholiastes, pag. 115. de horizonte similiter notat. Οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ ὠκεανὸν αὐτὸν καλοῦσι.

the

the author of the booke *de mundo*, affirmeth that [x] *the whole world is one Iland, compassed about with the Atlantike Sea*: and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in the beginning of his Geography,

Μνήσομαι Ὠκεανοῖο βαθυῤῥόου· ἐν δὲ ἑκείνῳ
Πᾶσα χθὼν, ἄτε νῆσος ἀπείριτος, ἐστεφάνωται.

wherein hee followed *Eratosthenes*, as his expositor *Eustathius* there noteth: who compareth also with this, that place of *Orpheus* ἐν τῷ περὶ Διὸς κτλ. Ἦσιν,

——κύκλον ἀκαμάτου καλλιῤῥόου Ὠκεανοῖο,
Ὃς γαῖαν δίνῃσι περίῤῥυτος ἔχει ἀμφιελίξας.

whereunto answereth that of [y] *Exphorion*, or (as [z] *Achilles Statius* citeth it) of *Neoptolemus Parianus* in his Τελχῖνες.

Ὠκεανὸς, τῷ πᾶσα περίῤῥυτος ἐν Λίτναι χθών.

And this opinion of theirs the Fathers of the Church did the more readily entertaine: because they thought it had ground from * Psalm. 24. 2. and 136. 6. and such other testimonies of holy Scripture. [a] *That the whole earth* (saith *Procopius Gazæus*) *doth subsist in the waters, and that there is no part of it which is situated under us voyde and cleard of waters; I suppose it bee knowne unto all. For so doth the Scripture teach. Who streacheth out the earth upon the waters, and againe: Hee hath founded it upon the Seas, and prepared it upon the floods. Neither is it fit wee should beleeve, that any earth under us is inhabited, opposite unto our part of the*

x Ὅπερ ἡ σύμπασα (οἰκουμένη) μία νῆσός ἐστιν, ἣν περὶ τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν καλουμένην θάλασσαν περίῤῥυτος ἐστιν. Aristot. de mundo, cap. 3.

y Citat. ab Arreti scholiaste, edit. cum Hipparcho, Florent. an. 1567. pag. 115.

z Achill. Stat. in Arateis, ibid. pag. 93.

* Vid. Augustin. Quæst. 132. in Genesim. & in enarrat. Psalm. 135.

a Quòd autem universa terra in aquis subsistat, nec ulla sit pars ejus, quæ infra nos sita est, aquis vacua & denudata, omnibus notum reor. Nam sic docet Scriptura: Qui expandit terram super aquas. Et iterùm: Quia ipse super maria fundavit eam, & super flumina præparavit eam. &c. Nec decet ut credamus aliquam terram infra nos coli nostro orbi oppositam. Procop. in Genes. cap. 1.

world

world. The ſame collection is made by S. [b] *Hilary*, [c] *Chryſoſtome*, [d] *Cæſarius*, and others. *Fourthly*, it was thought by the ancient heathen, that the *Ocean* (ſupplying the place of the *Horizon*) did [e] *ſeparate the viſible world from the kingdome of Hádes: and therefore that ſuch as went to Hádes* (or the world inviſible to us) *muſt firſt paſſe the Ocean*. whence that of * *Horace:*

Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus. arva, beata
Petamus arva, divites & inſulas.

and that the pole *Antarctick* was ſeen by them there, as the *Arctick* or North pole is by us here: according to that of *Virgil* in his Georgicks,

Hic vertex nobis ſemper ſublimis: at illum
Sub pedibus Styx atra videt, maneſq; profundi.

Fiftly, as they held that *Hádes* was for ſituation placed from the center of the earth downeward; ſo betwixt the beginning and the loweſt part thereof they imagined as great a ſpace to be interjected, as there is betwixt Heaven and Earth. So ſaith *Apollodorus* of *Tartarus*, the dungeon of torment. [f] *This is a darke place in Hádes, having as great a diſtãce from the earth, as the earth from the heaven.* And *Heſiod* in his *Theogonia* (agreeably to that which before we heard from *Homer*)

Τόσσον ἔνερθ' ἀϊδὸς γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.
Ἴσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον * ἠερόεντα.

It is as far beneath the earth, as heaven is from the earth: for thus equall is the diſtance from the earth unto darke

Tarta-

b Hilar. in Pſal. 2.
c Chryſoſtom. in Geneſ. cap. 3. hom. 12.
d Cæſar. Dialog. 1.
e Παρ' ὠκεανὸν δὲ οἰκεῖν λέγεται, τὸν δι' εἰσόντα τὸν νοητὸν τόπον, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἅδου βασιλείας. ὃν καὶ πρόσωθεν πεφάνθαι τοῖς εἰς ἅδου παρερχομένοις. Proclus Diadoch. in Heſiod. Ἔργ. ab Hugone Sanfordo citatus; qui complura veterum teſtimonia huc facientia diligenter congeſſit.
* Horat. Epodon. lib. Od. 16.
f Τόπος δὲ ἔστι βρεφώδης ἐν ἅδου, τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ. Apollodor. Bibliothec. lib. 1.
* Τὸ δὲ βάθος τοῦ πυθμένος τῆς ἠέρος, τάρταρος περιέχεται. Lucian. περὶ ἀστρολογίας

Tartarus. Whereunto that of *Virgil* may be added, in the ſixt of the Æneids:

——*tum Tartarus ipſe*
Bis patet in præceps tantum tenditque ſub umbras,
Quantus ad æthereum cœli ſuſpectus Olympum.

——*then Tartarus it ſelfe, that ſinke-hole ſteep*
Two times as low deſcends, two times as headlong downeright deep
As heaven upright is hie,

that, ſee how hie the heaven is over us, when we look upward to it; the downeright diſtance from thence to *Tartarus*, ſhould be twice as deepe againe. For ſo wee muſt conceive the Poëts meaning to be: if wee wil make him to accord with the reſt of his fellowes.

Theſe obſervations I doubt not, will be cenſured by many to ſavour of a needleſſe and fruitleſſe curioſitie: but the intelligent Reader for all that will eaſily diſcerne, how hereby he may be led to vnderſtand, in what ſenſe the ancient both * Heathen and Chriſtian writers did hold *Hádes* to bee under the earth; and upon what ground. For they did not meane thereby (as the Schoolemen generally doe, and as § *Tertullian* ſometime ſeemeth to imagine) that it was contayned within the bowels of the earth: but that it lay under the whole bulke thereof, and occupied that whole ſpace, which we now finde to be taken up with the earth, ayre and firmament of the ſoutherne hemiſphere.[h] *The inhabitants of which infernall region and vaſt depth* are thereupon affirmed by S. *Hilary* to be *non intra terram ſed infra terram*, not *within* the earth but *beneath* the earth. And this proceeded from no other ground, but the vulgar opinion, that the ſoutherne hemiſphere of the earth was not inhabited by

* *Ita apud Pindarum, in Olymp. Od. 2. illud* κατὰ γᾶς, *exponit Scholiaſtes,* ὑπὸ γῆν, τετίσθαι, καθ' ἅδου.

§ Nobis inferi non nuda cavoſitas, nec ſubdivalis aliqua mundi ſententia creduntur: ſed in foſſâ terræ & in alto vaſtitas, & in ipſis viſceribus ejus abſtruſa profunditas. *Tertull. de animâ, cap.* 55.

h Eſſe autem hujus infernæ regionis vaſtæque abyſsi incolas plures, beati Ioannis Apocalypſi docemur. &c. *Hilari. in Pſalm.* 2.

by living men, as our northerne is. In ſo much that ſome of the heathen atheiſts, finding the contrarie to be true by the diſcourſe of right reaſon; endeavoured to perſwade themſelves from thence, that there was no ſuch place as *Hádes* at all. [i] *Lucretius for the greater part,* (ſaith *Servius*) *and others fully teach, that the kingdomes of Hell cannot as much as have a being. For what place can wee ſay they have; when under the earth our Antipodes are ſaid to be? and that they ſhould be in the midſt of the earth, neyther will the ſoliditie permit, nor the center of the earth. Which earth if it be in the middle of the world, the profunditie thereof cannot be ſo great, that it may have thoſe inferos within it, in which is Tartarus: whereof we reade,*

Bis patet in præceps tantum, tenditque ſub umbras,
Quantus ad æthereum cœli ſuſpectus Olympum.

But Chriſtian men, being better inſtructed out of the word of God, were taught to anſwer otherwiſe. [k] *If thou doſt aske mee* (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *of the ſituation and place of* Gehenna: *I will anſwere and ſay, that it is ſeated ſomewhere out of this world*; & that *it is not to be inquired in what place it is ſituated, but by what meanes rather it may be avoyded.*

In the Dialogue betwixt *Gregory Nyſſen* and that admirable woman *Macrina*, S. *Baſils* ſiſter, touching *the Soule & the Reſurrectiõ*, this point is ſtood upon at large: the queſtion being firſt propoſed by *Gregory* in

i Lucretius ex majore parte, & alij integrè docent, inferorum regna ne eſſe quidem poſſe. Nam locum ipſorum quem poſſumus dicere; cùm ſub terris dicantur eſſe Antipodes? in mediâ vero terrâ eos eſſe, nec ſoliditas patitur, nec centrum terræ. quæ terra ſi in medio mundi eſt; tanta ejus eſſe profunditas non poteſt, ut in medio ſui habeat inferos, in quibus eſt Tartarus: de quo legitur, Bis patet in præceps tantum, &c. *Servius, in Æneid. 6.*

k Si de ſitu & loco quæſieris, reſpondebo, dicamque extra terrarum orbem hunc aliquo eſſe poſitum. Non ergo erit, quo fuerit hæc loco ſita, quin magis quo pacto evitari poſsit, quærendum. *Chryſoſtom. de præmijs ſanctor. tom. 3. Oper. Latin.*

this

this maner. [l] *Where is that name of Hádes ſo much ſpoken of? which is ſo much treated of in our common converſation, ſo much in the writings both of the heathen and our owne. into which all men thinke that the ſoules are tranſlated from hence as into a certaine receptacle. For you wil not ſay that the elements are this Hádes.* Whereunto *Macrina* thus replyeth. [m] *It appeareth that thou didſt not give much heed to my ſpeech. For when I ſpake of the tranſlation of the ſoule from that which is ſeene, unto that which is inviſible, I thought I had left nothing behind to be inquired of Hádes. Neyther doth that name, wherein ſouls are ſaid to be, ſeem to me to ſignifie any other thing eyther in profane writers or in in the holy Scripture, ſave onely a removing unto that which is inviſible and unſeene.* Thereupon it being further demanded: [n] *how then doe ſome thinke that a certaine ſubterraneall place ſhould be ſo called, and that the ſoules doe lodge therein?* for anſwer thereunto it is ſaid, that there is no manner of difference betwixt the lower hemiſphere of the earth, and that wherein we live: that as long as the principall doctrine of the immortalitie of the ſoule is yeelded unto, no controverſie ſhould be moved touching the place thereof; that locall poſition is proper to bodies, and the ſoule being incorporeall hath no neede to bee detayned in certaine places. Then the place objected from *Philip.* 2. 10: of thoſe *under the earth* that ſhould bow at the name of IESVS, being largely ſcanned: this in the end is layd downe

l Πῶς ἐκεῖνο τὸ πολυθρύλλητον τῶν ἀδῶν ὄνομα· πολὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τοῦ βίου, πολὺ δὲ ἐν ταῖς συγγραφαῖς ταῖς τε ἔξωθεν καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις περιφερόμενον; εἰς ὃ πάντες οἴονται καθάπερ δοχεῖόν τινα δεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς μεταίσεσθαι; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦτον ἄδην λέγοις. Gregor. Nyſſen. in Macriniis, tom. 2. Oper. pag. 641.

m Δῆλος ἦν μὴ λίαν προσεσχηκὼς τῷ λόγῳ. τοιοῦτον γάρ τι ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὁρωμένης πρὸς τὸ ἀειδὲς μετάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰπόντος, οὐδὲν ὤμην ἀπολελοιπέναι εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἄδου ζητούμενον. οὐδὲ ἄλλο τί μοι δοκεῖ παρά τε τῆς ἔξωθεν καὶ παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο δηλοῦν σημαινόμενον ἐν ᾧ τὰς ψυχὰς κεῖσθαι λέγουσι, πολὺ εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀφανὲς μετέχουσιν. (*fort.* μετοίκησιν.) Ibid. pag. 641. 642.

n Καὶ πῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον χῶρον οἴονταί τινες ὕστερον λέγεσθαι καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεῖναι τὰς ψυχὰς παραδοκοῦσιν &c. Ibid. pag. 642.

for

for the conclusion.* *These things being thus, no man can constraine us by the name of things under the earth to understand any subterraneall place: forasmuch as the ayre doth so equally compasse the earth round about, that there is no part thereof found naked from the covering of the ayre.* Both these opinions are thus propounded by p *Theophylact*, and by q *Hugo Etherianus* after him. *What is Hádes, or Hell? Some say, that it is a darke place under the earth. Others say, that it is the trãslation of the soule from that which is visible unto that which is unseene and invisible. For while the soule is in the body, it is seene by the proper operations thereof: but being translated out of the body, it is invisible; and this did they say was Hádes.*

So where the author of the *Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy* defineth death to bee a ſeparation of the united parts, & the bringing of thẽ εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ἀφανὲς, unto that which is *invisible to us*: his ſcholiaſt *Maximus* noteth thereupon, that s *this invisible thing some doe affirme to be Hádes; that is to say, an unseene and invisible departure of the soule unto places not to be seene by the sence of man.* Hitherto alſo may be referred the place cited t before out of *Origen* in his *fourth* Booke περὶ ἀρχῶν: which by S. *Hierome* is thus delivered.t *They who die*

* Τούτων δ' ὄντων, οὐκ ἂν τις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζοι τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἀχθονίων ὀνόματι τὸν ὑπόγειον ἐννοεῖν χῶρον. ἐπίπης τὸ ἀέρος περιλαχόντος πανταχόθεν περιεχόμενον τῇ γῇ, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος γυμνὸν τῆς περιοχῆς τὸ ἀέρος καταλαμβάνεσθαι. Ibid. pag. 644.

p Τί δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἅδης; Οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν φασι χῶρον ὑπόγειον σκοτεινὸν. οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀειδὲς μετάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἅδην ἔφασαν. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ἐν σώματι ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, φαίνεται διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν, μεταστᾶσα δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀειδὴς γίνεται, τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν ἅδην. Theoph. in Luc. c. 16. q Infernũ autem hi quidem putant regionem sub terrâ caliginis & tenebrarum: &c. Alii verò Infernum ex apparitione ad disparitionem animæ nominaverunt. Quandiu anima est in corpore, per proprias videtur actiones: sed ubi à corpore discessum est, omnibus modis incognita nobis exiſtit. *Hugo Etherian. de animar. regress. ab Inferis, cap.* 11. r Τοῦτο τὸ ἀφανὲς τινὲς ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν ἅδην, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀφανῆ γενόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς χωρισμὸν, εἰς τόπους ἀοράτους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Maxim. in Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. Hierarch. cap. 2. s *Supra, pag.* 232. t In iſto mundo qui moriuntur separatione carnis & animæ, juxta operum differentiam diverſa apud Inferos obtinent loca. *Origen. de principiis, lib.* 4. *apud Hieronym. epiſt.* 59. *ad Avitum.*

in

in this world by the ſeparation of the fleſh and the ſoule, according to the difference of their workes obtaine divers places in Hell. Where by *Hádes, Inferi,* or *Hell,* he meaneth indefinitely the *other world*: in which how the ſoules of the godly were diſpoſed, he thus declareth in another place.[u] *The ſoule leaveth the darkeneſſe of this world, and the blindneſſe of this bodily nature, and is tranſlated unto another world: which is eyther the boſome of Abraham, as it is ſhewed in Lazarus, or Paradiſe, as in the Thiefe that beleeved upon the Croſſe; or yet if God know that there be any other places, or other manſions, by which the ſoule that beleeveth in God paſſing, & cõming unto that river which maketh glad the Citie of God, may receive within it the lot of the inheritance promiſed unto the Fathers.* For touching the determinate ſtate of the faithfull ſoules departed this life, the ancient Doctors (as we have ſhewed) were not ſo thoroughly reſolved.

u Relinquit anima mundi hujus tenebras, ac naturæ corporeæ cæcitatem, & transfertur ad aliud ſæculum: quod vel ſinus Abrahæ, ut in Lazaro, vel Paradiſus, ut in latrone qui de cruce credidit, indicatur; vel etiam ſi qua novit Deus eſſe alia loca, vel alias manſiones, per quæ tranſiens anima Deo credens, & perveniens uſq; ad flumen illud quod lætificat civitatem Dei, intra ipſum ſortem promiſſæ patribus hæreditatis accipiat. *Origen. in numer. 31. homil. 26.*

At this time, all the queſtion betwixt us and the Romaniſts is, whether the faithfull be received into their everlaſting tabernacles preſently upõ their removeall out of the body, or after they have been firſt *purified to the point* (as *Allen* ſpeaketh) in the furnace of Purgatory: but in the time of the Fathers, as S. *Auguſtine* noteth, the[x] *great queſtion was, whether the receiving* of them into thoſe everlaſting tabernacles were *performed preſently after this life; or in the end of the world, at the reſurrection of the dead, and the laſt retribution of judgement.* And ſo concerning *Hell* the queſtion was as great among them, whether all, good

x Illa receptio utrum ſtatim poſt iſtam vitam fiat, an in reſurrectione mortuorum, atque ultimâ retributione judicii; non minima quæſtio eſt. *Auguſtin. Queſtion. Evangel. lib. 2. cap. 38.*

and

and bad, went thither or no? whereof the same S. *Augustine* is a witnesse also: who upon that speech of *Iacob*, Genes. 37. 35. *I will goe downe to my sonne mourning into Hell*, writeth thus. [y] *It useth to be a great question, in what manner Hell should be understood: whether evill men onely, or good men also when they are dead doe use to goe downe thither. And if evill men onely doe; how doth hee say that hee would goe downe unto his sonne mourning? for hee did not beleeve that hee was in the paines of Hell. Or bee these the words of a troubled and grieving man, amplifying his evils from hence?* and upon that other speech of his, Genes. 42. 38. *You shall bring downe mine old age with sorrow unto Hell.* [z] *Whether therefore unto Hell, because with sorrow? Or although sorrow were away, speaketh he these things as if he were to goe downe into Hell by dying? For of Hell there is a great question: and what the Scripture delivereth thereof, in all the places where it hath occasion to make mention of it, is to be observed.* Hitherto S. *Augustine*: who had reference to this *great question*, when hee said as hath beene [a] before alledged. *Of Hell neither have I had any experience as yet, nor you: and peradventure there shall be another way, & by Hell it shall not be. For these things are uncertaine.* Neyther is there greater question among the Doctors of the Church concerning the Hell of the Fathers of the *Old* Testament, than there is of the Hell of the faithfull now in the time of the *New*: neyther are there greater differences betwixt them touching the Hell into which our Saviour went

y Solet esse magna quæstio, quomodo intelligatur infernus: utrum illuc mali tantùm, an etiam boni mortui descendere soleant. Si ergo tantùm mali: quo modo iste ad filium suum se dicit lugeatem descendere? Non enim in pœnis inferni eum esse credidit. An perturbati & dolentis verba sunt, mala sua etiam hinc exaggerantis? *Vid. Quæstion. 126. in Genesim. & Eucher. in Genes. lib. 3. cap. 18.*

z Vtrùm ideò ad infernum, quia cum tristitiâ? An etiam si abesset tristitia, tanquam ad infernum moriendo descensurus hæc loquitur? De inferno enim magna quæstio est: & quid inde Scriptura sentiat, locis omnibus ubi fortè hoc commemoratum fuerit, observandum est. *Augustin. Quæstion. 142. in Genesim. & Eucher. in Genes. lib. 3. cap. 27.* a *Supr. pag. 230.*

(whether

(whether it were under the earth or aboue, whether a darkeſome place or a lightſome, whether a Priſon or a Paradiſe) than there are of the manſions wherein the ſoules of the bleſſed doe now continue.

S. *Hierome*, interpreting thoſe words of King *Ezechias*, Eſay. 38. 10. *I ſhall goe to the gates of Hell:* ſaith that this is meant, [b] *eyther of the common law of Nature, or elſe of thoſe Gates, from which that he was delivered, the Pſalmiſt ſingeth; Thou that lifteſt me up from the gates of death, that I may ſhew foorth all thy prayſes in the gates of the daughter of Sion.* (Pſalm. 9. 13. 14.) Now as ſome of the Fathers doe expound our Saviours going to Hell, of his deſcending into *Gehenna*: ſo others expound it of his going to Hell according to *the common law of Nature*; the common law of nature (I ſay) which extendeth it ſelfe indifferently unto all the dead, whether they belong to the ſtate of the New Teſtament or of the Old. For as *Chriſts* ſoule was in all points made like unto ours (ſin onely excepted) while it was joyned with his body here in the land of the living: ſo when hee had humbled himſelfe unto the death, it became him in all things to be made like unto his brethren, even in that ſtate of diſſolution. [c] And ſo indeed the ſoule of IESVS *had experience of both. For it was in the place of humaine ſoules, and being out of the fleſh did live and ſubſiſt. It was a reaſonable ſoule therefore and of the ſame ſubſtance with the ſoules of men; even as his fleſh is of the ſame ſubſtance with the fleſh of men, proceeding from Mary:* ſaith *Euſtathius* the Patriarch of *Antioch* in his expoſition of that text of the Pſalme; *Thou wilt not leave my*

b Vel communi lege naturæ; vel illas portas, de quibus quòd liberatus ſit, Pſalmiſta decantat: Qui exaltas me de portis mortis, ut annunciem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiæ Sion. *Hieron. lib. 11. in Eſai. cap. 38.*

c Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἑκατέρων πεῖραν ἔσχε· ψυχὴ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκτὸς γενομένη ζῇ καὶ ὑφέστηκε· λογικὴ οὖσα καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοούσιος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ὁμοούσιος τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σαρκὶ τυγχάνει, ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας προελθοῦσα. Euſtathius Antiochen. in Pſal. 15. citatus à Theodoreto in Ἀγωγῇ Dialog. 1.

ſoule in Hell. Where by ᾍδης or *Hell*, you ſee, hee underſtandeth χωρίον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς, *the place of humaine ſoules* (which is the Hebrewes עולם הנשמות or *world of ſpirits*) and by the diſpoſing of *Chriſts* ſoule there after the manner of other ſoules, concludeth it to be of the ſame nature with other mens ſoules. So S. *Hilary* in his expoſition of the 138. Pſalme. [d] *This is the law of humaine neceſsitie*, ſaith he, *that the bodies being buried, the ſoules ſhould goe to Hell. Which deſcent the Lord did not refuſe, for the accompliſhment of a true man.* and a little after he repeateth it, that *de ſupernis ad inferos mortis lege deſcendit*, he *deſcended from the ſupernall to the infernall parts by the law of death.* and upon the 53. Pſalme more fully. [e] *To fulfill the nature of man he ſubjected himſelfe to death, that is, to a departure as it were of the ſoule and bodie; and pierced into the infernall ſeates, which was a thing that ſeemed to be due unto man.*

So *Leo*, in one of his Sermons upon our Lords Paſsion. [f] *Hee did undergoe the lawes of Hell by dying, but did diſſolve them by riſing againe: and ſo did cut off the perpetuitie of death, that of eternall he might make it temporall.* So *Irenæus*, having ſaid, that our Lord [g] *converſed three dayes where the dead were*; addeth, that therein he [h] *obſerved the law of the dead, that he might be made the firſt begotten from the dead; ſtaying untill the third day in the lower parts of the earth, and after-*

d Humanæ iſta lex neceſsitatis eſt, ut conſepultis corporibus ad inferos animæ deſcendant. Quam deſcenſionem Dominus ad conſummationem veri hominis non recuſavit. *Hilari. in Pſal.* 138.

e Ad explendam quidem hominis naturam etiam morti ſe, id eſt, diſceſsioni ſe tanquam animæ corporiſq; ſubjecit; & ad infernas ſedes, id quod homini debitum videtur eſſe, penetravit. *Id. in Pſalm.* 53.

f Leges infermi moriendo ſubiit, ſed reſurgendo diſſoluit: & ita perpetuitatem mortis incidit, ut eam de æternâ faceret temporalem. *Leo de paſsion. Serm.* 8.

g Nunc autem tribus diebus converſatus eſt ubi erant mortui. *Ireneus, lib.* 5. *cap. ult.*

h Dominus legem mortuorum ſervavit, ut fieret primogenitus à mortuis, & commoratus uſque ad tertiam diem in inferioribus terræ, poſt deinde ſurgens in carne, ut etiam figuras clavorum oſtenderet diſcipulis, ſic aſcendit ad patrem. *Ibid.*

ward

ward rising in his flesh. Then he draweth from thence this generall conclusion. [i] *Seeing our Lord went in the midst of the shadow of death, where the soules of the dead were, then afterward rose againe corporally, and after his resurrection was assumed: it is manifest that the soules of his disciples also, for whose sake the Lord wrought these things, shall goe to an invisible place appointed unto them by God, and there shall abide untill the Resurrection, waiting for the resurrection; and afterwards receiving their bodies, and rising againe perfectly, that is to say coporally, even as our Lord did rise againe, they shall so come unto the presence of God. For there is no Disciple above his Master: but every one shall be perfect, if he be as his Master.* The like collection doth *Tertullian* make in his booke of the Soule. [k] *If Christ being God, because hee was also man, dying according to the Scriptures, & being buried according to the same, did heere also satisfie the Law, by performing the course of an humaine death in Hell, neyther did ascend into the higher parts of the Heavens, before hee descended into the lower parts of the Earth, that he might there make the Patriarches & Prophets partakers of himselfe: thou hast, both to beleeve that there is a region of Hell under the earth, and to push them with the elbow, who proudly enough doe not thinke the soules of the faithfull to bee fit for Hell; Servants above their Lord, and Disciples above their Master, scorning perhaps to take the comfort of expecting the resurrection in Abrahams bosome.* And in the same booke, speaking of the soule: [l] *What is that, saith he, which*

i Cùm enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi animæ mortuorum erant, pòst deinde corporaliter resurrexit, & post resurrectionem assumptus est: manifestum est quia & discipulorum ejus, propter quos & hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abeunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis à Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem; pòst recipientes corpora & perfectè resurgentes, hoc est corporaliter, quemadmodum & Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei. Nemo enim est discipulus super Magistrum: perfectus autem omnis erit, sicut magister ejus. *Ibid.* k *Tertullian. de Anima, cap. 55. vid. supr. pag. 294. & 295. ad liter. b.* l Quid est illud quod ad inferna transfertur post divortium corporis, quod detinetur illic, quod in diem judicii reservatur, ad quod & Christus moriendo descendit, puto ad animas Patriarcharum. *Ibid. cap. 7.*

is translated unto the infernall parts (or *Hell*) *after the separation of the body? which is detayned there, which is reserved unto the day of Iudgement, unto which Christ by dying did descend, to the soules of the Patriarches, I thinke.* Where hee maketh the *Hell* unto which our Saviour did descend, to be the common receptacle not of the soules of the Patriarches alone, but also of the soules that are now still separated from their bodies: as being the place *quò universa humanitas trahitur* (as he speaketh [m] elsewhere in that booke) *unto which all Mankinde is drawne.*

[m] *Ibid. cap.* 58.

So *Novatianus* after him, affirmeth that the very places [n] *which lie under the earth be not voyd of distinguished and ordered powers. For that is the place* (saith he) *whither the soules both of the godly and ungodly are led, receiving the fore-judgements of their future doome.* *Lactantius* saith that our Saviour [o] rose againe *ab inferis*, from *Hell*: but so hee saith also that the dead Saints shall be [p] raysed up *ab inferis* at the time of the Resurrection. S. *Cyrill* of *Alexandria* saith, that the Iewes [q] *killed Christ, & cast him into the deepe and darke dungeon of Death, that is, into Hádes*: adding afterward, that [r] *Hádes may rightly be esteemed to be the house and mansion of such as are deprived of life.* *Nicephorus Gregoras* in his funerall Oration upon *Theodorus Metochites*, putteth in this for one straine of his lamentation. [s] *Who hath brought downe that heavenly man unto the bottome of Hádes?* and *Andrew* Archbishop of *Crete*, touching the descent both of *Christ* and all *Christians* after him even unto the darke and com-

n Quæ infra terram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis & ordinatis potestatibus vacua. Locus enim est, quò piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia sentientes. *Novatian. de Trinitat. cap.* 1.

o *Lactant. Institut. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.

p *Id. lib.* 7. *cap.* 24. *vid. & cap.* 22.

q Ἀπεκτόνασι γὰρ, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς τινα λάκκον καὶ σκότος οἱ δεινοὶ οἱ δεινοὶ, τὸ βαθὺ καὶ σκοτεινὸν τοῦ θανάτου θέσεως, τετίσι τὸν ᾅδην. Cyrill. Glaphyr. in Genes. lib. 6. pag. 154.

r Τῶν γὰρ ζωῆς ἐστερημένων νοεῖται ἂν εἰκότως ὁ ᾅδης οἶκός τε καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα. Ibid. pag. 155.

s Τίς τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἄνδρωπον εἰς ᾅδου κατεμέτρησε; Niceph. Gregor. histor. Roman. lib. 10.

fortlesse

fortleſſe *Hádes*, writeth in this manner. [t] *If hee, who was the Lord and Maſter of all, and the light of them that are in darkeneſſe, and the life of all men, would taſte death, and undergoe the deſcent into Hell, that hee might be made like unto us in all things, ſinne excepted, and for three dayes went through the ſad, obſcure, and darke region of Hell: what ſtrange thing is it, that wee who are ſinners, and dead in treſpaſſes (according to the great Apoſtle) who are ſubject to generation and corruption, ſhould meete with death, and goe with our ſoule into the darke chambers of Hell, where wee cannot ſee light, nor behold the life of mortall men? For are wee above our Maſter, or better than the Saints, who underwent theſe things of ours after the like manner that wee muſt doe.*

Iuvencus intimateth, that our Saviour giving up the ghoſt ſent his ſoule unto Heaven, in thoſe verſes of his:

[u] *Tunc clamor Domini magno conamine miſſus,*
Æthereis animam comitem commiſcuit auris.

Euſebius Emeſenus collecteth ſo much from the laſt words which our Lord uttered at the ſame time; *Father into thine hands I commend my ſpirit.* Τὸ πνεῦμα ἄνω, ſaith [x] hee, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. *His ſpirit was above, and his body remayned upon the Croſſe for us.* S. *Chryſoſtome* (or who ever elſe was the author of that ſixt Paſchall Homily) making three diſtinct

[t] Εἰ ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλεπε, κύριος ἂν τῶν πάντων, καὶ ἀναπαύσης, καὶ φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ἀπάντων, θανάτῳ γεύσασθαι, καὶ πρὸ ὡς φθορὰν καταβαίνειν ἐπῃξιώσατο, ὡς ἂν καὶ πάντα ἡμῖν ὁμοιωθῇ, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω δι' ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ᾅδου χώρῳ, τὴν ἀφεγγῆ λέγω καὶ σκοτεινὸν, νύκτος γέμοντα μέρον διελήλυθε τὶ ξένον, ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὄντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἤδη τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον, τοῦ ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν, θανάτῳ μὲν προσομιλῆσαι, καὶ ἀδὲ τὰ σκοτεινὰ διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς ἀπελθεῖν καταγώγια, ἃ ἐκ ἔστι φέγγος ἰδεῖν, καὶ ὁρᾶν ζωὴν βροτῶν, ἃς προλέλεκται; μὴ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν δεσπότην ἡμεῖς, ἢ τῶν ἁ-

γίων κρείττους, οἱ τὸν ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ὑπελήλυθαν τρόπον τὰ ἡμέτερα; Andr. Hieroſolymitan. ſerm. in vitam humanam, & in Defunctos. [u] *Iuvenc. Hiſtor. Evangel. lib. 4.* [x] *Euſeb. Emeſen. à Theodoreto citatus in* Ἀπαθ. *dialog. 3.*

parts of the whole man, out of the ſentence of the Apoſtle 1. Theſ. 5. 23. converteth thus his ſpeech unto our Saviour.* *Let the Heavens have thy ſpirit, Paradiſe thy ſoule, (for to day, ſaith he, will I bee with thee in Paradiſe) and the earth thy bloud*, or *thy bodie* rather. for that anſwereth to the third member of his diviſion. In the Greeke expoſition of the Canticles, collected out of *Euſebius*, *Philo Carpathius* & others, that ſentence in the beginning of the *ſixt* Chapter, *My beloved is gone downe into his garden*, is interpreted of *Chriſts* z going *to the ſoules of the Saints in Hádes*, which in the Latine collections that beare the name of *Philo Carpathius* is thus more largely expreſſed. a *By this deſcending of the Bridegroome, wee may underſtand the deſcending of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt into Hell, as I ſuppoſe: for that which followeth proveth this, when he ſayeth; To the beds of ſpices. For thoſe ancient holy men are not unfitly ſignified by the beds of ſpices; ſuch as were, Noë, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Moſes, Iob, David, Samuel, Eliſæus, Daniel, and very many others before the Law: and in the Law: who all of them, like unto beds of ſpices, gave a moſt ſweete ſmell of the odours and fruits of holy righteouſneſſe. For then as a triumpher did hee enter into* PARADISE, *when he pierced into Hell. God himſelfe is preſent with us for a witneſſe in this matter, when he anſwered moſt graciouſly to the*

* Ἐχέτωσαν σὺ τὸ πνεῦμα οἱ οὐρανοὶ, ὁ δὲ παράδεισος τῷ ψυχῷ (σήμερον γάρ, φησὶν, ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ) τὸ δὲ σῶμα (an σῶμα potiùs?) ἡ γῆ. Μεμέλεισαι ὁ ἀμερὴς, &c. Chryſoſt. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 349.

z Κατέβη εἰς ᾅδου ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἐν ᾅδου ψυχάς. Euſeb. in Cantic. pag. 68.

a Per deſcenſum Sponſi quem patruelem appellat, Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti deſcenſum ad inferos poſſumus intelligere, ut arbitror: nam & hæc ſequentia probant, cùm dixit; ad aromatum phialas ſive areolas. Priſci enim illi ſanctiſsimi viri, per phialas aromatum non ineptè ſignificantur; quales fuere, Nöe, Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Moſes, Iob, David, Samuel, Elizæus, Daniel, alijque quamplurimi ante Legem & in Lege: qui quidem omnes, veluti aromatum phialæ ſive areolæ, ſanctiſsimæ juſtitiæ odores ac fructus ſuaviſsimè olucrunt. Tunc enim Paradiſum triumphator ingreſſus eſt, cùm ad inferos penetravit. Adeſt nobis ipſe Deus hâc in re teſtis, cùm in cruce Latroni (ſeſe illi ipſi religioſiſsimè commendanti) clementiſsimè reſpondit; Hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. *Philo Carpath. in Cantic. 6.*

Thiefe

Thiefe upon the Crosse, commending himselfe unto him most religiously; To day shalt thou be with mee in Paradise. Lastly, touching this *Paradise*, the various opinions of the ancient are thus layd downe by *Olympiodorus*; to seeke no farther. [a] *It is a thing fit to inquire, in what place under the Sunne are the godly placed. Certaine it is, that in Paradise: forasmuch as our Saviour said unto the Thiefe*; This day shalt thou bee with me in Paradise. *And it is to bee knowne, that the History teacheth Paradise to be upon earth. But some have said that Paradise also is in Hades, and therefore* (say they) *the rich man saw Lazarus: but hee being somewhere below, beheld the other with Abraham somewhere above. Yet howsoever the matter goth; this we are taught, aswell out of Ecclesiastes as out of all the sacred Scripture, that the godly man is in a good estate, & the wicked on the other side in torments. Others againe have beene of the minde, that Paradise is in heaven. &c.* Hitherto *Olympiodorus.*

That *Christs soule went into Paradise,* [b] Doctor *Bishop* saith, being *well understood, is true. For his soule in hell, had the joyes of Paradise: but to make that an exposition of Christs descending into hell, is to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it.* Yet this *ridiculous* exposition, hee affirmeth to bee *received of most Protestants.* Which is even as true as that which hee avoucheth in the same place; that this article of the descent into Hell is to bee found [c] *in the old Romane Creede expounded by Ruffinus:* where *Ruffinus* (as we have

a Ζητῆσαι δὲ προσήκει, πῦ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον τυγχάνουσιν οἱ εὐσεβεῖς. εὔδηλον ὅτι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸν εἰρηκότα Σωτῆρα τῷ λῃστῇ· σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἱστορία τὸν παράδεισον ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι διδάσκει. τινὲς δὲ ἔφησαν ὅτι καὶ ὁ παράδεισος ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ τυγχάνει· διό φησι καὶ ὁ πλούσιος εἰδὲ τὸν Λάζαρον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κατω τυγχάνων, ἐκεῖνον ἄνω που (μετ') Ἀβραὰμ ἐθεώρησε. ὅπως δ' ἂν ἔχῃ ταῦτα διδασκόμεθα καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντος ῥητῷ, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ θείας γραφῆς ἐν εὐπαιδείαις εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, τὸν δὲ ἄπιστον ἐν ταῖς καταλλήλοις κολάσεσιν. ἑτέροις δὲ ἔδοξε τὸν παράδεισον ἐν οὐρανῷ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἁπλῶς ἐκλησιαστὴς ἀκολουθήσει μᾶλλον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ. Olympiodor. in Ecclesiast. cap. 3. b *Bishop. answer to Perkins advertisement, pag. 9.* c *Ibid. pag. 8.*

have heard) expounding that article, delivereth the *flat* contrarie, that it is *not found added in the Creede of the Church of Rome.* It is true indeed, that more than *most protestants* doe interpret the words of *Christ* uttered unto the Thiefe upon the Crosse, *Luke* 23. 43. of the going of his *Soule* into *Paradise*: where our Saviour meaning simply and plainely, that he would bee that day in [d] *Heaven*, Master *Bishop* would have him so to bee understood, as if hee had meant that that day hee would bee in *Hell.* And must it bee now held more *ridiculous* in Protestants, to take *Hell* for *Paradise*; than in Master *Bishop*, to take *Paradise* for *Hell?* Κατελθόντα εἰς ᾅδου, bee the words of the Apostles Creed in the Greeke: and, Κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, in the Symbol of [e] *Athanasius.* Some learned Protestants doe observe, that in these words there is no determinate mention made, either of *ascending* or *descending*, eyther of *Heaven* or *Hell* (taking *Hell* according to the vulgar acception) but of the *generall* onely, under which these contraries are indifferently comprehended: and that the words literally interpreted, import no more but this; HE WENT UNTO THE OTHER VVORLD. Which is not *to expound a thing by the flat contrary of it*, as Master *Bishop* fancieth: who may quickly make himselfe *ridiculous*, in taking upon him thus to censure the interpretations of our learned linguists; unlesse his owne skill in the languages were greater, than as yet hee hath given proofe of.

Master *Broughton* (with whose authoritie hee elsewhere presseth us, as of a man [f] *esteemed to be singularly seene in the Hebrew and Greeke tongue*) hath beene but

d *Suarez tom.2. in 3 part. Tho. qu.46. art. 11. & quæst.52. art.8. disput.43. sect.4. Bellarmin. de Sanctor. Beatitud. lib.1. cap. 3. testim.4.* See before, *pag.277.*

e *Tom.2. Oper. Athanas. pag.39. edit. Græcolat.* vel, καταλθὼν ἐν ᾅδῃ: ut habetur in Horis B. Mariæ Virginis, secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curiæ, Græcè ab *Aldo* editis. *sive,* καταλθὼν εἰς ᾅδου, *ut rectius habent editiones aliæ.*

f *Bishop. Preface to the second part of his Reformat. of Perkins Catholike. pag.19.*

but too forward in maintaining that expoſition, which by D *Biſhop* is accounted ſo *ridiculous*. In one place, touching the terme *Hell*, as it doth anſwer the Hebrew *Sheol* and the Greek *Hádes*, he writeth thus. g *He that thinketh it ever uſed for Tartaro or Gehenna, otherwiſe than the terme Death may by Synecdoche import ſo: hath not skill in Ebrew or that Greeke, which breathing and live Gracia ſpake, if God hath lent me any judgement that way.* In h another place he alledgeth out of *Portus* his *Dictionary*, that the *Macedonian* Greek uſually termed Heaven *Haiden*: and that our Lords prayer in vulgar Greek ſayth; *Our Father which art in Haides*. One of his acquaintance beyond the Sea, reporteth that he ſhould deliver, that in i *many moſt ancient Manuſcript copies*, the Lords prayer is found with this beginning: Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾅδῃ, *Our Father which art in Hádes*. which I for my part will then beleeve to be true, when I ſhall ſee one of thoſe old copies with mine owne eyes. But in the meane time for *Hádes*, it hath been ſufficiently declared before out of good authors, that it ſignifieth the *place of ſoules departed* in generall; & ſo is of extent large enough to comprehend under it, as wel τὸ ἐν ὑψηλῷ ᾅδου (as *Damaſcius* ſpeaketh) that part of *Hádes* which is in *heaven*, as that which by k *Ioſephus* is called ᾅδης σκοτώτερος, *the darker Hádes*, and in the l Goſpel τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, *outer darkeneſſe*. and therefore, as the word *Fleſh*, in the vulgar acception of the terme, is oppoſed to *Fiſh*; but as it is taken to expreſſe the Greek word σὰρξ, is of ſo ample a reach, that it fetcheth within the compaſſe thereof both the one and the other: (ſo that we ſay, in 1. Corinth. 15.39. that there

g *Brought. in his epiſtle to the Nobilitie of Engl. edit. an.* 1597. *pag.* 38.

h *Require of conſent, edit. an.* 1611. *pag.* 21.

i Inveniri inſuper aſſerit in multis vetuſtiſſimis exemplaribus Mss. orationem Dominicam in hunc modum: Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾅδῃ, Pater noſter qui es in inferno, &c. Veteres quoq; Macedones aliter orationem Dominicam nunquam precatos fuiſſe. *Io. Rodolph. Lavator. de deſcenſu ad inferos, lib.* 1. *part.* 1. *cap.* 8.

k *Ioſeph. de Bello Iudaic. lib.* 3. *cap.* 25. *pag.* 785.

l *Matth.* 8. 12. & 22. 13. & 25. 30.

there is one *fleſh of beaſts*, and *another of fiſhes:*) in like maner alſo the word *Hell*, though in the vulgar uſe it be taken for that which is oppoſite to *Heaven*; yet as it is applied to repreſent the ſignification of the Greeke word ᾅδης, Maſter *Broughton* might well defend, that it is of ſo large a capacitie, that *Heaven* it ſelfe may bee compriſed within the notion thereof. *Heaven*, I ſay, not conſidered as it is a place of life and perfection, nor as it ſhall bee after the generall Reſurrection: but ſo farre forth onely, as *Death* (the [m] laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed) hath any footing therein. that is to ſay, as it is the receptacle of the *ſpirits* of dead men, held as yet diſſevered from their bodies: which ſtate of diſſolution (though carried to *Heaven* it ſelfe) is ſtill a part of Deaths [n] victorie, and the Saints [o] imperfection.

m 1. Cor. 15. 26.

n 1. Cor. 15. 54, 55.

o Hebr. 11. 40.

As for καταβῆναι the other word; in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* it is uſed ten times: and in none of all thoſe places ſignifieth any deſcending from a higher place unto a lower, but a removing ſimply from one place unto another. Whereupon the vulgar Latin edition (which none of the Romaniſts [p] *upon any pretenſe may preſume to reject*) doth render it there by the generall termes of [q] *abeo*, [r] *venio*, [s] *devenio*, [t] *ſupervenio*. and where it retaineth the word [u] *deſcendo*, it intendeth nothing leſſe, than to ſignifie thereby the lower ſituation of the place unto which the removeall is noted to be made. If *deſcending* therefore in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles imply no ſuch kinde of thing: what neceſſitie is there, that thus of force it muſt bee interpreted in the *Creed* of the Apoſtles? *Menelaus declared unto us*, βάλλεσθαι καταβάντας ὑμᾶς χίλιους πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους: ſaith

p Nemo illam reijcere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præſumat. *Concil. Trident. ſeſſ.* 4.

q *Act.* 13. 4.

r 18. 5. & 27. 5.

s 9. 32.

t 11. 27. & 21. 10.

u 8. 5. & 12. 19. & 15. 1. & 18. 22.

King

King *Antiochus*, in his epistle unto the Iewes, 2. *Macab.* 11.29. *Velle vos descendere ad vestros*, it is in the Latin edition: whereby what else is meant, but that they had a desire to goe unto their owne? So the Hebrew word ירד which answereth to this of descending, the LXX. doe render by [x] ἔρχομαι, [y] κέρχομαι, and [z] εἰσέρχομαι: and in the selfe same place, and with the selfe same breath as it were, expresse it both by καταβαίνω and πορεύομαι, [a] *descending* and *going*; yea by καταβαίνω and ἀναβαίνω too, [b] *descending* and *ascending* promiscuously. (Ruth. 3.3,6.) I omit the phrases of *descending in prælium, in forum, in campum, in amicitiam, in caussam, &c.* which are so usuall in good Latin authors: yea, and of *descending into heaven* it selfe; if that bee not a jeast which the Poët breaketh upon *Claudius*.

[c] *---præcordia pressit*
Ille senis, tremulumq; caput descendere jussit
In cœlum.

But sure I am that the daughter of *Iephthah* spake in sad earnest, what is related in the booke of [d] *Iudges*: ואלכה וירדתי על-ההרים which the LXX. render; καὶ πορεύσομαι, καὶ καταβήσομαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη: Tremellius, *ut abeam descendens in istos montes. that I may goe and descend unto those mountaines.* a like place whereunto is found in the same booke; where it is said, that three thousand men of Iudah, ירדו אל-סעיף סלע עיטם [e] *descended unto the top of the rocke Etam.*

Others adde unto this, that the phrase of *descending ad inferos*, is a popular kinde of speech, which sprung from the opinion that was vulgarly conceived

x 1. *Sam.* 29.4. *and* 2. (*or* 4.) *King.* 2.2.
y *Iosu.* 16.3.
z 1. *Sam.* 26.6.
a *Genes.* 43.4, 5. Ἐ μὲν οὖν ἀποστέλλῃς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, καταβησόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποστέλλῃς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ πορευσόμεθα.
b *Ruth.* 3.3. καὶ ἀναβήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅλω. & 6. καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἅλω. *atq; in uno & eodem versu, Ionæ* 1.3. καὶ κατέβη εἰς Ἰόππλυ, καὶ εὗρε πλοῖον. καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς αὐτό.
c *Iuvenal. Satyr.* 6.
d *Iud.* 11.37.
e *Iud.* 15.11. Descendentes ad scopulum petræ Hethani. *Tremell.*

ved of the ſituation of the receptacle of the ſoules under the earth: and that according to the rule of *Ariſtotle* in his Topicks, wee muſt ſpeake as the vulgar, but thinke as wiſe men doe. Even as wee uſe to ſay commonly, that the Sunne is under a cloude, becauſe it is a vulgar forme of ſpeech: and yet it is farre enough from our meaning for all that, to imagine the cloude to bee indeed higher than the Sunne. So *Cicero*, they ſay, where ever hee hath occaſion to mention any thing that concerneth the dead, ſpeaketh ſtill of *Inferi*, according to the vulgar phraſe: although hee miſliked the vulgar opinion, which bred that maner of ſpeaking; and profeſſed it to bee his judgement, that [f] *the ſoules when they depart out of the body are carried up on high*, and not downeward unto any habitations under the earth. So *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact* thinke that the Apoſtle tearmed the Death and Hell unto which our Saviour did deſcend, *the lower parts of the earth*, Epheſ. 4. 9. [g] ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοίας, [d] *from the common opinion of men*. as in the tranſlation of the holy Scripture, Saint *Hierom* ſheweth that wee uſe the names of *Arcturus* and *Orion*, not approving thereby the ridiculous and monſtrous figments of the Poëts in this matter, but expreſſing the Hebrew names of theſe conſtellations *by the words of heatheniſh fables*; becauſe [h] *wee cannot underſtand that which is ſaid, but by thoſe words, which wee have learned by uſe, and drunke in by error.*

And juſt ſo ſtandeth the caſe with this word *Hádes*: which in the dictionarie ſet out with the Complutenſe Bible, an. 1515. for the underſtanding of the New Teſtament, is interpreted, *Infernus* and *Pluto*.

f Animos cùm è corpore excesserint, in sublime ferri. *Cic. lib. 1. Tusculan. quæst.*

g *Chryſoſt. in Epheſ. homil. 11.*
d *Theophylact. in Epheſ. cap. 4.*

h Qui non possumus intelligere quod dicitur, nisi per ea vocabula, quæ usu didicimus, & errore combibimus. *Hieronym. lib. 2. in Amos cap. 5.*

to. This *Pluto* the Heathen fained to be the God of the dead under the earth: the Grecians tearming him ſo ἀπὸ τῦ πλέτε, as the Latins *Ditem, á divitÿs*, from riches; [i] *becauſe that all things comming to their diſſolution, there is nothing which is not at laſt brought unto him, and made his poſſeſſion.* Thus *Homer* and *Heſiod*, with [k] *Plato* and others after them, ſay that *Rhea* brought forth three ſonnes to *Saturne*; *Iupiter, Neptune,*

i *Phurnutus de naturâ Deor. in* Plutone.

k *Plato in Gorgia.*

[l] Ἰφθιμόν τ' Ἀΐδην, ὃς ἔνδοθι χθονὶ δώματα ναίει, Νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων.

l *Heſiod. in Theogoniâ.*

and mightie Hádes, who inhabiteth the houſes under the earth, having a mercileſſe heart: for that attribute doth *Heſiod* give unto him, becauſe Death ſpareth no man. So *Homer:*

——[m] τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέρεσιν ἀνάσσων:

m *Homer. Iliad.* 15.

which is alſo the deſcription that *Heſiod* maketh of him in that verſe:

[n] Τρέσε δ' Ἀΐδης δ' ἐνέρεσι καταδρομὸς ἀνάσσων,

n *Heſiod. Theog.*

Hádes was afraid, who raigneth over them that lye dead in the earth. Philo Byblius relateth out of *Sanchuniathon* (a more ancient writer than either *Homer* or *Heſiod*) not onely that he was the ſonne of *Saturne* and *Rhea*, but alſo that [a] his father did canonize him after his death: and that the Phænicians call him both *Pluto* and *Muth*, which anſwereth to the Hebrew מות, and in their language ſignifieth *Death.* The Grecians (who had from the Phænicians their firſt *Gods*, as well as their firſt *letters*) tell us further, that this

a ἕτερον αὐτὸς παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μοὺθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιερῶι. Θάνατον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσι. Phylo Bybl. lib. 1. Hiſtor. Phænic. apud. Euſeb. lib. 1. Præparat. Evangelic. pag. 25.

b Τὸν δ' Ἄιδην λέγεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδεῖξαι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεὸν μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης ὑπομελείας περὶ αὐτούς· διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ θεὸς εἶπος παρειλῆφθαι κωμῳδεῖν, ἀποτεμνομένης τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τούτων ἀρχῆς καὶ φροντίδος. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. Bibliothec. pag. 337. edit. Græcolat.

c *Ita Apollodorus, lib. 1. Bibliothecæ, de Orpheo:* κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου, *h. e.* ad Plutonis descendit. *ut vertit Latinus interpres, Benedictus Ægius Spoletinus.*

d Εἰς Ἄιδαο δόμον κατέβα. Pindar. Pyth. od. 3.

e Νῶϊ δὲ σὺ μὲν, Ἄιδαο δόμους ἐσαῦ καὶ δειλὸν ἄλητον Ἐρχεσθαι. Homer. Iliad. χ.

b *Hádes* (or *Pluto*) was hee who ſhewed men thoſe things that did concerne *burialls, and funerall rites, and honours of the dead, of whom no ſuch care was had before his time: and that for this cauſe hee was eſteemed the God that bare rule over the dead; the dominion and care of them being aſſigned unto him by Antiquitie.* Whence wee may ſee how the word *Hádes* with them was transferred to ſignifie *Death* (which was the name that the Phœnicians gave him) togither with the place into which, either the *bodies* (of the ſolemne ſepulture whereof hee was thought to have firſt ſhewed the way) or the *ſoules* (over which hee was imagined to have the ſoveraigntie) of dead men were received.

Now that κατελθεῖν εἰς ᾅδου in the Creede is a phraſe taken from the Heathen, and applied to expreſſe a Chriſtian truth; the verie Grammaticall conſtruction may ſeeme to intimate: where the nowne is not put in the accuſative caſe (as otherwiſe it ſhould) but after the maner of the Greeks c in the genitive caſe, implying the defect of another word neceſſarily to bee underſtood; as if it had beene ſaid, *Hee went unto* the place or houſe of *Hádes*. as the Poëts uſe to expreſſe it, ſometimes defectively εἰς ᾅδαο and ſometimes more fully d εἰς ᾅδαο δόμον or e δόμους, *into the houſe or chambers of Hádes*. Thus then, they that take *Hádes* for the common receptacle of ſoules, doe interpret the context of the Creed, as Cardinall *Cajetan* before did the narration of *Moſes*, touching *Abrahams* giving up the ghoſt, being gathered to his people, and being buried, *Gen.* 25. 8, 9. that the article of the *death* is to bee referred to the whole manhood,

and

and the diſſolution of the parts thereof; that of the *buriall*, to the body ſeparated from the ſoule, and this of the *deſcending into Hádes*, to the ſoule ſeparated from the body. as if it had beene ſaid. Hee ſuffered death truly, by a reall ſeparation of his ſoule from his body: and after this diſſolution, the ſame did befall him that uſeth to betide all other dead men; his liveleſſe body was ſent unto the place which is appointed to receive dead bodies, and his immortall ſoule went unto the other world, as the ſoules of other men uſe to doe.

Having now declared, how the Greeke *Hádes* (and ſo the Latin *Inferi*, and our Engliſh *Hell*) is taken for the place of the *bodies* and of the *ſoules* of dead men, ſeverally: it followeth that wee ſhew, how the common ſtate of the dead is ſignified thereby, and the place in generall which is anſwerable unto the parts of the whole man thus indefinitely conſidered in the ſtate of ſeparation. Concerning which, that place of *Dionyſius*, wherein hee ſetteth forth the ſignification of our being dead & buried with *Chriſt* by Baptiſme, is to bee conſidered. [f] *Foraſmuch as death is in us, not an utter extinguiſhment of our being, as others have thought, but a ſeparation of the united parts, bringing them unto that which is to us inviſible; the ſoule as being by the depravation of the body made unſeene, and the body as either being covered in the earth, or by ſome other of the alterations that are incident unto bodies, being taken away from the ſight of man: the whole covering of*

[f] Ἐπειδὴ θάνατός ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς παντελὲς ἀφανὲς, ὡς τινες ἐνόμισαν, οὐδὲ τὸ δόξαν ἑτέρως, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἡνωμένων διάκρισις εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ἄγνωστον ἄγουσα, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ὡς ἐν τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀφανίσει γενομένην, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἢ γῇ καλυπτόμενον, ἢ καθ' ἑτέραν τινὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀλλοιώσεων, ἐκ τῆς κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἰδέας ἀφανιζόμενον. οἰκείως ἡ δὲ ὑδάτων κάλυψις εἰς τὸν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ταφῆς εἰκόνα παρείληπται. Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſtic. Hierarch. cap. 2.

The

the man in water is fitly assumed for an image of the death and buriall which is not seene. Thus *Dionysius*, concerning the separation of the united parts by Death, and the bringing of them unto that which is *invisible*: g according whereunto, as his paraphrast *Pachymeres* noteth, *it is called Hádes, that is to say, an invisible separation of the soule from the body.* And so indeed wee finde as well in forraine authors, as in the Scriptures and the writings of the Greeke and Latine Fathers, that *Hádes* and *Inferi* are not onely taken in as large a sense as *Death* (and so extended unto all men indifferently, whether good or bad) but are likewise oftentimes indifferently used for it. For proofe whereof, out of heathen authors these testimonies following may suffice.

g Κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ἅιδης λέγεται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὁ ἀφανὴς χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. Georg. Pachymer. ibid.

h *Pindar. Olymp. Od. 8.*

h Αἶσα τοι λάθεται
ἄριθμια πράξας ἀνήρ:

saith *Pindarus. The man that doth things befitting him, forgetteth Hádes:* meaning, that the remembrance of *Death* doth no whit trouble him. And againe:

i *Id. Isthm. Od. 6.*

i Τοίαισιν ἐγχαῖς εὔχεται
ἐπιπόνους ἰδὼν γῆ-
ρας τε λέξασθαι πολιὸν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς.

The sonne of Cleonicus *wisheth that with such manners he may meet and receive Hádes* (that is, *death*) *and hoare old age.* The like hath *Euripides* in his *Alcestis*:

—πλησίον ἅδας,
Σπεύδει δ' ἐπ' ὄνειον τυὸς ἐρέτας.

Death

Death is neere hand,
And darksome night doth creepe upon mine eyes.

and another Poet, cited by [k] *Plutarch*:

[k] *Plutarch. de Consolat. ad Apollon.*

Ὦ θάνατε παιὰν ἰατὲ μόλοις.
Αἰμιλὼ γὰρ ὄντως ἄϊδας ἀν' ἄιαν.

O death, the soveraigne Physician, come: for Hádes is in very truth the haven of the earth. So the saying, that *the best thing were, never to have beene borne, and the next to that, to die quickly*; is thus expressed by *Theognis*, in his elegies:

Πάντων μὲ μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄειρεν,
Μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,
Καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

* al. Ἀρχίλε

Sophocles in the beginning of his *Trachiniæ*, bringeth in *Deianira* affirming that, howsoever it were an old saying among men, that none could know whether a mans life were happy or unhappy *before hee were dead*; yet shee knew her owne to bee heavie and unfortunate *before she went to Hádes*.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐμὸν, κὴ πρὶν εἰς ᾅδου μολεῖν,
Ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυσχερῆ τε κὴ βαρύ.

where πρὶν εἰς ᾅδου μολεῖν, is the same with πρὸ θανάτου *before death*: as both the ancient *Scholiast* and the matter it selfe doth shew. So in his *Ajax*.

Κρείσσων γὰρ ᾅδου κἀν θανὼν, ἢ νοσῶν μάτην.

He is better that lyeth in Hádes (that is to say, *he that is dead*, ὁ τεθνηκὼς, as the *Scholiast* rightly expoundeth it)

than he that is ſicke paſt recoverie. and in his *Antigone:*

Μηδὲς δ' ἐν ᾅδου κἠ πάλιν κεκλῆσεται,
Οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις οὐ βλαστεῖ ποτέ.

My father and mother being laid in Hádes, it is not poſſible that any brother ſhould ſpring forth afterward. Wherewith [l] *Clemens Alexandrinus* doth fitly compare that ſpeech of the wife of *Intaphernes* in [m] *Herodotus:* Πατὴρ δ' κὴ μήτηρ ἐκ ἔτι μοὶ ζωόντων, ἀδελφεὸς οὐ ἄλλος ἔστι πόπῳ γένοιτο. *My father and mother being now no longer living, another brother by no maner of meanes can be had.* So that ἐν ᾅδου κεκλῆσθαι or τετελεύτων, *being in Hádes,* with the one, is the ſame with ἐκ ἔτι ζωόντων, *not now living,* in the other; or as it is alledged by *Clemens,* ἐκ ἔτ' ὄντων, *not now being:* which is the Scripture phraſe of them that have left this world, Geneſ. 5. 24. and 42. 36. Pſalm. 39. 13. Ierem. 31. 15. and 49. 10. uſed alſo by *Homer,* in his *Bœotia:*

Οὐ γάρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος ἔσαν υἷες ἠδὲ,
Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι αὖτις ἐλεύσεσθαι δόμον δε ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος.

l *Clem. Stromat. lib. 6.*

m *Herodot. hiſtor. lib. 3.*

Touching the uſe of the word HELL in the Scriptures, thus writeth *Ianſenius,* expounding thoſe words, Proverb. 15. 11. *Hell and deſtruction are before the Lord: how much more then, the hearts of the children of men?* [n] *It is to bee knowne, that by Hell and deſtruction (which two in the Scriptures are often joyned together) the ſtate of the Dead is ſignified; and not of the damned onely, as wee commonly doe conceive when wee*

n Sciendum quòd per Infernum (pro quo dictio Hebraica propriè ſignificat ſepulchrum) & perditionem, quæ duo in Scripturis ſæpè conjunguntur, ſignificatur ſtatus mortuorum; & non ſolùm damnatorum, ut nos ferè ex his vocibus auditis concipimus, ſed in genere ſtatus defunctorum. *Cornel. Ianſen. in Proverb. 15.*

heare

heare theſe words, but the ſtate of the deceaſed in generall. So [o] *Sanctius* the Ieſuite, with *Sà* his fellow, acknowledgeth, that *Hell* in the Scripture is frequently taken for *Death.* Therefore are theſe two joyned together, Revel. 1.18. *I have the keyes of Hell and of Death,* or (as other Greeke copies read; agreably to the old Latin and Æthiopian tranſlation) of *Death and of Hell.* And Eſai. 28. 15. *Wee have made a covenant with Death, and with Hell wee are at agreement.* Where the *Septuagint,* to ſhew that the ſame thing is ment by both the words, doe place the one in the roome of the other, after this maner: *Wee have made a covenant with Hell, and with Death an agreement.* The ſame things likewiſe are indifferently attributed unto them both: as that they are unſatiable, and never full; ſpoken of *Hell,* Proverb. 27. 20. and of *Death,* Haback. 2. 5. So the gates of *Hell,* Eſai. 38. 10. are the gates of *Death,* Pſalm. 9. 13. and 107. 18. the not being juſtified untill *Hell,* or *Hádes* (Eccleſiaſtic. 9. 17.) the ſame with not having their iniquitie remitted untill *Death.* (Eſai. 22. 14.) And therefore where wee reade in the booke of Wiſedome; [p] *Thou leadeſt to the gates of Hell, and bringeſt backe againe:* the vulgar Latine tranſlateth it; [q] *Thou leadeſt to the gates of Death, and bringeſt backe* againe. So the ſorrowes of *Death,* Pſalm. 18. 4. are in the verſe following termed, the ſorrowes of *Hell:* and therefore the *LXX.* (as hath beene ſhewed) tranſlating the ſelfe ſame words of *David,* doe in the Pſalme render them *the ſorrowes of Hell,* and in the hiſtory 2. Sam. 22. 6. (where the ſame Pſalme is repeated) *the ſorrowes of Death.* Whence alſo that difference of reading came,

o *Gaſp. Sanct. in Act. 2. ſect. 56*

p Καταγεις εἰς πύλας ᾅδου, καὶ ἀναγεις. Sapient. 16. 13.

q Deducis ad portas mortis, & reducis. *Latin. ibid.*

Act. 2. 24. aſwell in the copies of the text as in the citations of the ancient Fathers: which was the leſſe regarded, becauſe that varietie in the words bred little or no difference at all in the ſenſe. Therefore *Epiphanius* in one place, having reſpect to the beginning of the verſe, ſaith that *Chriſt* looſed [r] ὠδῖνας θανάτου *the ſorrowes of Death:* and yet in another, citing the latter end of the verſe, *becauſe it was not poſſible hee ſhould bee holden by it*, addeth this explication thereunto, [s] τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ᾅδου, *that is to ſay, by Hell.* And the author of the Sermon upon *Chriſts* Paſſion, among the workes of *Athanaſius*, onewhere ſaith that hee looſed the ſorrowes of [t] *Hell*, and otherwhere that hee looſed the ſorrowes of [u] *Death.* Vnto whom wee may adjoyne *Bede*, [x] who is in like manner indifferent for either reading.

r *Epiphan. in Anacephaleoſi, pag. 531. edit. Grec.*

s *Id. in Anchorato, pag. 484. Vid. etiam. eund. contra Arianos, haeref. 69. pag. 337.*

t *Athanaſ. Oper. Græcolat. tom. 1. pag. 801.*

u *Ibid. pag. 805.*

x Solutos per Dominum dicit dolores inferni, ſive mortis. *Bed. Retract. in Act. cap. 2.*

In the Proverbes, where it is ſaid; *There is a way which ſeemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the wayes of Death:* Proverb. 14. 12. and 16. 25. the *LXX.* in both places for *Death* put πυθμένα ᾅδου *the bottome of Hell.* and on the otherſide, where it is ſaid; *Thou ſhalt beate him with the rod, and ſhalt deliver his ſoule from Hell:* Proverb. 23. 14. they reade, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου ῥύσῃ, *Thou ſhalt deliver his ſoule from Death.* So in Hoſe. 13. 14. where the Hebrew and Greeke both reade; *I will deliver them from the hand of Hell:* the vulgar Latin hath; *De manu mortis liberabo eos, I will deliver them from the hand of Death.* Which S. *Cyrill* of *Alexandria* ſheweth to be the ſame in effect. for [y] *hee hath redeemed us* (ſaith hee) *from the hand of Hell*, that is to ſay, *from the power of Death.* So out of

y Λελύτρωται δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ᾅδου, τουτέστιν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θανάτου καταδυναστείας. Cyrill. in Hoſeam, pag. 371.

the

the text, Matth. 16. 18. *Eusebius* noteth, that the Church doth [z] *not give place to the gates of* DEATH, *for that one saying which Christ did utter: Vpon the Rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of* HELL *shall not prevaile against it.* S. *Ambrose* also from the same text collecteth thus, that [a] *faith is the foundation of the Church. For it was not said of the flesh of* Peter, *but of the Faith, that the gates of* DEATH *should not prevaile against it: but the confession* (of the faith) *overcame* HELL. The * *dissolution of the soule from the body* (saith *Chrysostome*) *is not onely called Death, but Hell* (or *Hades*) *also. For listen to the Patriarch Iacob saying; Yee shall bring mine old age with sorrow to Hell.* (Genes. 42. 38.) *and the Prophet againe; Hell hath opened her mouth.* (Esai. 5. 14.) *and againe another Prophet saying; He will deliver mee from the lowest Hell.* (Psalm. 86. 13.) *and in many places shall you finde in the Old Testament, that our translation from hence is called Death and Hell.*

So *Theodoret* noteth, that the [b] name of *Hell* is given unto *Death*, in that place, Cantic. 8. 6. *Love is strong as death, Iealousie is hard* or *cruell as Hell.* which in the writings of the Fathers is a thing very usuall. Take the Poems of *Theodorus Prodromus* for an instance: where delivering an historie out of the life of S. *Chrysostome*, of a woman that had lost foure of

z. Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ ἡ τ θανάτε πύλας ὑποχωρῆσα. διὰ μίαν ἐκείνην, ἣν αὐτὸς ἀπεφήνατο λέξιν, εἰπών, Ἐπὶ τ πέτραν οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾅδε οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. Euseb. lib. 1. Præparat. Evangelic. pag. 7.

a Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt; sed confessio vicit infernum. *Ambros. de Incarnat. sacrament. c. p. 5.*

* Οὐ μόνον ὁ θάνατος ὀνομάζεται ἡ διάλυσις τ ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾅδης. Ἀκούε γὰρ τ μὲ πατριάρχην Ἰακὼβ λέγοντος, Κατάξετε τὸ γῆρας μου μετὰ λύπης εἰς ᾅδου. τ δὲ προφήτην πάλιν, Ἔχανεν ὁ ᾅδης τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάλιν ἕτερον προφήτην λέγοντος, Ῥύσεταί με ἐξ ᾅδου κατωτάτου. καὶ πολλαχοῦ εὑρήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν παλαίων θάνατον καὶ ᾅδην καλουμένην τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μετάστασιν. Chrysost. serm. 2. in Pascha, tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 587. Vide & serm. 81. in nomen Cœmiterii & Crucem, ibid. pag. 563. lin. 35. 36.

b Infernum autem ex opinione, quæ invaluit, usurpavit; hoc etiam morti nomen imponens. *Theodoret. in Cantic. 8.*

her ſonnes; hee ſaith that they foure were gone unto *Hádes*,

——πάντ' ἔτεκες, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδος ἦν
Οἱ πόντιοι μετέβαν, καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἀϊχθὶ πότμῳ.

and relating how S. *Baſil* had freed the country of *Cappadocia* from a famine, thus hee expreſſeth it:

Ἄγξε σε Καππαδόκων πούτης βοὸς· ἀμφὶ δ' χεῖλος
Βάλε λυγρῷ θανάτοιο· χέρες δ' ἀγναὶ βασιλῆος
Ἥρπασαν ἐκ σ' Ἀΐδαο.

and ſhewing how *Gregory Nazianzen*, when he was a childe, was recovered from death by being brought to the Communion Table; hee ſaith he was brought unto the *Sunne* from *Hádes*:

Καὶ πάλιν αὖ ἐξ Ἀΐδαο μεθίζεται ἠελίοιο.

Gregory himſelfe likewiſe in his Poëms, ſetting out the dangers of a ſea-faring life, ſaith that [c] *the greater part of them that ſayle the ſeas is in Hádes*. and the Grecians in their prayer for the time of the Plague, complaine that [*] *all are taken together miſerably, and ſent unto Hádes*. *Baſil* of *Seleucia*, ſpeaking of the tranſlation of *Enoch* and *Elias*, ſaith in one place, that [d] *Enoch remained out of Deaths net, Elias obeyed not the lawes of nature*; and in another, that [e] *Elias remained ſuperiour to death, Enoch by tranſlation declined Hádes*: making *Death* and *Hádes* to bee one and the ſame thing. So hee maketh *Elias* to pray thus, at the

c. Πολυπλάνων τὸ πλέον εἰν' ἅλμῃ. Nazianz. Carm. 15. de Vitæ itinerib. tom. 2. edit. Græcolat. pag. 91.

* πάντων ἀπλῶς ὁμοῦ φθειρομένων ἕλεει-νῶς καὶ παρηπορημένων τοῦ ἅδου. Græc. Euchолog. fol. 197

d Ἐνὼχ ἐμείνεν ἔξω τοῦ θανάτου σαγήνης, Ἠλίας τῆς φύσεως οὐκ ὑπήκουσε νόμοις. Baſil. Seleuc. in Ioannam, orat. 2. pag. 114. e Ἠλίας ἀνωτέρω θανάτου μεμόρκεν, Ἐνὼχ μετάθεσει τὸ ἄοκνον ἐξέκλινε. Id. in illud: Ecce aſcendimus Hieroſolym. pag. 268.

raiſing

raising of the Widowes sonne. [f] *Shew, O Lord, that Death is made gentle towards men, let it learne the evidences of thy humanitie; let the documents of thy goodnesse come even to Hades.* And as hee there noteth that [g] *Death* received an overthrow from *Elias*: so in another place hee noteth that [h] *Hades* received a like overthrow, by CHRISTS raising of the dead. Whereupon he bringeth in S. *Peter*, using this speech unto our Saviour: [i] *Shall Death make any youthfull attempt against thee, whose voice Hades could not endure? The other day thou didst call the Widowes sonne that was dead; and Death fled, not being able to accompany him unto the Grave whom he had overcome: how shall Death therefore lay hold on him, whom it feareth?* and our Saviour himselfe speaking thus unto his Disciples. [k] *I will arise out of the Grave, renewing the Resurrection: I will teach Hades that it must expect the Resurrection to succeed it. For in mee both Death ceaseth, and immortalitie is planted.* So saith S. *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*: [l] *Christ was raysed up for us. for hee could not bee detayned by the gates of Hades, nor taken at all by the bonds of Death.* And therefore *Cyrill* of *Hierusalem* having said that our Saviour did [m] *descend into Hades*, doth presently adde as an explanation thereof, καπῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸν θάνατον, *for hee did descend into Death.* [n] *He descended into Death as a man*: saith *Athanasius*. [o] *The divine na-*

f Δεῖξον ὦ δέσποτα καὶ θάνατον θεὸς ἀνθρώποις ἡμερώμενον, μαθάτω θανάτου τὰ τῆς σῆς φιλανθρωπίας γνωρίσματα. Damascen. Orat. 2. de iis qui in fide dormierunt. g ὁ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἀήττητος θάνατος, ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ τοῦ Ἠλίου ἐμάνθανε. Ibid. h πρὸς ἐξουσιαζόμενος τοῦ ᾅδου τὴν ἧτταν. Id. in illud: Ecce ascendimus Hierosolym. pag. 265. i Κατὰ σοῦ νεανιεύσεται θάνατος, ὃ φεύγων ἐκ μόνης ἀνθρωπότητος ἐφόβου ἐκάλεσας τεθνηκότα τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς κύριον, καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἔρευνα, οὐδὲ μέλλει θάνατος; Ib. pag. 268. k Ἀναστήσομαι γὰρ καινουργῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. διδάξω τὸν ᾅδην διδόναι περιμένειν ἀνάστασιν. ἐν ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ θάνατος παύεται, καὶ ἀθανασία φυτεύεται. Ib. pag. 267. l Ἐγήγερται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστός. ὁ γὰρ γίνεται κάτοχος ταῖς ᾅδου πύλαις, ὅτε μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἥλωτο (leg. ἥλω τοῖς) τοῦ θανάτου δεσμοῖς. Cyrill. Alexand. Glaphyr. in Genes. lib. 5. pag. 121. m *Cyrill. Hierosol. Cateches.* 14. n ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν θάνατον καταβάς. Athan. de Incarnat. Verbi, contra Gentes, pag. 77. o Divina natura in mortem per carnem descendit; non ut lege mortalium detineretur à morte, sed ut per se resurrecturus januas mortis aperiret. *Ruffin. in exposit. Symbol.*

ture (saith *Ruffinus*, meaning the *divine person*) *by his flesh descended into Death; not that according to the Law of mortall men hee should bee detained of death, but that rising againe by himselfe hee might open the gates of Death.* [p] *When thou didst descend into Death, O immortall Life* (say the Grecians in their Liturgie) *thou didst then mortifie Hádes* or *Hell, with the brightnesse of thy Divinitie.*

[p] Ὅτι καταλθες πρὸς θάνατον, ἡ ζωὴ ἡ ἀθάνατος, τότε τὸν ᾅδην ἐνέκρωσας τῇ ἀστραπῇ τῆς θεότητος. Octoëch. Anastasim. Græc. & Liturg. Chrysostom. Latin. à Leone Thusco edit.

And thus, if my memorie doe not faile me, (for at this present I have not the booke which I used) is the article expressed in the *Hebrew* Creed, which is printed with *Potkens* [q] Æthiopian *Syllabary*, ירד לצלמות *Hee descended into the shadow of death.* Where the Hebrew Interpreter doth render *Hádes* by *the shadow of Death*: as the Greek Interpreters, in that text (which by the [r] Fathers is applyed to our Saviours descent into *Hell*) Iob. 38. 17. doe render *the shadow of death* by *Há les*. For where the Hebrew hath שערי צלמות *the gates of the shadow of death*, they reade; Πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπηξαν, *the keepers of the gates of Hádes seeing thee, shranke for feare.* [r] The *resurrection from the dead* therefore being *the end* of our Saviours *suffering* (as *Eusebius* noteth) and so the beginning of his glorifying: the first degree of his exaltation would thus very aptly answer unto the last degree of his humiliation, that as his Resurrection is an *arising from the dead*, so his descending unto *Hádes* or *ad inferos*, should be no other thing but *a going to the dead.* For further confirmation whereof, let it bee considered, that S. *Hierome* in the vulgar Latin translation of the Bible, hath *ad inferos deducentur*, Ecclesiastis 9.3. where the

[q] *Syllabar. Æthiopic. quod habetur in quibusdam exemplaribus Psalterii, edit. Hebraic. Græc. Latin. & Æthiopic. in fol. Athanas. orat. 4. Contra Arian. tom. 1. edit. Græcolat. pag. 791. serm. in passion. & Cruc. Dom. ibid. pag. 801. quæst. ad Antioch. tom. 2. pag. 321. Euseb. lib. 5. Demonstrat. Euangelic. pag. 155. & lib. 10. pag. 313. edit. Græc. Cæsarius. Dialog. 3. pag. 1132. edit. Basil.*

[r] Τέλος δὲ τῆς παθους ἡ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ὧδ. Eusebius, Demonstrat. Euangelic. lib. 10. pag. 307.

See before, pag. 308.

Hebrew

Hebrew and Greeke reade, *to the dead*: and in like maner, Proverb. 2. 18. hee hath *ad inferos* againe, where רפאים is in the Hebrew; which being a word that ſometimes ſignifieth *the dead*, and ſometimes *Gyants*, the LXX. do joyne both together and reade, παρὰ τὸν ᾅδην μετὰ τῶν γιγάντων, *in Hades with the Gyants*. So in the *Sibylline* verſes cited by [t] *Lactantius*,

——ἵνα φθιμένοισι λαλήσῃ,

that hee may ſpeake unto the dead; is in [u] *Proſper* tranſlated, *Vt inferis loquatur*: and thoſe other verſes touching our Saviours Reſurrection.

[x] Καὶ τότ' ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀνακύψας εἰς φάος ἥξει
Πρῶτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας.

Then comming forth from the Dead, &c. are thus turned into Latin in *Proſper*. [y] *Tunc ab inferis regreſſus, ad lucem veniet primus reſurrectionis principio revocatis oſtenſo. Then returning from Hell, hee ſhall come unto the light, firſt ſhewing the beginning of the Reſurrection unto thoſe whom hee ſhall call backe* from thence. for [z] *Chriſt returning backe a Conqueror from Hades unto life* (as *Baſil* of *Seleucia* writeth) *the dead were taught the reviving againe unto life.* His [a] *riſing from the Dead, was the looſing of us from Hades*: ſaith *Gregorie Nazianzen.* [b] *Hee was raiſed from Hades* or *from the Dead*; *and raiſed mee being dead with him.*: ſaith *Nectarius*, his ſucceſſor in the ſee of *Conſtantinople*. Therefore is hee called [c] *the firſt begotten of the dead*,

t *Lactant. Inſtitut. lib. 4. cap. 18.*

u *Proſper. de promiſſ. & prædict. part. 3. cap. 20.*

x *Lactant. ut ſupr. cap. 19.*

y *Proſp. ut ſupr. cap. 29.*

z Διὰ τῆς (σαρκὸς) οἱ νεκροὶ τάχα εἰς ἕδιον ἀναβίωσιν ἐδιδάχθησαν, δι' ἧς ἐξ ᾅδου νικηφόρος πρὸς ζωὴν ἀνελήλυθε. Baſil. Seleuc. in Ionam, orat. 2.

a ἧς (leg. δι' ἣν) νεκρῶν ἔγερσις, ἐξ ᾅδου λύσις. Gregor. Nazian. in Definitionib. Iambic. 15. tom. 2. edit. Græcolat. pag. 201.

b Excitatus eſt ab inferis, meque mortuum ſimul excitavit

Nectar. orat. in Theodor. martyr. à Perionio converſ. c Πρωτότοκος νεκρῶν. Διότι ἀνέστη πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ ᾅδου, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν ἀνίστασθαι ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ. Tract de Definit. tom. 2. Oper. Athanaſ. Græcolat. pag. 59.

becauſe

because hee was the first that rose from Hádes: as wee also shall rise at his second comming: saith the author of the Treatise of Definitions, among the workes of *Athanasius.*

To lay downe all the places of the Fathers, wherein our Lords *rising againe from the Dead*, is termed his *rising againe from Hádes, Inferi* or *Hell*, would bee a needlesse labour. for this wee need goe no further than to the *Canon* of the *Masse* it selfe: where in the prayer that followeth next after the Consecration, there being a Commemoration made of *Christs passion, resurrection*, and *ascension*; the second is set out by the title *ab inferis resurrectionis*, of the *resurrection from Hell*. For as the [d] Liturgies of the Easterne Churches doe here make mention, ἀπ' ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως of *the resurrection from the dead:* so those of the [e] West retain that other title of the resurrection *ab inferis*, that is, ἀπ' ἐκ τῶν ἀδου κάτω (as it is in the Liturgie that goeth under the name of S. *Peter*) or ἀπ' ἐκ τῶν ἀδου ἀναστάσεως, as it is in the *Gregorian* Office, translated into *Greeke* by *Codinus*. If then the *resurrection from the dead* bee the same with the *resurrection from Hádes, Inferi* or *Hell*: why may not the *going unto Hádes, Inferi* or *Hell*, bee interpreted, by the same reason, to bee the *going unto the dead?* whereby no more is understood, than what is intimated in that phrase which the *Latines* use of one that hath left this World; *Abiit ad plures*: or in that of the *Hebrewes*, so frequent in the Word of God; He [f] *went or was gathered unto his people*, hee *went or was gathered unto his fathers*. which being applied unto a whole *generation*, *Iudg.* 2. 10. as well as in other places unto particular persons; must of necessitie

d *Liturg. Iacobi, Marci, Clementis, Basilii, & Gregorii Theologi.*

e *Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 6. Offic. Ambrosian. tom. 1. Liturgic. Pamelii, pag. 302. Sacramentar. Gregorian. tom. 2. pag. 181.*

f *Gen. 25. 8. compared with 15. 15. Numb. 20. 24. and 27. 13. &c.*

ceſſitie denote the common condition of men departed out of this life.

Now, although *Death* and *Hádes*, *dying* and *going to the dead*, bee of neere affinitie one with the other: yet be they not the ſame thing properly, but the one a conſequent of the other, as it appeareth plainely by the viſion, *Revelat.* 6. 8. where *Hádes* is directly brought in as a *follower* of *Death*. g Death it ſelfe, as wiſe men doe define it, *is nothing elſe but the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body*; which is done in an inſtant: but *Hádes* is the continuation of the body and ſoule in this ſtate of ſeparation, which laſteth all that ſpace of time which is betwixt the day of death and the day of the reſurrection. For as the ſtate of h *life is comprehended betwixt two extreames, to wit, the beginning thereof and the ending*; and there bee i *two motions in nature anſwerable thereunto, the one whereby the ſoule concurreth to the body* (which wee k call *Generation*) *the other whereby the body is ſevered from the ſoule* (which wee call *Death*:) ſo the ſtate of *death* in like manner is contained betwixt two bounds, the *beginning*, which is the very ſame with the ending of the other; and the laſt *end*, the motion whereunto is called the *Reſurrection*, whereby the body and ſoule formerly ſeparated are joyned together againe. Thus there bee three tearmes here, as it were in a kinde of *a continued proportion*, the middlemoſt whereof hath relation to either of the extremes: and by the motion to the firſt a man may bee ſaid to bee *natus*, to the ſecond *denatus*, to the third *renatus*. The firſt and the

g Mortem nihil aliud eſſe definiunt ſapientes, niſi ſeparationem animæ à corpore. *Origen. tract.* 35. *in Matth. cap.* 27. *Vid. Tertullian. de Animâ, cap.* 27. & 51. & *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 13. *cap.* 6.

h Τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δύο πέρατα ἑκατέρωθεν διειλημμένης, τό τε πρῶτον ἀρχὴν φημὶ, καὶ τὸ τέλος. Gregor. Nyſſen. orat. Catechetic. cap. 27.

i τὸν δὲ θάνατον φαμὲν ἐν ἑκατέροις γίνεσθαι τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν κινήσει, δι' ἧς ἥ τε ψυχὴ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος γίνεται, καὶ τὸ σῶμα σωματοῦται, τό τε σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διακρίνεται. Ibid. cap. 16. k ἡ ἑκατέρωθεν κίνησις διὰ γάμου ὀνομάζομεν. Ibid.

third

third have a like oppoſition unto the middle; and therefore are like betwixt themſelves: the one being *a generation*, the other *a regeneration*. For that our Lord doth *call the laſt Reſurrection the Regeneration*, Matth. 19.28.[l] S. *Auguſtine* ſuppoſeth that *no man doubteth*. Neither would our Lord himſelfe have bin ſtiled [m] ὁ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν *the firſt borne from the dead*; unleſſe the Reſurrection were accounted to be a kind of a new Nativitie: whereof hee himſelfe was in the firſt place to bee made partaker, [n] *that among all* or *in all things hee might have the preeminence*; the reſt of [o] *the ſonnes of God* being to bee *children of the Reſurrection* alſo, but in their due time, and in the order of *Poſt-nati*.

l Regenerationem quippe hoc loco, ambigente nullo, noviſsimam reſurrectionem vocat *Aug. contra duas Epiſt. Pelagian. l. 3. c. 3.*

m *Revel. 1. 5.*

n ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων. *Coloſſ. 1. 18.*

o *Luc. 20. 36.*

The middle diſtance betwixt the firſt and ſecond tearme, that is to ſay, the ſpace of *life* which wee lead in this World betwixt the time of our birth and the time of our death; is oppoſite to the diſtance that is betwixt the ſecond and third terme, that is to ſay, the ſtate of *death* under which man lyeth from the time of his departure out of this life unto the time of his Reſurrection: and ſee what difference there is betwixt our *birth*, and the *life* which wee ſpend heere after wee are borne; the ſame difference is there betwixt *Death* and *Hádes*, in that other ſtate of our diſſolution. That which properly we call *Death* (which is the parting a ſunder of the ſoule and the body) ſtandeth as a middle terme betwixt the *ſtate of life* & the *ſtate of death*, being nothing elſe but the ending of the one, and the beginning of the other: and as it were a common meare betweene lands, or a *commune terminium* in a Geometricall magnitude, dividing

part

part from part, but being it ſelfe a part of neither, and yet belonging equally unto either. Which gave occaſion to the queſtion moved by *Taurus* the Philoſopher: [p] *When a dying man might bee ſaid to dye; when hee was now dead, or while hee was yet living?* Whereunto *Gellius* returneth an anſwer out of *Plato*: [q] that his dying was to bee attributed neither to the time of his life nor of his death (becauſe repugnances would ariſe either of thoſe wayes) but to the time which was in the *confine* betwixt both; which *Plato* calleth [r] τὸ ἐξαίφνης, *a moment* or *an inſtant*, and denieth to bee properly any part of time at all. Therefore *Death* doth his part in an inſtant (as hath beene ſaid) but *Hádes* continueth that worke of his, and holdeth the dead as it were under conqueſt, untill the time of the reſurrection; [s] wherein ſhall bee brought to paſſe the ſaying that is written. *O Death, where is thy ſting? O Hádes, where is thy victorie?* For [t] *theſe things ſhall rightly bee ſpoken then* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *when this mortall and corruptible fleſh* (*about which Death is, and which is holden downe by a certaine dominion of Death*) *riſing up unto life ſhall put on incorruption and immortalitie. for then ſhall death be truly overcome, when the fleſh that is holden by it, ſhall come forthout of the Dominion thereof.* Death then, as it importeth the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body (which is the proper acception of it) is a thing diſtinguiſhable from *Hádes*, as an antecedent from his conſequent: but as it is taken for the whole ſtate of death, and the *domination* which it

p Quando moriens moreretur; cum jam in morte eſſet, an tum etiam cum in vita foret. *Taur.*

q Plato negat vitæ id tempus, neq; morti dedit (vidit quippe utrumque eſſe pugnans) ſed tempori in confinio. *A. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 13.*

r Τὸ γὰρ ἐξαίφνης τοιοῦτόν τι ἔοικε σημαίνειν, ὡς ἐξ ἐκείνου μεταβάλλον εἰς ἕτερον. (al ἐκάτερον.) Plato in Parmenide, pag. 67.

s 1. Cor. 15. 54, 55.

t Hæc juſtè dicentur tunc, quando mortalis hæc & corruptibilis caro (circa quam & mors eſt, quæ & quodam dominio mortis preſſa eſt) in vitam conſcendens, induerit incorruptelam & immortalitatem. Tunc enim verè erit victa mors, quando ea quæ continetur ab eâ caro, exierit de dominio ejus. *Irenæus, lib. 5. cap. 13.*

hath

hath over the dead (τῶν νεκρῶν διαστείαν *Basilius Seleuciensis* calleth it, in his Oration upon *Elias*) it is the ſelfe ſame thing that *Hádes* is; and in that reſpect (as wee have ſeene) the words are ſometimes indifferently put, the one for the other.

As therefore our Saviour (that we may apply this now unto him) after hee was faſtned and lifted up on the Croſſe, if hee had come downe from thence (as [u] the ſtanders by in mocking wiſe did wiſh him to doe) might bee truly ſaid to have beene *crucified*, but not to have *dyed*: ſo when hee gave up the ghoſt, and laid downe his life, if hee had preſently taken it up againe, hee might truly bee ſaid to have *died*, but not to have *gone to the dead*, or to have beene in *Hádes*. His remaining under the power of Death untill the third day, made this good. *Whom God did raiſe up, looſing the ſorrowes of death,* [x] *for aſmuch as it was not poſſible that hee ſhould bee holden of it*: ſaith S. *Peter*. and *Chriſt being raiſed from the dead, dyeth now no more,* [y] *Death hath no more dominion over him*: ſaith S. *Paul*. implying thereby, that during the ſpace of time that paſſed betwixt his death and his reſurrection, he was *holden* by death, and death had ſome kinde of *domination* over him. And therefore *Athanaſius* (or who ever elſe was author of that writing to *Liberius* the Roman Biſhop) having reference unto the former text; affirmeth that [z] *hee raiſed up that buried* body of his, and *preſented it to his Father, having freed it from Death, of which it was holden.* And *Maximus* (or hee that collected the Dialogues againſt the *Marcionites*, under the name of *Origen*, out of him) expounding the other text; [a] *Over whom then had Death domini-*

on?

u *Matth.* 27. 40, 41, 42.

x Καθότι ἦν ἀδύνατον κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. *Act.* 2. 24.

y Θάνατος αὐτῷ οὐκέτι κυριεύει, *Rom.* 6. 9.

z Ἐγείρας ἐκεῖνο τὸ ταφὲν, προσήνεγκε τῷ πατρὶ, ἐλευθεράσας ἃ ἐκρατεῖτο θανάτου. Athanaſ. Reſcript. ad Liberium, tomo 1. pag. 397.

a Τίνος ἦν κυριεύσειν ὁ θάνατος; τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐκέτι κυριεύει, ἔδειξεν ὅτι πρότερον κυριεύσειν. Orig. Dialog. 3.

on? ſaith hee. *For the ſaying that it hath no more dominion, ſheweth that before it had dominion* over him. Not that death could have any dominion over [b] *the Lord of Life*, further than hee himſelfe was pleaſed to give way unto it: but as, when Death did at the firſt ſeaze upon him, [c] *his life* indeed *was taken from the earth*, yet [d] *none could take it from him, but hee layd it downe of himſelfe*; ſo his continuing to bee Deaths priſoner for a time, was a voluntarie commitment only, unto which hee freely yeelded himſelfe for our ſakes, not any yoake of miſerable neceſſitie that Death was able to impoſe upon him. For [e] *hee had power to lay downe his life, and hee had power to take it againe*: yet would hee not take it againe, before hee had firſt, not *layd himſelfe downe* onely upon Deaths bed, but *ſlept* alſo upon it; that ariſing afterward from thence, hee might become [f] *the firſt fruits of them that ſlept*. In which reſpect, the [g] Fathers apply unto him that text of the Pſalme; *I layd mee downe and ſlept, I awaked, for the Lord ſuſtained mee.* (Pſalm. 3. 5.) and *Lactantius* that verſe of *Sibyll*,

Καὶ θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἤματος ὕπνῳ,

The tearme of death hee ſhall finiſh,
when hee hath ſlept unto the third day.

His *dying*, or his *burying* at the fartheſt, is that which here is anſwerable unto his *lying downe*: but his τριήμερον or τριημερονύκιος (as [h] *Dionyſius* calleth it) his *three-dayes buriall*, and his *continuing* for that time *in*

b *Act.* 3. 15.
c *Act.* 8. 33.
d *Ioh.* 10. 18.
e *Ibid.*
f 1. *Cor.* 15. 20.
g *Cyprian. teſtimon. adverſ. Iudæos, lib.* 2. *ſect.* 24. *Lactant. Inſtitut. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19. *Ruffin. in expoſit. Symbol. Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 17. *cap.* 18. *Cyrillus: cujus in hunc locum (in Catenâ MS. Niceræ Serromÿ) verba ſunt iſta.* Ἐκοιμήθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ πατρὶ παραδώσων, καὶ ὕπνου ὕπνον τριήμερον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κατατεθεὶς. ἀνέστη δὲ τῇ πατρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ θανάτου ὑφιστάντος. h *Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. Hierarch. cap.* 2.

the

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y Θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει, *Rom.* 6. 9.

z Ἐγείρας ἐκεῖνο τὸ παρὲν, προσήνεγκε τῷ πατρὶ, ἐλευθεράσας ὃ ἐκρατεῖτο θανάτου. Athanaſ. Reſcript. ad Liberium, tomo 1. pag. 397.

a Τίνος ἦν ἐκυριεύσεν ὁ θάνατος; τὸ γὰρ εἰπεῖν οὐκέτι κυριεύει, ἔδειξεν ὅτι πρότερον ἐκυρίευσεν. Orig. Dialog. 3.

on? ſaith hee. *For the ſaying that it hath no more dominion, ſheweth that before it had dominion* over him. Not that death could have any dominion over [b] *the Lord of Life*, further than hee himſelfe was pleaſed to give way unto it: but as, when Death did at the firſt ſeaze upon him, [c] *his life* indeed *was taken from the earth*, yet [d] *none could take it from him, but hee layd it downe of himſelfe*; ſo his continuing to bee Deaths priſoner for a time, was a voluntarie commitment only, unto which hee freely yeelded himſelfe for our ſakes, not any yoake of miſerable neceſſitie that Death was able to impoſe upon him. For [e] *hee had power to lay downe his life, and hee had power to take it againe*: yet would hee not take it againe, before hee had firſt, not *layd himſelfe downe* onely upon Deaths bed, but *ſlept* alſo upon it; that ariſing afterward from thence, hee might become [f] *the firſt fruits of them that ſlept*. In which reſpect, the [g] Fathers apply unto him that text of the Pſalme; *I layd mee downe and ſlept, I awaked, for the Lord ſuſtained mee.* (Pſalm. 3. 5.) and *Lactantius* that verſe of *Sibyll*,

Καὶ θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἦμαρ ἀνάσσας,

The tearme of death hee ſhall finiſh,
when hee hath ſlept unto the third day.

His *dying*, or his *burying* at the fartheſt, is that which here is anſwerable unto his *lying downe*: but his τριήμερον or τριημερόνυκτος (as [h] *Dionyſius* calleth it) his *three-dayes buriall*, and his *continuing* for that time *in*

b *Act.* 3. 15.

c *Act.* 8. 33.
d *Ioh.* 10. 18.

e *Ibid.*

f 1. *Cor.* 15. 20.
g *Cyprian. teſtimon. adverſ. Iudæos, lib.* 2. *ſect.* 24. *Lactant. Inſtitut. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19. *Ruffin. in expoſit. Symbol. Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 17. *cap.* 18. *Cyrillus*: *cujus in hunc locum* (in *Catenâ MS. Niceræ Serronij*) *verba ſunt iſta.* Ἐκοιμήθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι, τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ πατρὶ παρεθήκατο, καὶ ὑπνωσεν ὕπνον τριήμερον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κατατεθεὶς· ἀνέστη δὲ τῇ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πανσόφῳ τῶν θανάτου ὑφώπτων. h *Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. Hierarch. cap.* 2.

the

the *ſtate of Death*, is that which anſwereth unto his *ſleeping* or being in *Hádes*. And therfore the Fathers of the *fourth* Councell of *Toledo*, declaring how in Baptiſme [i] *the death and reſurrection of Chriſt is ſignified*, doe both affirme, that *the dipping in the water is as it were a deſcenſion into Hell, and the riſing out of the water againe, a reſurrection*; and adde likewiſe out of *Gregory* (with whom many other [k] Doctors do herein agree) that [l] the *three-fold dipping* is uſed to ſignifie the *three-dayes buriall*. Which differeth as much from the ſimple *buriall*, or putting into the earth, as μετοικισμὸς doth from μετοικία, the *tranſportation* or leading into captivitie from the detaining in bondage, the committing of one to priſon from the holding of him there; and the ſowing of the ſeed from the remaining of it in ground.

And thus have I unfolded at large the generall acceptions of the word *Hádes* and *Inferi*, and ſo the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of the word *Hell* anſwering thereunto: which being ſeverally applyed to the point of our Saviours deſcent, make up theſe three propoſitions that by the univerſall conſent of Chriſtians are acknowledged to bee of undoubted veritie. *His dead body*, though free from corruption, yet *did deſcend into the place of corruption*, as other bodies doe. *His ſoule*, being ſeparated from his body, *departed hence into the other world*, as all other mens ſoules in that caſe uſe to doe. *Hee went unto the dead, and remained for a*

* Τὸ δὲ, ἐκαινώθη, τῆς καταχλίσεως ἐπίτασις ἐστὶν. Euthym. in Pſalm. 4. 9.

i Et ne fortè cuiquam ſit dubium hujus ſimpli myſterium ſacramenti; videat in eo mortem & reſurrectionem Chriſti ſignificari. Nam in aquis merſio, quaſi in infernum deſcenſio eſt; & rurſus ab aquis emerſio, reſurrectio eſt. *Concil. Toletan.* IIII. *cap.* 5. (*al.* 6.

k *Dionyſ. ut ſuprá. Cyrill. vel Iohann. Hieroſolymitan. Catecheſ.* 2. *Myſtagogic. Petrus Chryſologus, ſerm.* 113. *Leo I. epiſt.* 4. *cap.* 3. *Paſchaſius de Spiritu S. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. *Io. Damaſcen. Orthodox. fid. lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *Germanus in rer. Eccleſiaſt. Theoria. Walafrid. Strab. de reb. Eccleſiaſtic. cap.* 26. *Theophylact. in Iohan. cap.* 3.

l Nos autem quòd tertiò mergimus, triduanæ ſepulturæ ſacramenta ſignamus; ut dum tertiò infans ab aquis educitur, reſurrectio triduani temporis exprimatur. *Concil. Toletan. ex Gregorio, lib.* 1. *Regiſtri, epiſt.* 41.

time

time in the ſtate of death, as other dead men do. There remaineth now the vulgar acception of the word *Hell*, whereby it is taken for the place of torment prepared for the Devill and his Angels: and touching this alſo, all Chriſtians do agree thus farre, that *Chriſt* did deſcend thither at leaſtwiſe in a virtuall manner; as *God* [m] *is ſaid to deſcend, when hee doth any thing upon earth, which being wonderfully done beyond the uſuall courſe of nature may in ſome ſort ſhew his preſence*, or when hee otherwiſe [n] *vouchſafeth to have care of humaine frailtie*. Thus when *Chriſts* [o] *fleſh was in the tombe, his power did worke from heaven*: ſaith S. *Ambroſe*. Which agreeth with that which was before cited out of the *Armenians* Confeſſion: [p] *According to his body which was dead, hee deſcended into the Grave; but according to his* DIVINITIE, *which did live, he overcame Hell in the mean time*. and with that which was cited out of *Philo Carpathius*, upon Cantic. 5. 2. *I ſleepe, but my heart waketh*: [q] *in the grave ſpoyling Hell*. for which, in the Latin Collections that goe under his name, wee reade thus. [r] *I ſleepe, to wit on the Croſſe, and my heart waketh: when my* DIVINITIE *ſpoyled Hell, and brought rich ſpoyles from the triumph of everlaſting death overcome, and the Divels power overthrowne*. The author of the imperfect worke upon *Matthew*, attributeth this to the Divinitie, not cloathed with any part of the Humanitie, but *naked* as hee ſpeaketh. Seeing the Divels [s] *feared him* (ſaith

m Deſcendere dicitur, cùm aliquid facit in terrâ, quod præter uſitatum naturæ curſum mirabiliter factum præſentiam quodam modo ejus oſtendat. *Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 5.*

n Deſcendere dicitur Deus; quando curam humanæ fragilitatis habere dignatur. *Aug. ſerm. 70. de Tempore.*

o Erat caro ejus in monumento; ſed virtus ejus operabatur è cœlo. *Ambroſ. de Incarnat. cap. 5.*

p *Supr. pag. 355*

q *Supr. pag. 349*

r Ego dormio, in Cruce ſcilicèt, & cor meum vigilat: cùm divinitas Tartara ſpoliavit, & opima ſpolia retulit

de triumpho ſuperatæ mortis æternæ, atq; dejectæ diabolicæ poteſtatis. *Philo Carpath. in Cantic. 5.*

s Quem in corpore conſtitutum timuerunt, dicentes; Quid nobis & tibi, Ieſu fili Dei excelſi? veniſti ante tempus torquere nos? quomodo nudam ipſam divinitatem contra ſe deſcendentem poterunt ſuſtinere? Ecce poſt tres dies mortis ſuæ revertetur ab inferis, quaſi victor de bello. *Op. imperf. in Matth. homil. 35. tom. 2. Chryſoſt.*

hee) *while hee was in the body, saying; What have wee to doe with thee, Iesus the Sonne of the high God? art thou come to torment us before our time? how shall they bee able to endure his* NAKED DIVINITIE *descending against them? Behold after three dayes of his Death hee shall returne from Hell, as a conquerour from the warre.*

This conqueſt others doe attribute to his Croſſe, others to his Death, others to his Buriall, others to the reall deſcent of his ſoule into the place of the damned, others to his Reſurrection: and extend the effect thereof not onely to the deliverie of the Fathers of the old Teſtament, but alſo to the freeing of our ſoules from Hell. From whence how men may bee ſaid to have beene delivered, who never were there, S. *Auguſtine* declareth by theſe ſimilitudes. [t] *Thou ſayeſt rightly to the Phyſician, Thou haſt freed mee from this ſickneſſe; not in which thou waſt, but in which thou waſt like to be. Some body elſe having a troubleſome buſineſſe, was to bee caſt into Priſon: there commeth another, and defendeth him. What ſaith hee, when hee giveth thankes? Thou haſt delivered mee from Priſon. A debtor was in danger to bee hanged: the debt is payed for him; hee is ſaid to bee freed from hanging. In all theſe things they were not: but becauſe ſuch were their deſerts, that unleſſe they had beene holpen, there they would have beene; they ſay rightly that they were freed thence, whither by thoſe that freed them they were not ſuffered to be brought.* That *Chriſt* deſtroyed the pow-

t Rectè dicis medico, Liberâſti me ab ægritudine; non in quâ jam eras, ſed in quâ futurus eras. Neſcio quis habens cauſam moleſtam, mittendus erat in carcerem: venit alius, defendit eum. Gratias agens, quid dicit? Eruiſti animam meam de carcere. Suſpendendus erat debitor: ſolutum eſt pro eo; liberatus dicitur de ſuſpendio. In his omnibus non erant: ſed quia talibus meritis agebantur, ut, niſi ſubuentum eſſet, ibi eſſent; inde ſe rectè dicunt liberari, quò per liberatores ſuos non ſunt permiſſi perduci. *Auguſtin. in Pſalm.* 85.

er

er of *Hell*, [u] *ſpoyled principalities and powers, and made a ſhew of them openly, triumphing over them*: is acknowledged by all Chriſtians. Neither is there any who will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto that which *Proclus* delivered in his Sermon before *Neſtorius* then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* (inſerted into the Acts of the Councell of *Epheſus*.) [x] *Hee was ſhut up in the grave, who ſtretched out the heavens like a skinne: he was reckoned among the dead, and ſpoyled Hell.* and that which Saint *Cyrill* and the Synod of *Alexandria*, wrote unto the ſame *Neſtorius*, concerning the Confeſſion of their Faith: (approved not only by the [y] *third* generall Councell held at *Epheſus*, but alſo by the [z] *fourth* at *Chalcedon*, and the [a] *fifth* at *Conſtantinople*.) [b] *To the end that by his unſpeakable power treading downe death in his owne as the firſt and principall fleſh, hee might become the firſt borne from the dead and the firſt fruits of thoſe that ſlept; and that hee might make a way to mans nature for the turning backe againe unto incorruption: by the grace of God hee taſted death for all men; and revived the third day, ſpoyling hell.* All, I ſay, doe agree, that *Chriſt ſpoyled*, or (as they were wont to ſpeake) *harrowed Hell*: whether you take *Hell* for that which keepeth the ſoule ſeparated from the body, or that which ſeparateth ſoule and body both from the bleſſed preſence of him who is our true life; the one whereof our Saviour hath conquered by bringing in the *Reſurrection of the body*, the other hee hath aboliſhed by procuring for us *Life everlaſting*.

Touching the *maner* and the *meanes*, whereby *Hell*

u *Epheſ.* 2. 15.

x Ἐν τάφῳ κατεκλείσθη, ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξετείνας ὡσεὶ δέρριν. ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλογίσθη, ὁ τὸν ᾅδην ἐσκύλευσεν. Procli Cyziceni Epiſc. homil. de nativit. Domin. in Act. Concil. Epheſ. part. 1. cap. 1. edit. Rom.

y *Act. Concil. Epheſ. part.* 1. *cap.* 26. *edit. Rom.*

z *Concil. Chalced. Act.* 5.

a *Quint. Synod. Conſtantinop. Collat.* 6.

b Ἵνα δὲ ἀῤῥήτῳ δυνάμει πατήσας τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἐν γε δὴ πρώτῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ, γένηται πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. ὁδοποιήσῃ τε τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀναδρομὴν, χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου. τριήμερος δὲ ἀνέστη σκυλεύσας τὸν ᾅδην. Synod. Alexandrin. epiſt. ad Neſtor.

was thus *spoyled*, is all the disagreement. The *manner*: whether our Lord did deliver his people from Hell by way of *prevention*, in saving them from comming thither; or by way of *subvention*, in helping those out whom at the time of his death hee found there. The *meanes*: whether this were done by his Divinitie or his Humanitie or both, whether by the vertue of his sufferings, death, buriall, and resurrection, or by the reall descending of his soule into the place wherein mens soules were kept imprisoned. That he descended not into the Hell of the damned *by the essence* of his soule or *Locally*, but *Virtually* onely by extending the effect of his power thither: is the common doctrine of [c] *Thomas Aquinas* and the rest of the Schoole. Cardinall *Bellarmine* at first held it to bee [d] probable, that *Christs* soule did descend thither, not onely by his effects but by his reall presence also: but afterwards [e] *having considered better of the matter, hee resolved that the opinion of Thomas and the other Schoolemen was to bee followed.* The same is the judgement of [f] *Suarez*: who concerning this whole *article of Christs descent into Hell*, doth thus deliver his minde. [g] *If by an Article of Faith wee understand a truth, which all the faithfull are bound explicitly to know and beleeve: so I doe not thinke it necessarie to reckon this among the Articles of Faith. Because it is not a matter altogether so necessarie for all men: and because*

c *Thom. in Sum. part. 3. quæst. 52. art. 2.*

d *Bellarm. lib. 4. de Christo, cap. 16.*

e Re meliùs consideratâ, sequendam esse existimo sententiam S. Thomæ, quæ est aliorum Scholasticorum in 3. Sent. dist. 22. *Id. in Recognitione Operum.*

f *Suarez tom. 2. in 3. part. Thom. disput. 43. sect. 4.*

g Si nomine articuli intelligamus veritatem, quam omnes fideles explicitè scire ac credere teneantur: sic non existimo necessarium hunc computare inter articulos fidei. Quia non est res admodùm necessaria singulis hominibus: & quia ob hanc fortasse causam in symbolo Niceno omittitur; cujus symboli cognitio videtur esse sufficiens ad præceptum fidei implendum. Denique propterea fortè Augustin. & alii Patres in principio citati exponentes symbolum, non explicant populo hoc mysterium. *Id. ibid. sect. 2.*

that

that for this reaſon peradventure it is omitted in the Nicene *Creed; the knowledge of which Creed ſeemeth to be ſufficient for fulfilling the precept of Faith. Laſtly, for this cauſe peradventure Auguſtin and other of the Fathers expounding the Creed, doe not unfold this myſterie unto the people.* And to ſpeake the truth, it is a matter above the reach of the common people to enter into the diſcuſſion of the full meaning of this point of the deſcenſion into Hell: the determination whereof dependeth upon the knowledge of the learned tongues and other ſciences that come not within the compaſſe of their underſtanding. ſome experiment whereof they may obſerve in this; that whereas in the other queſtions here handled, they might find themſelves able in ſome reaſonable ſort to follow mee; heere they leave mee, I doubt, and let mee walke without their company.

It having heere likewiſe beene further manifeſted, what different opinions have beene entertained by the ancient Doctors of the Church concerning the determinate place wherein our Saviours ſoule did remaine during the time of the ſeparation of it from his body: I leave it to be conſidered by the learned, whether any ſuch controverted matter may fitly bee brought in to expound the [h] *Rule of Faith by*, which being *common both to the great and the ſmall ones in the Church*, muſt containe ſuch verities onely as are generally agreed upon by the common conſent of all true Chriſtians. and if the words of the article of *Chriſts* going to *Hádes* or *Hell*, may well beare ſuch a generall meaning as this; that he went to the dead, & continued in the ſtate of death untill the time of his

h Regulam fidei pusillis magnisq; communem in Eccleſiâ perſeveranter tenent. *Auguſtin. epiſt. 57. ad Dardanum.*

Reſurrection: it would bee thought upon, whether ſuch a truth as this, which findeth univerſall acceptance among all Chriſtians may not ſafely paſſe for an article of our Creed; and the particular limitation of the place unto which our Saviours ſoule went (whether to the place of bliſſe, or to the place of torment, or to both) bee left, as a number of other Theologicall points are, unto further diſputation. In the articles of our Faith common agreement muſt be required: which we are ſure is more likely to be found in the generall, than in the particular. And this is the onely reaſon which moved mee to enlarge my ſelfe ſo much in the declaration of the generall acceptions of the word *Hádes*, and the application of them to our Saviours deſcent ſpoken of in the Creed. Wherein if the zeale which I beare to the peace of the Church, and the ſettlement of unitie among brethren hath carried mee too farre; I intreat the Reader to pardon mee: and ſo ceaſing to bee further troubleſome unto him in the proſecution of this intricate argument, I paſſe to the next queſtion.

OF PRAYER TO SAINTS.

THat one queſtion of S. *Paul*, Rom 10. 14. *How ſhall they call upon him, in whom they have not beleeved?* among ſuch as luſt not to bee contentious, will quickly put an end unto this queſtion. For if none can bee *invocated* but ſuch as muſt bee *beleeved in*; and none muſt be beleeved in but God alone: every one may eaſily diſcerne, what concluſion will follow there-

[t]hereupon. Againe, all Christians have beene taught, [t]hat no part of divine worship is to bee communicated unto any creature. For [a] it is written: *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* But *Prayer* is such a principall part of this service, that it is [b] usually put for the whole: and the publike place of Gods worship, hath from hence given it the denomination of [c] *The house of Prayer*. Furthermore, hee that heareth our prayers, must bee able to search the secrets of our hearts; and discerne the inward disposition of our soules. For the powring out of good words, and the offring up of externall sighes and teares, are but the carkasse only of a true prayer: the life thereof consisteth in the [d] powring out of the very soule it selfe, and the sending up of those secret [e] groanes of the spirit which cannot bee uttered. But [f] *hee that searcheth the hearts*, and onely hee, *knoweth what is the minde of the spirit*: hee [g] *heareth in Heaven his dwelling place, and giveth to every man according to his wayes, whose heart he knoweth. for he* even *he* ONLY *knoweth the hearts of all the children of men*: as *Salomon* teacheth us in the praier which hee made at the dedication of the Temple. whereunto wee may adde that golden Sentence of his Father *David* for a conclusion: [h] *O thou that hearest Prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.*

a *Matth.*4.10.
b *Ierem.*30.25. *Ioel* 2.32. *Act.* 9.14. 1. *Corinth.* 1.2. *Sic apud Optatum, lib.*3. *contr. Donatist.* Vt negaretur Christus & Idola rogarentur. *Item*: Testamentum divinum legimus pariter; unum Deum rogamus.
c *Esai.*56.7. *Matth.*21.13.
d *Psalm.*62.8. 1. *Sam.* 1.13,15.
e *Rom.*8.26.
f *Rom.*8.27.
g 1 *Kings* 8.39. 2. *Chron.*6.30.
h *Psal.*65.2.

If it be further here objected by us; that wee finde neither precept nor example of any of the Fathers of the Old Testament, whereby this kinde of praying to the soules of the Saints departed may bee warranted: Cardinall *Bellarmine* will give us a reason for it.

[i] *for therefore* (saith hee) *the spirits of the Patriarches and the Prophets before the comming of Christ were neither so worshipped nor invocated, as wee doe now worship and invocate the Apostles and Martyrs: because that they were detained as yet shut up in the prisons of Hell.* But if this reason of his bee grounded upon a false foundation (as wee have alreadie shewed it to bee) and the contrarie supposition bee most true; that the spirits of the Patriarches and Prophets were not thus shut up in the prisons of Hell: then have wee *foure thousand* yeares prescription left unto us, to oppose against this innovation. Wee goe further yet, and urge against them, that in the New Testament it selfe wee can descry no footsteps of this new kinde of Invocation, more than wee did in the Scriptures of the olde Testament. For this, *Salmeron* doth tell us, that [k] *the Scriptures which were made and published in the Primitive Church ought to found and explaine Christ, who by the tacite suggestion of the Spirit did bring the Saints with him: and that it would have beene a hard matter to enjoyne this to the Iewes; and to the Gentiles an occasion would bee given thereby to thinke, that many Gods were put upon them in steed of the multitude of the Gods whom they had forsaken.* So this new worship, you see fetcheth his originall neither from the Scriptures of the Old nor of the New Testament: but from I know not what *tacite suggestion*, which smelt so strongly of Idolatry, that at first it was not safe to acquaint either the Iewes or the Gentiles therewith. But if any such sweet tradition as this were at first delivered unto the

i Nam idcircò ante Christi adventum non ita colebantur, neque invocabantur spiritus Patriarcharum & Prophetarũ, quemadmodũ nunc Apostolos & Martyres colimus & invocamus: quòd illi adhuc inferni carceribus clausi detinebantur. *Bellar. fin. Præfat. in Controvers. de Ecclesia triumphante, in Ord. disputat.*

k Quia Scripturas conditas & publicatas in primitivâ Ecclesiâ oportebat Christum fundare, & explicare, qui per tacitam suggestionem Spiritus Sanctos secum adducebat: & durum esset id Iudæis præcipere; & occasio daretur Gentibus putandi sibi exhibitos multos Deos pro multitudine Deorum quos relinquebant, *Alphons. Salmer. in 1. Timoth. 2. disput. 8.*

Church

Church by *Christ* and his *Apostles*: wee demand further, how it should come to passe, that for the space of 360. yeares together after the birth of our Saviour, wee can finde mention no where of any such thing? For howsoever our Challenger giveth it out, *that Prayer to Sains was of great account*, amongst the Fathers of the Primitive Church, for the first 400. yeares after *Christ*: yet for *nine* parts of that time, I dare bee bold to say, that he is not able to produce as much as one true testimony out of any Father, wherby it may appeare, that any account at all was made of it; and for the *tithe* too, he shall finde perhaps before wee have done, that hee is not like to carry it away so cleerely as hee weeneth.

Whether those blessed Spirits pray for us, is not the question here: but whether wee are to pray unto them. That God onely is to bee prayed unto, is the doctrine that was once delivered unto the Saints, for which wee so earnestly contend: the Saints praying for us doth no way crosse this (for to whom should the *Saints* pray but to the [l] *King of Saints?*) their being prayed unto, is the onely stumbling blocke that lyeth in this way. And therefore in those first Times, the former of these was admitted by some, as a matter of probabilitie: but the later no way yeelded unto, as being derogatorie to the priviledge of the Deitie. *Origen* may be a witnesse of both: who touching the former, writeth in this sort. [m] *I doe thinke thus, that all those Fathers who are departed this life before us, doe fight with us and assist us with their prayers: for so have I heard one of the elder Masters saying.* and in ano-

l *Rev.* 15. 3.

m Ego sic arbitror, quod omnes illi qui dormierunt ante nos patres, pugnent nobiscum & adjuvent nos orationibus suis. Ita namq; etiam quendam de senioribus magistris audivi dicentē. *Origen. in Iosue. homil.* 16.

another place. [n] *Moreover, if the Saints, that have left the body and bee with Christ, doe any thing and labour for us, in like manner as the Angels doe who are imployed in the ministerie of our salvation: let this also remaine among the hidden things of God, and the Mysteries that are not to bee committed unto writing.* But because hee thought that the Angels and Saints prayed for us: did hee therefore hold it needfull, that wee should direct our prayers unto them? Heare, I pray you, his owne answer; in his *eighth* booke against *Celsus* the philosopher. [o] *Wee must endevour to please God alone, who is above all things, and labour to have him propitious unto us, procuring his good will with godlinesse and all kinde of vertue. And if* Celsus *will yet have us to procure the good will of any others, after him that is God over all: let him consider, that as when the body is moved, the motion of the shadow thereof doth follow it; so in like manner, having God favourable unto us who is over all, it followeth that wee shall have all his friends, both Angels and Soules and spirits, loving unto us. For they have a fellow-feeling with them that are thought worthy to find favour from God. Neither are they onely favourable unto such as bee thus worthy, but they worke with them also that are willing to doe service unto him who is God over all, and are friendly to them, and pray with them, and*

[n] Iam vero si etiam extra corpus positi sancti, qui cum Christo sunt, agunt aliquid, & laborant pro nobis ad similitudinem angelorum qui salutis nostræ ministeria procurant &c. habeatur hoc quoque inter occulta Dei, nec chartis committenda mysteria. *Id. lib. 2. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. 2.*

[o] Ἕνα δὲ τὸ ὁπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐξιλεωσίεον, καὶ τοῦτο ἕλεω ἐκτέον, ἐξιλεωσίζομενον εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πινὰς βούλεται μὴ τὸ ὁπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξιλεωσίζεσθαι θεὸν καταμανθανέτω, ὅτι ὥσπερ τῷ κινεμένῳ σώματι ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ τὸ σκιᾶς αὐτῆς κίνησις· τὸ αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐξιλεωσίζεσθαι τὸ ὁπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν, ὅπερ ἐυμενεῖς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐκείνε πάντας φίλους ἀγγέλους καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα. συναίδον ται γὰρ τῷ ἀξίων τῶ παρὰ τῶ θεῶ ἐυμενισμῶ καὶ ὐ μόνον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐυμενεῖς τοῖς ἀξίοις γίνον ται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπεραίνεσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τὸ ὁπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἐξιλεωσίζον ται, καὶ σωσιλύχον ται, καὶ σωναξιῶσιν· ὥστε τολμᾶν ἡμᾶς λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνθρώποις, μὴ παραιρέσεως δεσπεμένοι τὰ χρήσιμα, εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ μυρίαι ὅσαι ἀγλητοὶ συνείχον ται δυνάμεις ἱεραὶ. Origen. lib. 8. cont. Cels. pag. 432, 433.

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intreat with them. So as wee may bee bold to say, that when men which with resolution propose unto themselves the best things doe pray unto God, many thousands of the sacred powers pray together with them VNSPOKEN *to.*

Celsus had said of the Angels: [p] *that they belong to God, and in that respect wee are to put our trust in them, and make oblations to them according to the lawes, and pray unto them, that they may bee favourable to us.* To this *Origen* answereth in this maner. [q] *Away with Celsus his counsell, saying that we must pray to Angels: and let us not so much as afford any little audience to it. For wee must pray to him alone who is God over all: and wee must pray to the Word of God his onely begotten and the first borne of all creatures; and we must intreat him, that hee as high Priest would present our prayer (when it is come to him) unto his God, and our God, and unto his Father, and the father of them that frame their life according to the word of God.* And whereas *Celsus* had further said that wee [r] *must offer first fruits* unto Angels, *and prayers, as long as wee live; that wee may finde them propitious unto us:* answere is returned by *Origen* in the name of the Christians, that they held it rather fit to offer *first fruits* unto him which said; *Let the earth bring forth grasse, the herb yeelding seed, and the fruit-tree yeelding fruit after his kinde.* [s] *And to whom wee give the first fruites, (saith hee) to him also doe wee send our prayers; having a great high Priest that is en-*

p ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μονέες εἰσὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστευτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καλλιερητέον κατὰ νόμους, καὶ προσευκτέον, ἵν' ἡμῖν μένεις ὦσι. Cels. ibid. pag. 406.

q Ἄπαγε δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ Κέλσου συμβουλεύοντος, λέγοντος προσευκτέον εἶναι ἀγγέλοις, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἀκουστέον αὐτῆς. Μόνῳ γὰρ προσευκτέον τῷ ὑπὲρ πάντα θεῷ, καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως λόγῳ θεοῦ, καὶ ἀξιωτέον αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, τὰ ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντα ἡμῶν εὐχὰ ἀναφέρειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεὸν αὐτὸν καὶ

θεὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα τῶν βιόντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. Origen. ibid. r ἀπαρχὰς καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοτέον, ἕως ἂν ζῶμεν. ὡς ἀνθιλανθρώπων αὐτῶν τυγχανοιμεν. Cels. ibid. pag. 411. s ᾧ γὰρ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδωμεν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπομεν, ἔχοντες ἀρχιερέα μέγαν, διελήλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κρατοῦμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἕως ἂν ζῶμεν, φιλανθρώπως τυγχάνοντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν φανερωθέντος. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ ἦμεν ὧν φιλανθρώπων τυγχάνειν θέλομεν· μανθάνομεν ὅτι χίλιοι χιλιάδες πα-

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ρεις ήκειν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύειαι μυειάδες ἐλευτέρως αὐτῷ. αἰτήσεις ὡς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους τοὺς μεμυημένους τῷ εἰς θεὸν αὐτῷ εὐσέβειαν ὁρῶντες, συμπροσφέρεσθαι αὐτῷ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ γνησίως εὐχομένων. ὑπολαμβάνομεν, καὶ ὀίομενοι αὐτοῖς δεῖν ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς σωματος ὑπομεμῆν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῷ δ' ἐχομένων θεῷ ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐχόμεθα. καὶ γὰρ πάντες εἰσὶ λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα, διὰ τοὺ μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν. Origen. ibid. pag. 411. 412.

tred into the Heavens, Iesus the Sonne of God: and wee hold fast this confession whiles wee live, having God favourable unto us, and his onely begotten Sonne Iesus being manifested amongst us. But if wee have a desire unto a multitude, whom wee would willingly have to be favourable unto us: wee learne that thousand thousands stand by him, and millions of millions minister unto him. Who beholding them that imitate their pietie towards God, as if they were their kinsfolkes and friends; helpe forward their salvation who call upon God, and pray sincerely: appearing also, and thinking that they ought to doe service to them; and as it were upon one watchword to set forth for the benefit and salvation of them that pray to God, unto whom they themselves also pray. For they are all ministring spirits, sent forth to minister for them, who shall bee heires of salvation. Thus farre *Origen*, in his *eight* booke against *Celsus*: to which for a conclusion wee will adde that place of the *fift* booke. [t] *All prayers and supplications and intercessions and thankesgivings, are to bee sent up unto God the Lord of all, by the high Priest who is above all Angels, being the living Word and God. For to call upon Angels, wee not comprehending the knowledge of them which is above the reach of man, is not agreeable to reason. And if by supposition it were granted, that the knowledge of them (which is wonderfull, and secret) might bee comprehended: this verie*

t Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ὑπὲρ πάσι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως ἐμψύχου λόγου καὶ θεοῦ, &c. Ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλέσαι μὴ ἀναλαβόντας τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμονα, οὐκ εὔλογον. ἵνα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ᾖ περὶ αὐτῶν θαυμάσιος τις ὅσα καὶ ἀπόρρητος κατάληψις· αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη, παρασήμασα τὸν φύσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, οὐκ ἐάσει ἄλλῳ θαρρεῖν εὐχεσθαι, ἢ τῷ πρὸς πάντα διαρκεῖ (*forte* διαρκοῦντι) ὑπὲρ πάσι θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Id. lib. 5. pag. 239.

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knowledge, declaring their nature unto us and the charge over which every one of them is set, would not permit us to presume to pray unto any other but unto God the Lord over all, who is abundantly sufficient for all, by our Saviour the Sonne of God.

Tertullian and *Cyprian* in the bookes which they purposely wrote concerning Prayer, deliver no other doctrine: but teach us to regulate all our prayers according unto that perfect patterne prescribed by our great Master; wherein wee are required to direct our petitions unto *Our Father which is in heaven.* (Matth. 6. 9. *Luke* 11. 2.) [u] *These things* (saith *Tertullian*, in his Apologie for the Christians of his time) *I may not pray for from any other, but from him of whom I know I shall obtaine them: because both it is hee who is alone able to give, and I am hee unto whom it appertaineth to obtaine that which is requested; being his servant who observe him alone, who for his religion am killed, who offer unto him a rich and great sacrifice, which hee himselfe hath commanded, Prayer proceeding from a chaste body, from an innocent soule, from a holy spirit.* where hee accounteth Prayer to bee the chiefe sacrifice, wherewith God is worshipped: agreeably to that which *Clemens Alexandrinus* wrote at the same time. [x] *Wee doe not without cause honour God by prayer, and with righteousnesse send up this best and holiest sacrifice.*

And therefore, where the brethren of the Church of *Smyrna*, relating the Martyrdome of *Polycarpus*

[u] Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quàm à quo me scio consecuturum: quoniam & ipse est qui solus præstat, & ego sum cui impetrare debetur; famulus ejus qui eum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam ejus occidor, qui ei offero opimam & majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudicâ, de animâ innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam.

Tertull. Apologetic. cap. 30. [x] Οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἡμεῖς δι' εὐχῆς τιμῶμεν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ παντὶ τῷ θυσίαν ἀείσῳ καὶ ἁγιοπρεπείᾳ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἀναπέμπομεν. Clem. Alexandr. *lib.* 7. Stromat.

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their Bishop, whereof they were eye-witnesses, (some 70. yeares after the decease of S. *Iohn*, who had encouraged them by a letter taken from their Saviours owne mouth, to continue [a] *faithfull unto the death*:) where these, I say, doe constantly professe that they [b] *can never bee induced either to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the saved* (or, *the saved of the whole world*) *or to* WORSHIP ANY OTHER: the Latin edition of that writing of theirs, which was wont to bee publickly read in these Churches of the West, doth expresse their meaning in this maner. [c] *Wee Christians can never leave Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer so great things for our sinnes; nor impart the supplication of* PRAYER UNTO ANY OTHER. Then, to shew the difference of this high worship proper to the Master, from the honour of love and imitation due unto his best servants; it presently followeth in that golden Epistle. [d] *Him, being the Sonne of God, we do adore: but the Martyrs, as the disciples and followers of the Lord, wee love worthily, for their exceeding great affection toward their owne King and Master; of whom we wish that wee may bee partners and disciples.* Hereunto may bee added the direction given unto Virgins, in the Epistle of *Ignatius* to the Philadelphians. * *Yee Virgins, have Christ alone before your eyes and his Father in your prayers, being inlightened by the Spirit.* For explication whereof that may be taken, which we read in the ex-

a *Revel.* 2. 10.

b Ὅτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σῳζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, ὅτε ἕτερόν τινα σέβειν. Eccles. Smyrn. apud Euseb. lib. 4. Hist. cap. 15.

c Nunquam Christum relinquere possumus Christiani, qui pro peccatis nostris pati tanta dignatus est; neq; alteri cuiquam precem orationis impendere. *Ex Passionario Ms. VII. Kalend. Februar. in Bibliothecâ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis, & D. Roberti Cottoni.*

d Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μιμητὰς, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀυπερβλήτου τοῦς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ μαθητὰς γενέσθαι. Euseb. ut suprà. * Αἱ παρθένοι, μόνον τοὺς Χριστοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ πατέρα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, φωτιζόμεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. Ignat. epist. 6.

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poſition of the Faith, attributed vnto Saint *Gregorie* of *Neocæſarea*. [a] *Whoſoeuer rightly prayeth vnto God, prayeth by the Sonne; and whoſoeuer commeth as hee ought to doe, commeth by Chriſt: and to the Sonne hee cannot come, without the holy Ghoſt.*

Neither is it to bee paſſed over, that one of the ſpecial arguments whereby the Writers of this time doe prooue our Sauiour *Chriſt* to bee truely God, is taken from our praying unto him, and his excepting of our petitions. [b] *If Chriſt be only Man* (ſaith *Nouatianus*) *how is he preſent being called vpon every where; ſeeing this is not the nature of Man, but of God, that he can be preſent at euery place? If Chriſt bee onely man: why is a man called upon in our paryers as a Mediator; ſeeing the inuocacation of a man is iudged of no force to yeeld ſaluatian? If Chriſt be onely man: why is their hope repoſed in him; ſeeing hope in man is ſaid to bee curſed?* So is it Noted by *Origen*, that Saint *Paul* [c] in the beginning of the former epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, where he ſaith, *With all that in every place call upon the Name of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, both theirs and ours*; (1. Corinth. 1. 2.) doth thereby *pronounce Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe name is called upon to be God. And if to call upon the Name of the Lord*, (ſaith he) *and to adore God, bee*

a Qui rectè invocat Deum, per Filium invocat: & qui propriè accedit, per Chriſtum accedit. Accedere autem ad Filium non poteſt ſine Spiritu Sancto. *Greg. Neocæſar. in* Ἐκθέσει τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως, *à Fr. Turriano converſ.*

b Si homo tantummodò Chriſtus; quomodo adeſt ubiq; invocatus, cùm hæc hominis natura non ſit, ſed Dei, ut adeſſe omni loco poſſit? Si homo tantummodò Chriſtus; cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur, cùm invocatio hominis ad præſtandam ſalutem inefficax judicetur? Si homo tantummodò Chriſtus; cur ſpes in illum ponitur, cùm ſpes in homine maledicta referatur? *Novatian. de Trinitat. cap.* 14.

c Sed & in principio epiſtolæ quam ad Corinthios ſcribit, ubi dicit; Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini Ieſu Chriſti in omni loco, ipſorum & noſtro: eum, cujus nomen invocatur, Deum, Ieſum Chriſtum eſſe pronunciat. Si ergo & Enos & Moſes & Aaron & Samuel invocabant Dominum, & ipſe exaudiebat eos, ſine dubio Chriſtum Ieſum Dominum invocabant: & ſi invocare Domini nomen, & adorare Deum, unum atque idem eſt, ſicut invocatur Chriſtus & adorandus eſt Chriſtus: & ſicut offerimus Deo Patri primo omnium orationes, ita & Domino Ieſu Chriſto: & ſicut offerimus poſtulationes Patri, ita offerimus poſtulationes & Filio: & ſicut offerimus gratiarum actiones Deo, ita gratias offerimus Salvatori. *Origen. lib.* 8. *in epiſt. ad Roman. cap.* 10.

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one and the selfe same thing: as Christ is called upon, so is hee to be adored; and as wee doe offer to God the Father first of all prayers (1. Tim. 2. 1.) *so must wee also to the Lord Iesus Christ; and as we doe offer supplications to the Father, so doe wee offer supplications also to the Sonne; and as we doe offer thankesgivings to God, so doe we offer thankesgivings to our Saviour.*

In like manner *Athanasius*, disputing against the *Arrians*, by that prayer which the Apostle maketh, 1. Thessal. 3. 11. *God himselfe and our Father, and our Lord Iesus Christ, direct our way unto you*; doth prove the unitie of the Father and the Sonne. * *For no man* (saith he) *would pray to receive any thing from the Father and the Angels, or from any of the other creatures: neither would any man say; God and the Angell give me this.* And whereas it might bee objected, that *Iacob* in the blessing that hee gave unto *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh* (*Genes.* 48. 15, 16.) did use this forme for prayer: *The God which fed mee from my youth unto this day; The Angell which delivered me from all evils, blesse those children* (which Cardinall [a] *Bellarmine* placeth in the forefront of the forces he bringeth forth to establish the Invocation of Saints.) *Athanasius* answereth, that [b] *he did not couple one of the created and naturall Angels with God that did create them; nor omitting God that fed him, did desire a blessing for his nephews from an Angell: but saying,* Which delivered me from all evils, *he did shew that it was not any of the created Angels, but the* WORD *of God* (that

* Οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ἠξίωσέ τις λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἢ παρά τινος τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων· ἢδ' ἂν εἰπεῖ τις, Δώη σοι ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄγγελος. Athanas. orat. 4. cont. Arian. pag. 259.

a Bellarm. de Eccles. triumph. lib. 1. cap. 19.

b Οὐ τῶν κτιστῶν καὶ τῇ φύσει ἀγγέλων ὄντων ἕνα, σωθῆναι τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτὸς θεῷ. ἐδεῖ εἰπεῖς τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν θεὸν, παρ' ἀγγέλου τινὸς εὐλογίαν ἤτει τοὺς ἐγγόνους· ἀλλ' εἰρηκὼς, Ὁ ῥύσαμένος με ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἔδειξε μὴ τῶν κτιστῶν τινὰ ἀγγέλων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λόγον τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντα τῶν πατρὶ σωμάτων ἤυχετο. Athan. ut supr. pag. 260.

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is to say, *the Sonne*) *whom hee coupled with the Father and prayed unto.* and for further confirmation hereof he alleageth (among other things) that neither [f] *Iacob*, nor *Dauid* did *pray unto any other but God himselfe, for their deliverance.*

The place wherein we first finde the spirits of the deceased to be called unto, rather than called upon; is that in the beginning of the former of the invectives which *Gregorie Nazianzen* wrote against the Emperor *Iulian*, about the CCCLXIV. yeare of our Lord. [g] Ἄκουε καὶ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ψυχὴ (εἰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως) ὅσοι τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων φιλόχριστοι. *Heare, O thou soule of great Constantius (if thou hast any understanding of these things) and as many soules of the Kings before him as loved Christ.* where the Greeke *Scholiast* upon that *paremhesis* putteth this note. Ἰσοκρατικὸν, αἰνίττεται. Ἐάν τις αἴσθησις ὄζῃ τῶν τῇδε ἀκούειν. *Hee speaketh according to the manner of Isocrates*, meaning, *If thou hast any power to heare the things that are here.* and therein hee saith rightly: for *Isocrates* useth the same forme of speech, both in his *Evagoras* and in his *Ægineticus*. Εἴ τις ὄζει αἴσθησις τοῖς τεθνεῶσι (or τετελευτηκόσι) περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε. *If they which bee dead have any sence of the things that are done here.* The like limitation is used by the same *Nazianzen* toward the end of the funerall Oration which he made upon his sister *Gorgonia*: where hee speaketh thus unto her. [h] *If thou hast any care of the things done by us, and holy soules receive this honour from God, that they have any feeling of such things as these; receive this Oration of ours, in stead of many and before many funerall obsequies.* So doubtfull the beginnings were of that, which our Challenger is pleased to reckon among

[f] Καὶ οὔτε δὴ ὃν ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει &c. καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ὃν ἄλλον ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν παρεκάλει περὶ τῆς ῥυσθῆναι. Id. ibid.

[g] *Schol. Græc. in priorem Nazianzeni Invectivam, pag. 2. edit. Etonens.*

[h] Εἰ δέ τις σοὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄζει λόγος, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ὁσίοις ψυχαῖς ἐκ θεοῦ γέρας, τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαισθάνεσθαι, δέχοιο καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐνταφίων. Greg. Nazian. orat. 11. in Gorgon.

the *chiefe articles*, not of his owne religion onely, but alſo of the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church, who (if his word may be taken for the matter) did *generally* hold the ſame touching this point that the Church of *Rome* doth now. But if hee had either himſelfe read the writings of thoſe Saints and Fathers with whoſe mindes he beareth us in hand he is ſo well acquainted; or but taken ſo much information in this caſe, as the bookes of his owne new Maſters were able to afford him: hee would not ſo peremptorily have avouched, that prayer to Saints was generally embraced by the Doctors of the primitive Church, as one of the chiefe articles of their Religion.

His owne *Bellarmine* (hee might remember) in handling this very queſtion of the Invocation of Saints, had wiſhed him to [i] *note, that becauſe the Saints which died before the comming of Chriſt did not enter into heaven, neither did ſee God, nor could ordinarily take knowledge of the prayers of ſuch as ſhould petition unto them; therefore it was not the uſe in the Old Teſtament to ſay, Saint Abraham pray for me, &c.* For at that time, ſaith Suarez, [k] *wee reade nowhere, that any man did directly pray unto the Saints departed, that they ſhould helpe him, or pray for him; for this manner of praying is proper to the law of Grace, wherein the Saints beholding God, are able to ſee in him the prayers that are powred out unto them.* So doth *Salmeron* alſo teach,

i Notandum eſt quia ante Chriſti adventum Sancti, qui moriebantur, non intrabant in cœlum, nec Deum videbãt, nec cognoſcere poterant ordinariè preces ſupplicantium: ideò non fuiſſe conſuetum in Teſtamẽto veteri, vt dicere tur; Sancte Abraham, ora pro me, &c. *Bellar. de Sanct. Beat. lib. 1. cap. 19.* k Quòd autem aliquis directè oraverit Sanctos defunctos, ut ſe adjuvarent, vel pro ſe orarent, nuſquam legimus. Hic enim modus orandi eſt proprius legis gratiæ, in quo Sancti videntes Deum, poſſunt etiam in eo videre orationes, quæ ad ipſos funduntur. *Fr. Suarez. in 3. part. Thom. tom. 2. diſput. 42. ſect. 1.*

1 *that*

that therefore it was not the manner in the Old Testament to resort unto the Saints as intercessors; because they were not as yet blessed and glorified, as now they be: and therefore so great an honour as this is, was not due unto them. And [m] *in vaine*, saith *Pighius*, *should their suffrages have beene implored, as being not yet joyned with God in glorie, but untill the reconciliation and the opening of the Kingdome by the bloud of Christ the Redeemer, wayting as yet in a certaine place appointed by God; and therefore not understanding the prayers and desires of the living, which the blessed doe behold and heare, not by the efficacie of any proper reason reaching from them unto us, but in the glasse of the divine Word; which it was not as yet granted vnto them to behold. But after the price of our redemption was paid, the Saints now raigning with Christ in heavenly glory, doe heare our prayers and desires: forasmuch as they behold them almost clearely in the Word, as in a certaine glasse.*

Now, that divers of the chiefe Doctors of the Church were of opinion, that the Saints in the New Testament are in the same place and state that the Saints of the Old Testament were in, and that before the day of the last iudgement they are not admitted into Heaven and the cleere sight of God (wherein this metaphysicall speculation of the Saints seeing of our prayers is founded:) hath beene [n] before declared out of their owne wri-

1 Dicendum est, ideò non fuisse morem in Veteri Testamento adeundi Sanctos intercessores, quia nondum erant beati & glorificati, ut modò sunt: ideò non debebatur eis tantus honos, quantus est iste. *Alphons. Salmer. in 1. Tim. 2. disput. 8.*

m Anteà frustrà fuissent implorata ipsorum suffragia, utpote nondum conjunctorum cum Deo in gloriâ, sed ad reconciliationem usq; & regni apertionem per sanguinem redemptoris Christi, loco quodam ordinato à Deo ad hunc expectantium: & propterea non per-

cipientium orationes & vota viventium, ut quæ, non propriæ rationis ad nos usq; pertingentis efficatiâ, sed in verbi divini speculo (quod intueri ipsis nondum datum erat) beati intuentur & audiunt. At post persolutum redemptionis nostræ pretium, sancti jam regnantes cum Christo in cœlesti gloriâ, etiam nostras preces votaque exaudiunt: ut quæ universa, in verbo, clarissimè intuentur, velut quodam speculo. *Albert. Pigh. controvers.* 13. n See above, from *pag.* 230. to 242. *item pag.* 283, 284, 289, 290, 295, 379, 380, *&c.*

tings. where that ſpeech of Saint *Auguſtine*; [o] *Nondum ibi eris: quis neſcit? (Thou ſhalt not as yet bee there: who knoweth it not?)* ſheweth that the opinion was ſomewhat generall, and apprehended generally too as more than an opinion. By the Romaniſts owne grounds then, the more generally this point was held by the ancient Fathers, and the more reſoluedly: the leſſe generally of force, and the more doubtfully muſt the Popiſh doctrine of praying to Saints have beene entertained by them. And if our Challenger deſire to bee informed of this doubt that was among the ancient Divines (touching the eſtate of the Saints now in the time of the New Teſtament) by the report of the Doctors of his own Religion, rather than by our allegations: let him heare from *Franciſcus Pegna*, what they have found herein. [p] *It was a matter in controverſie* (ſaith he) *of old, whether the ſoules of the Saints before the day of Iudgement did ſee God, and enioy the divine viſion: ſeeing many worthy men and famous, both for Learning and Holineſſe did ſeeme to hold, that they doe not ſee nor enioy it before the day of iudgement, vntill receiving their bodies together with them they ſhould enioy divine bleſſedneſſe. For Irenæus, Iuſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus, Origen, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtin, Lactantius, Victorinus, Prudentius, Theodoret, Aretas, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and Euthymius are*

o *Auguſt. in Pſal. 36. contr. 1.*

p Olim controverſum fuit, num animæ Sanctorum uſque ad diem judicii Deum viderent, & divinâ viſione fruerentur: cùm multi inſignes viri & doctrinâ & ſanctitate clari tenere viderentur, eas nec videre nec frui uſque ad diem judicii; donec receptis corporibus unâ cum illis divinâ beatitudine perfruantur. Nam Irenæus, Iuſtinus Martyr, Tertullianus, Clemens Romanus, Origenes, Ambroſius, Chryſoſtomus, Auguſtinus, Lactantius, Victorinus, Prudentius, Theodoretus, Aretas, Oecumenius, Theophylactus, & Euthymius hujus referuntur fuiſſe ſententiæ: ut commemorant, Caſtrus, & Medina, & Sotus. *Fr. Pegna, in part. 2. Directorii Inquiſitor. comment. 21.*

ſaid

ſaid to have beene of this opinion: as Caſtrus and Medina and Sotus doe relate. To whom we may adjoyne one more of no leſſe credit among our Romaniſts than any of the others: even *Thomas Stapleton* himſelfe, who taketh it for granted, that q *theſe ſo many famous ancient Fathers, Tertullian, Irenæus, Origen, Chryſoſtome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Ambroſe, Clemens Romanus, and Bernard, did not aſſent unto this ſentence (which now,* ſaith he, *in the Councell of* Florence *was at length after much diſputing defined as a Doctrine of Faith) that the ſoules of the righteous enjoy the ſight of* GOD *before the day of Iudgement; but did deliver the contrarie ſentence thereunto.*

q Tot illi & tam celebres antiqui patres, Tertullianus, Irenæus, Origenes, Chryſoſtomus, Theodoretus, Oecumenius, Theophylactus, Ambroſius, Clemens Romanus, D. Bernardus, huic ſententiæ (quæ nunc in Concilio Florentino magnâ demùm conquiſitione factâ ut dogma fidei definita eſt) quòd juſtorum animæ ante diem judicii Dei viſione fruuntur, non ſunt aſſenſi; ſed ſententiam contrariam tradiderunt. *Stapleton. Defenſ. Eccleſiaſtic. authorit. contra whitaker. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

We would intreat our Challenger then, to ſpell theſe things and put them together: & afterward to tell us, whether ſuch a concluſion as this may not be deduced from thence.

Such as held that the Saints were not yet admitted to the ſight of God; could not well hold that men ſhould pray unto them, in ſuch manner as the Romaniſts uſe now to doe, becauſe the Saints not enjoying the ſight of God, are not able ordinarily to take notice of the prayers that are put up unto them.

But many and very famous Doctors too among the ancient, did hold, that the Saints are not yet admitted to the ſight of God.

Therefore many and very famous Doctors among the ancient, could not well hold, that men ſhould pray unto the Saints in ſuch manner as the Romaniſts uſe now to doe.

The *first* Propoſition is given unto us by *Bellarmine* and his fellow Ieſuits; the *ſecond* by *Stapleton* and other Doctors of the Romiſh Church: yet all of them with equall boldneſſe agree in denying the *Concluſion.* [r] It *is the certaine and manifeſt definition of the Councels* (ſaith a Ieſuite) *confirmed by perpetuall uſe from the times of the Apoſtles, and by the authoritie of* ALL *the Greeke and Latine Fathers; that Saints are to bee prayed unto and invocated.* [s] ALL *the Fathers, Greeke and Latine teach this:* ſaith *Bellarmine.* [t] ALL *the Fathers, as well Greeke as Latine, perpetually have called upon the Saints:* ſaith *Salmeron.* And [u] this *is cleere by* ALL *the Writers of the firſt ſix hundred yeares:* quoth *Stapleton.* For theſe kind of men have ſo enured their tongues to talke of *all* Fathers and *all* Writers; that they can hardly uſe any other forme of ſpeech: having told ſuch tales as theſe ſo often over, that at laſt they perſwade themſelves that they be very true in good earneſt.

The memory of the Martyrs indeed was from the very beginning had in great reverence: and at their *Memorials* and *Martyria*, that is to ſay, at the places wherein their bodies were layd (which were the Churches whereunto the Chriſtians did in thoſe times uſually reſort) prayers were ordinarily offered up unto that God for whoſe cauſe they layd downe their lives. Where the Lord being pleaſed to give a gracious anſwer to ſuch Prayers, and to doe many wonderfull things for the honouring of that Chriſtian profeſſion which thoſe worthy champions maintayned unto the death: men began afterwards to conceive, that it was at their ſuite and mediation, that

r Certa eſt & manifeſta Conciliorum definitio, perpetuò ab Apoſtolorum temporibus uſu, & omnium Græcorum & Latinorum patrum authoritate firmata; Sanctos eſſe orandos & invocandos. *Io. Azor. Inſtitut. Moral. tom. 1. lib. 9. cap. 10.*

s Omnes Patres Græci & Latini docent, Sanctos eſſe invocandos. *Bellarmin. de Eccleſ. triumph. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

t Patres univerſi, tam Græci quàm Latini, perpetuò Sanctos interpellârunt. *Alphonſ. Salmer. in 1. Timoth. 2. diſput. 7.*

u *Stapleton, Fortreſſ. part. 1. chap. 9.*

that theſe things were granted and effected. Which was the rather beleeved, by reaſon that the Martyrs themſelves were thought to have appeared unto divers that were thus releeved, both at the places of their memorials, and otherwhere. Notwithſtanding, in what ſort theſe things were brought about, S. *Auguſtin* profeſſeth that it did paſſe the ſtrength of his underſtanding to define. [x] *Whether the Martyrs themſelves were in their owne perſons preſent at one time in ſuch diverſe places, ſo farre diſtant one from another:* or whether they remaining in a certaine place removed from all commerce with the affaires of men here, [y] *but praying in generall for the neceſſities of ſuppliants;* God by the miniſtry of his Angels did effect theſe things when, where, and in what manner he pleaſed, but [z] *eſpecially at the Memorials of the Martyrs, becauſe hee knew that to bee expedient to us for the building of the faith of Chriſt, for whoſe confeſſion they did ſuffer.* [a] *This matter is higher* (ſaith he) *than that it may be touched by me, and more abſtruſe than that it can be ſearched into by me: and therefore whether of theſe two it be, or whether peradventure both of them be; that theſe things may ſometimes be done by the very preſence of the Martyrs, ſometimes by Angels taking upon them the perſon of the Martyrs, I dare not define.*

The firſt of theſe opinions pleaſeth S. *Hierom* beſt: who alledgeth for proofe thereof that place in the Revelation; [b] *Theſe follow the Lambe, whither ſoeuer he goeth.* Whereupon he inferreth a concluſion, which

x Vtrùm ipſi per ſeipſos aſſint uno tempore tam diverſis locis, & tantâ inter ſe longinquitate diſcretis, &c. *Auguſtin. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 16.*

y Et tamen generaliter orantibus pro indigentiâ ſupplicantium. *Ibid.*

z Maximeque per eorum memorias; quoniam hoc novit expedire nobis ad ædificandam fidem Chriſti, pro cujus illi confeſsione ſunt paſsi. *Ibid.*

a Res hæc altior eſt, quàm ut à me poſsit attingi, & abſtruſior quàm ut à me valeat perſcrutari: & ideò quid horum duorum ſit, an verò fortaſsis utrumq; ſit, ut aliquando iſta fiant per ipſam præſentiam martyrum, aliquando per Angelos ſuſcipientes perſonam martyrum, definire non audeo. *Ibid.* b *Revel.* 14. 4.

hath need of a very favourable interpretation. [c] *If the Lambe bee every where: they also that are with the Lambe, must be beleeved to be every where.* Frō whom *Maximus Taurinensis* seemeth not much to differ, when he saith: [d] *Although all the Saints be every where, and profit all men; yet they specially doe labour for us, who have also suffered punishments for us.* So one *Eustratius* a Priest of *Constantinople* made a collection of divers testimonies both out of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers; to prove, [e] *that the soules which oftentimes and in different manners appeare unto many, doe themselves appeare according to their proper existence; and it is not the divine power, assuming the shape of the holy soules, that sheweth foorth these operations.* And so strongly did this opinion prevaile, when superstition had once gotten head; that at length this Canon was discharged against those that should hold otherwise. [f] *If any man say, that the Saints themselves do not appeare, but their Angels onely; let him be anathema.* The author of the Questions to *Antiochus* commonly attributed unto *Athanasius*, thus determineth the matter on the contrary side. [g] *Those adumbrations and visions which appeare at the Chappels and Tombes of the Saints, are not made by the soules of the Saints; but by holy Angels transformed into the shape of the Saints. For how otherwise (tell me) can the soule of*

c Si agnus ubique: ergo & hi, qui cum agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. *Hieronym. adverss. Vigilant.*

d Licet universi Sancti ubique sint, & omnibus prosint: specialiter illi tamen pro nobis intercveniunt, qui & supplicicia pertulere pro nobis. *Maxim homil. in Natali Taurinorum martyrum.*

e Ὅτι ἐπιφαινόμεναι πολλοῖς πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ διαφόρους τρόπους αἱ ψυχαὶ, αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑπάρξιν ἐπιφαίνονται· ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμις θεία, εἰς τύπους ἁγίων ψυχῶν, τὰς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυσι. Eustrat. in Photii Bibliothecâ, cod. 171.

f Εἴπις ἐκ αὐτὸς λέγει τοὺς ἁγίους ἡμῖν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺ τῶν δὲ φησὶν Ἀγγέλους, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. Canon Synodi à Michaele Syncello citat. in Ignatii Patriarch. C.P. Encomio.

g Αἱ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς καὶ πύλαις τῶν ἁγίων γενόμεναι ἐπισκιάσεις καὶ ὀπτασίαι, οὐ διὰ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἁγίων γίνονται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων ἁγίων μεταρρυθμιζομένων εἰς τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἁγίων. πῶς γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, μία ἔστα ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου, ἢ Παύλου, δύναται καθ' αὑτὴν τὴν ῥοπὴν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ἐν πολλοῖς ναοῖς αὐτῶν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ; τοῦτο γὰρ ὅτε ἄγγελος εἰς δύναται ποιῆσαι ποτε. Μόνου γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥοπῇ ἐγκύρειν. Athanas. quæst. 26. ad Antioch.

S. Pe-

S. Peter *or S.* Paul, *being but one, appeare at the ſame inſtant being commemorated in a thouſand Churches of his throughout the whole world? For this can neither one Angell doe at any time: it being proper unto God alone to be found at the ſame inſtant in two places, and in the whole world.* And *Anaſtatius Sinaita* or *Nicænus*, in the ſelfe ſame manner. [h] *It is fit wee ſhould know, that all the viſions which appeare at the Chappels or Tombes of the Saints are performed by holy Angels, by the permiſſion of* GOD; *For how elſe ſhould it be poſſible, that the Reſurrection of the bodies being not yet made, but the bodies and the fleſh of the Saints being as yet diſperſed; that thoſe ſhould be ſeene in ſhape compleat men, and oftentimes appeare upon Horſes armed? And if thou thinkeſt that thou mayeſt contradict theſe things: tell me, how can* Paul *or* Peter, *or any other Apoſtle or Martyr, being but one, appeare oftentimes at the ſame houre in many places? For neither is an Angel able to be at the ſame inſtant in divers places; but God onely who is uncircumſcribible.*

h Εἰδέναι μέν τοι σροσήκει, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ὀπτασίαι, αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἢ σοροῖς τῶν ἁγίων, δι' ἀγίων ἀγγέλων ἐπιτελοῦνται, δι' ὁπτροσίας θεοῦ. Ἐπί πῶς δυνατὸν μή πω τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν σωμάτων γεγενημένης ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν τῶν ἁγίων διασκορπισμένων εἰδέσθαι τότε, εἴτε ὁλοκλήρους ἄνδρας πολλάκις ἐφ' ἵπποις ὁπλισμένους καθοπλισμένους. Εἰ δ' ἀπλέγειν νομίζεις, εἰπέ μοι σὺ, πῶς εἷς ἀπάρχων Παῦλος, ἢ Πέτρος ἢ ἄλλος ἀπόστολος, ἢ μάρτυς, καὶ αὐτὸὺ τὸν ἄρα πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ὁπτάνεται; ἔτε γὰρ ἄγγελος δύναται ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος θεός. Anaſtaſ. Sinait. quæſt. 89.

Whereunto wee may further adde thoſe judicious obſervations of Saint *Auguſtin* touching this matter. [i] *If one in his ſleep may ſee me, telling unto him ſomething that is done, or foretelling alſo ſomething that is to come; when I am altogether ignorant thereof, and have no care*

i Si ergo me poteſt aliquis in ſomnis videre, ſibi aliquid quod factum eſt indicantem, vel etiam quod futurum eſt prænunciantem; cùm id ego prorſus ignorem, & omninò non curem, non ſolùm quid ille ſomniet, ſed utrùm dormiente me vigilet, an vigilante me dormiat, an uno eodemque tempore vigilemus ambo ſive dormiamus, quando ille ſomnium videt & in quo me videt: quid mirum ſi neſcientes mortui, nec iſta ſentientes, tamen a viventibus videntur in ſomnis, & aliquid dicunt, quod evigilantes verum eſſe cognoſcant? *Auguſt. de curâ pro mortuis, cap.* 10.

at

at all, not onely of what he dreameth, but whether hee awaketh I being asleepe, or hee sleepeth I being awake, or whether both of us at one and the same time doe either wake or sleepe, when he seeth the dreame in which he seeth me: what marvell is it if the dead, not knowing nor perceiving these things, are yet seene in Dreames by the living, and say somewhat which they beeing awake may know to bee true? [k] *But such is mans weakenesse, that when any one seeth a dead man in his sleepe, hee thinketh that he doth see his soule; but when hee dreameth in like manner of one that is alive, he maketh no doubt, that it is neither his soule nor his bodie, but a similitude of the man that did appeare unto him: as if not the soules but the similitudes of dead men, not knowing it, might not also after the same sort appeare.* So hee telleth of one *Eulogius* a Rhetorician in *Carthage*, who lighting upon a certaine obscure place in *Ciceroes* Rhetorickes, which he was the next day to reade unto his Scholers, was so troubled therewith that at night he could scarce sleepe. [l] *In which night* (saith S. *Augustine*) *I expounded unto him while he was in a dream, that which hee did not understand: nay not I, but my image, I not knowing, and so farre beyond the Sea either doing or dreaming some other thing, and nothing at all caring for his cares.* The like hee doth also note to happen unto those that are in raptures and extasies. [m] *For upon these also doe appeare Images as well of the Living*

Sic autem infirmitas humana sese habet, ut cùm mortuum in somnis quisq; viderit, ipsius animam se videre arbitretur; cùm autem vivum similiter somniaverit, non ejus animam, neque corpus, sed hominis similitudinem sibi apparuisse non dubitet: quasi non possint & mortuorum hominum, eodem modo nescientium, non animæ sed similitudines apparere dormientibus. *Ibid. cap.* 11.

l Quâ nocte somnianti, ego illi quod non intelligebat exposui: imò non ego, sed imago mea nesciente me, & tam longè trans mare aliquid aliud, sive agente, sive somniante, & nihil de illius curis omnino curante. *Ibid.*

m Et his enim apparent imagines vivorum atque mortuorum: sed cùm fuerint sensibus redditi, quoscunque mortuos vidisse se dixerint, verè cum eis fuisse creduntur; nec attendunt qui hæc audiunt, similiter ab eis absentium atque nescientium quorundam etiam imagines visas esse vivorum. *Ibid. cap.* 12.

as of the Dead: but after they have bin restored unto their senses, as many of the dead as they say that they have seen, with them they are truly beleeved to have been: neither doe they marke who heare these things, that the Images of some living men, that were absent and ignorant of these things, were in like manner seene by them. And for the confession of the Devils in parties possessed, hee bringeth in a memorable instance, of that which fell out in [n] *Millaine*, at the place of the memoriall of the Martyrs *Protasius* and *Gervasius*. Where the Devils did not onely make mention of the Martyrs that were dead, but also of *Ambrose* the Bishop then living; *and besought him that he would spare them: he being otherwise employed, and beeing utterly ignorant of the thing when it was a doing.*

But as S. *Augustin* doth put us in mind in that discourse, that [o] *men are sometimes ledde into great errors by deceitfull dreames* or *visions*; *and that it is just, that they should suffer such things*: so S. *Chrysostome* giveth a good admonition, that little heed should be taken of the Devils sayings. [p] *what is it then* (saith he) *that the Devils doe say*; *I am the soule of such a Monke? Surely for this I beleeve it not, because the Devils say it: for they deceive their hearers. And therefore* Paul (Act. 16.18.) *silenced them, although they spake truth*; *lest taking occasion from thence, they might mingle false things againe with those truths, and get credit to themselves.* And touching dreames and apparitions of the

n Nam Mediolani apud sanctos Protasium & Gervasium martyres, expresso nomine, sicut defunctorum quos eodem modo commemorabant, adhuc vivum dæmones Episcopum confitebantur Ambrosium, atque ut sibi parceret obsecrabant; illo aliud agente, atque hoc cùm ageretur omnino nesciente. *Ibid. cap.* 17.

o Aliquando autem fallacibus somniis (*al.* visis) hi homines in magnos mittuntur errores: quos talia perpeti justum est. *Ibid. cap.* 10.

p Τί οὖν, ὅτι οἱ δαίμονες λέγουσι, τῆς μοναχοῦ τῦτο δῆνος ἡ ψυχὴ εἰμί, φησι; διὰ γὰρ τῦτο ἃ πιστεύω, ἐπειδὴ δαίμονες λέγουσιν· ἀπατῶσι γὰρ τοὺς ἀκούοντας· διὰ τῦτο καὶ ὁ Παῦλος καίπερ ἀληθεύοντας ἐπέσυσε αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ φόρυσιν λαβόντες τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ψευδῆ πάλιν ἀναμίξωσι, καὶ ἀξιόπιστοι γένωνται. Chrysost. de Lazaro, conc. 2. tom. 5. edit. Savil. [illegible] 35, 36.

Dead,

Dead, he addeth further. ¶ *If at this time, the dreames that appeare oftentimes in the ſhapes of them that have departed this life, have deceived and corruped many: much more if this were once ſetled in mens mindes, that many of thoſe that are departed did returne againe unto us; that wicked Divell would plot a thouſand guiles, and bring in much deceit into our life. And for this cauſe God hath ſhut up the doores, and doth not ſuffer any of the deceaſed to returne backe and tell the things that are there: leaſt he, taking occaſion from thence, ſhould bring in all his owne deviſes.* It was the complaint of *Syneſius* in his time, that there were [r] *many both private men and Prieſts too, who fayned certaine Dreames, which they called Reuelations.* And in ancient writings wee meete with ſundry viſions, which if they be truely related, may more juſtly be ſuſpected to have beene illuſions of deceitfull ſpirits, than true apparitions of bleſſed either Soules or Angels.

He that will adviſedly read over *Baſilius Seleucienſis* his narration of the miracles of Saint *Thecla* (for example) muſt either reject the worke as ſtrangely corrupted, or eaſily bee drawne to yeeld unto that which I have ſaid. For who can digeſt ſuch relations and obſervations as theſe? that [s] they who watch the night that goeth before her feſtivitie, doe at that time yearely ſee her driving a fierie chariot in the ayre, and removing from *Seleucia* unto *Daliſandus*, as a place which ſhe did principally affect, in regard of the commoditie and pleaſantneſſe of the ſituation. that both ſhee and other of the Saints deceaſed

doe

¶ Εἰ δὲ νῦν, ἀσθενὸς ὄντος τοιάδε, ὄνειροι πολλάκις φανέντες ἐν τύποις τῶν ἀπελθόντων, πολλὰς ἠκάθηταν καὶ διέφθειραν· πολλῷ μᾶλλον, εἰ τὸ γεγενημένον λύ καὶ κεκραπικὸς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίαις, οἷον ὅπ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπανῆλθον πάλιν, μυείσης ἂν ὁ μιαρὸς δαίμων ἐκεῖνος ὅλως ἐπλέξε, καὶ πολλὴν ἀπάτλωεἰς τὸν βίον εἰσήγαγε. διὰ τῦτο ἀπέκλεισε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἐκ ἀφῆσε τινα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπανελθόντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκεῖ, ἵνα μὴ λαβὼν ἀφορμὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνος, τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῦ πάντα εἰσαγάγῃ. Id. de Lazar. conc. 4. ibid. pag. 256.

r Συχνοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ ἱερεῖς, πλασσόμενοί τινας ἐνείρους, ὃς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἀποκαλύψεις. Synes. epiſt. 54.

s Baſil. Seleuc. de miraculis S. Theclæ, lib. 2. cap. 10.

doe [t] *reioyce much in ſolitarie places, and doe ordinarily dwell in them.* that after her death, ſhee ſhould [u] *affect Oratorie and Poetrie, and be continually delighted with ſuch as did more accurately ſet forth her praiſes:* (even as *Homer* bringeth in *Apollo*, [x] tickled at the heart with hearing the ſongs that were made unto him in the campe of the *Grecians:*) of which hee produceth two ſpeciall inſtances. the one of *Alypius* the Grammarian, unto whom being forſaken of the phyſicians, *Thecla* (hee ſaith) did appeare in the night, and demanded of him, what hee ayled, and what hee would. He to ſhew his art, and to win the Virgins favour with the aptneſſe of the verſe; returneth for an anſwer unto her that verſe, wherewith *Homer* maketh *Achilles* to anſwer his mother *Thetis*, in the *firſt* of the *Illiads*:

Οἶσθα. τίη τοι ταῦτ' εἰδυίῃ πάντ' ἀγορεύω;

Thou knoweſt: why ſhould I tell it thee that knoweſt all?

Whereat [y] *the Martyr ſmiling, and being delighted partly with the man, partly with the verſe, and wondring that hee had anſwered ſo aptly*; conveyed a certaine round ſtone unto him, with the touch whereof hee was preſently ſet on foote from his long and perillous ſickeneſſe. For the other inſtance, the writer reporteth that which happened unto himſelfe. For [z] *the Martyr* (ſaith he) *is ſuch a lover of learning, and taketh ſuch a delight in theſe oratorious praiſes; that I will tell ſomewhat of thoſe things that were done to my ſelfe and for my ſelfe: which the Martyr, who did it,*

t Καὶ γὰρ τᾶ-
το μάλιστα τῶν
ἁγίων ἴδιον, τὸ
ἠρεμίαις τε χαί-
ρειν, καὶ ταύταις
ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
ἐναυλίζεσθαι.
Ibid. cap. 21.

u φιλόλογος γὰρ,
καὶ φιλόμουσος,
καὶ ἀεὶ χαίρω-
σα τοῖς λογίκω-
τερον ἐυτραπε-
σιν αὐτῷ. Ib.
cap. 24.

x Μελπόντες
ἐκάεργον. ὁ δὲ,
φρένα τέρπετ'
ἀχέων. Hom.
Iliad. α.

y Ἐπιμειδιά-
σασα γὰρ ἡ
μάρτυς, καὶ ἡδεῖ-
σα ἐπί τε τῷ
ἀνδρὶ, ἐπί τε
τῷ ἔπει, θαυ-
μάζασα δὲ καὶ
ὡς μάλα ἁρ-
μοδίως ἀπεκρί-
νατο. Basil. Se-
leuc. ut ſupr.
cap. 24.

z Οὕτω δὲ φι-
λόλογός ἐστιν ἡ
μάρτυς, καὶ χαί-
ρει ταῖς δεῦ
τῶν λόγων
ταύταις ἐυτρα-
πίαις ἐρᾶτι καὶ
τῶν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γεγο-
νότων, ὅπερ
αὐτὴ ἡ μάρτυς
γνοῦσα μοι μάρτυς οἶδεν ὅτι γέγονται, καὶ ἃ φάδεται. Ibid. cap. 27.

doth

doth know to have beene done, and that I lye not. Then he telleth, how having prepared an oration for her anniversarie festivitie, the day before it should bee pronounced, hee was taken with such an extreame paine in his eare, that the auditorie was like to bee quite disappointed: but that the Martyr the same night appeared unto him, and shaking him by the eare tooke all the paine away. Hee addeth further, that the same Martyr used often to appeare unto him in his studie at other times: but once more specially, while hee was in hand with writing this selfe same book. For having begun to be [a] weary of the labour, *the Martyr* (saith he) *seemed to sit by close in my sight, where I used to be at my booke; and to take the quaternion out of my hand, in which I transcribed these things out of my table-booke. Yea and shee seemed unto mee to read it, and to rejoyce, and to smile, and to shew unto mee by her looke that shee was pleased with the things that were written, and that it behooved me to finish this worke, and not to leave it unperfect.*

These things doe I here repeat, not with any intention to disgrace antiquitie (whereof I professe my selfe to be as great an admirer as any) but to discover the first grounds from whence that Invocation of Saints did proceed, whereby the honour of God and *Christs* office of mediation was afterwards so much obscured. That saying of Saint *Augustine* is verie memorable, and worthy to bee pondered. [b] *Whom should I find, that might reconcile me unto thee?*

a Οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντι ἐμοὶ καὶ χαλεπαίνοντι ἔδοξεν ἡ μάρτυς πλησίον ἐν ὄψει μου παραγαδέζεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἔθος ἦν μοι τὴν ὥραν τὰ βιβλία ποιεῖσθαι συνουσίαν. καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μου τῆς χειρὸς τὴν τετράδα, ἐν ἧπερ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ μετεχαρόμην. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐδόκει μοι, καὶ ἐφήδεσθαι, καὶ μειδιᾶν, καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαί μοι τῷ βλέμματι ὡς ἀρέσκοι τότε τοῖς χαρομένοις, καὶ ὡς δέοι με ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸν πόνον τοῦτον, καὶ μὴ ἀτελέσαι καταλιπεῖν. Ibid. cap. 16.

b Quem invenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? An eundum mihi fuit ad Angelos? Quâ prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc; & inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, & digni habiti sunt illusionibus. *Augustin. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 42.*

Should

Should I have gone unto the Angels? With what prayer? with what ſacraments? Many endevouring to returne unto thee, and not beeing able to doe it by themſelves, as I heare, have tryed theſe things; and have fallen into the deſire of curious viſions, and were accounted worthy of of illuſions. Whether they that had recourſe unto the mediation of Martyrs, in ſuch ſort as theſe had unto the mediation of Angels, deſerved to bee puniſhed with the like deluſions; I leave to the judgement of others: the thing which I obſerved was this; that ſuch dreames and viſions as theſe, joyned with miraculous cures that were wrought at the monuments of the Martyrs, bred firſt an opinion in mens mindes of the Martyrs abilitie to helpe them; and ſo afterward led them to the recommending of themſelves unto their prayers and protection. where at firſt they expected onely by their interceſſion to obtaine temporall bleſſings (ſuch as thoſe cures were that were wrought at their tombes, and other like externall benefits) but proceeded afterward to crave their mediation for the procuring of the remiſſion of their ſins and the furthering of their everlaſting ſalvation. [c] *As often, deare brethren, as we doe celebrate the ſolemnities of the holy Martyrs; let us ſo expect by their interceſſion to obtaine from the Lord* TEMPORAL *benefits, that by imitating the Martyrs themſelves wee may deſerve to receiue eternall:* ſaith the author of the Sermon of the Martyrs, which is found amongſt the homilies of Saint *Auguſtine* and *Leo*, and in the * Ro-

[c] Quotieſcumque Fratres chariſſimi, ſanctorum Martyrum ſolennia celebramus: ita ipſis intercedentibus expectemus à Domino conſequi temporalia beneficia, ut ipſos Martyres imitando accipere mereamur æterna. *Serm. de Martyr. ad calcem ſermonum Leonis* 1. *& tom.* 1. *Oper. Auguſtin. ſerm.* 47. *de Sanctis.* * *Breviar. Roman. in Commun. plurimorum Martyrum extra tempus Paſchale, lect.* 4.

mane

mane Breviarie is appointed to bee read at the common festivall dayes of many Martyrs.[d] *Be mindfull of the Martyr* (saith Saint *Basil* in his Panegyricall oration upon *Mamas*) *as many of you as have enioyed him by* DREAMES; *as many of you as comming to this place, have had him a helper to your praying; as many as to whom, being called by name, hee shewed himselfe present by his workes; as many travellers as hee hath brought backe againe; as many as hee hath raised from sickenesse; as many as he hath restored their children unto having beene dead; as many as have received by his meanes a longer terme of life.*

Here a man may easily discerne the breedings of this disease, and as it were the grudgings of that ague that afterwards brake out into a pestilentiall feaver. The Martyr is heare *vocatus* onely, not *invocatus* yet: not called upon by being prayed unto, but called to ioyne with others in putting vp the same petition unto his and their God. For as here in the Church militant we haue our fellow-souldiers [e] συναγωνίσωνται *striving together with us*, and [f] συνυπερευχομένους *helping together* with their prayers to God for us; and yet because we pray one *for* another, we doe not pray one *to* another: so the Fathers which taught that the Saints in the Church triumphant doe pray for us, might with Saint *Basill* ackowledge that they had the Martyrs συνεργοὺς εἰς προσευχὴν, *fellow helpers to their prayer*; and yet pray *with* them onely, and not *unto* them. For howsoever this evill weed grew apace, (among the superstitious multitude especially) yet it was so cropt at first by the skilfull husbandmen of the Church, that it got nothing neere that height which

d Μνήσθητέ μου τοῦ μάρτυρος, ὅσοι δὲ ὀνείρων αὐτὸν ἀπηλαύσατε· ὅσοι περιτυχόντες τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐσχήκατε αὐτὸν συνεργὸν εἰς προσευχήν· ὅσοις, ὀνόματι κληθεὶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρέσχε· ὅσους, ὁδοιπόρους ἐπανήγαγεν· ὅσους, ἐξ ἀῤῥωστίας ἀνέστησεν· ὅσοις, παῖδας ἀπέδωκεν ἤδη τετελευτηκότας· ὅσοις, προθεσμίας βίου μακροτέρας ἐπέθηκεν. Basil. hom. 26. de S. Mamante.

e Rom. 15. 30.

f 2. Cor. 1. 11.

which under the Papacy wee ſee it is now growne unto. Which that wee may the better underſtand, and more diſtinctly apprehend, how farre the recommending of mens ſelves unto the prayers of the Saints, which began to bee uſed in the latter end of the *fourth* age after *Chriſt*, came ſhort of that Invocation of Saints, which is at this day practiſed in the Church of *Rome*: theſe ſpeciall differences may be obſerved betwixt the one and the other. *Firſt*, in thoſe elder times, he that praied ſilently was thought to honour God in a ſingular manner; as one that [g] *brought faith with him, and confeſſed that God was the ſearcher of the heart and reynes, and heard his prayer, before it was powred out of his mouth*: the underſtanding of the preſent ſecrets of the heart, by the generall judgement of the Fathers, [h] being no more communicated by him unto the creatures, than the knowledge of things to come. for before the day wherein the ſecrets of the heart ſhall bee manifeſted, [i] *Almightie God alone doth behold the hidden things*: ſaith S. *Hierome*. alledging for proofe of this the text, *Matth.6.4. Thy Father that ſeeth in ſecret.* Pſal. 7.9. *God ſearcheth the hearts and reynes.* and 1.*King.* 8.39. *Thou onely knoweſt the hearts of all the children of men.* But now in the Church of *Rome* mentall prayers are preſented to the Saints, as well as vocall: and

g Qui in ſilentio orat, fidem defert, & conſtretur quòd Deus ſcrutator cordis & renis ſit, & orationem tuam antè ille audiat, quàm tuo ore fundatur. *Ambroſ. de Sacram. lib.6.cap.4.*

h Προγνώσης καὶ καρδιογνώστης μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ἐνάρχει ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς οἶδε οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ, ἢ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Quæſt. 99 ad Antioch. tom. 2. Oper. Athanaſ. pag. 303. edit. Græcolat.

i Et priùs quidem ſolus omnipotens Deus cernit occulta, dicente ſermone Evangelico; Et pater qui videt in abſcondito. Et in alio loco: Scrutans corda & renes Deus. Et in Regum volumine: Tu ſolus noſti corda cunctorum filiorum hominum. *Hieron lib. 5. in Ezech.cap.16. Vid.eund. lib.4. in Ezech.cap.14. lib.4. in Ierem.cap.20. & lib.1.in Matth.cap.9.* (*ſupr.pag.117.*) *Io.Chryſoſt.in Matth. hom.29. edit.Græc.vel 30. Latin. Gennadium de Eccleſ. dogmat.b.cap.81. Io.Caſſian.Collat.7.cap.13. Sedulium in Rom.2. Paſchaſium de Spiritu Sancto, lib.2.cap.1. & alios paſſim.*

they are beleeved to receive both the one and the other.

Secondly, in the former times [k] *it was a great queſtion, whether at all, or how farre, or after what manner the ſpirits of the dead did know the things that concerned us here:* and conſequently, whether they pray for vs onely [l] *in generall*, and for the particulars God anſwereth us according to our ſeverall neceſſities, where, when, and after what manner hee pleaſeth. *Anſelmus Laudunenſis* in his interlineall gloſſe upon that text; *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Iſrael knoweth us not:* (Eſai. 63. 16.) noteth, that [m] *Auguſtine* ſaith, *that the dead, even the Saints, doe not know what the living doe, no not their owne ſonnes.* And indeed Saint *Auguſtine* in his booke of the Care for the dead, maketh this inference upon that place of Scripture. [n] *If ſuch great Patriarchs as theſe were ignorant, what was done toward the people that deſcended from them, unto whom (beleeving God) the people it ſelfe was promiſed to come from their ſtocke: how doe the dead interpoſe themſelves in knowing and furthering the things and acts of the living?* and afterward draweth theſe concluſions from thence, which [o] *Hugo de Sancto Victore* borrowing from him, hath inſerted into his booke *De ſpiritu & anima*, cap. 29.

k Reſpondeo magnam quidem eſſe quæſtionem, nec in præſentiâ diſſerendam, quòd ſit operis prolixioris; utrum, vel quatenus, vel quomodo ea quæ circa nos aguntur noverint ſpiritus mortuorum. *Auguſtin. in Pſal. 108. enarrat. 1.*

l *Vid. eund. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 16. ſuprà citatum, initio pag. 392. Sanctos* in genere ſollicitos eſſe pro Eccleſiâ, & orare poſſe, atque etiam reipſâ orare, fatentur Philippus in Apologiâ Confeſſionis Auguſtanæ, articulo de Invocatione Sanctorum; Brentius in Confeſsione Wirtembergenſi, capite de Invocatione Sanctorum; Kemnitius in tertiâ parte Examinis Concilii Tridentini: Calvinus quoq; libro tertio Inſtitut. cap. 20. ſect. 21. & 24. non repugnat huic ſententiæ. *Bellar. de Miſſâ, lib. 2. cap. 8.*

m Auguſtinus dicit: Quia mortui neſciunt, etiam ſancti, quid agant vivi, etiam eorum filii. *Gloſſ. interlineal. in Eſai. 63.*

n Si tanti Patriarchæ quid erga populum ex his procreatum ageretur, ignoraverunt, quibus Deo credentibus populus ipſe de illorum ſtirpe promiſſus eſt: quo modo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoſcendis adjuvandiſq; miſcentur? *Auguſtin. de Curâ pro mortuis, cap. 13.*

o *Lib. de Spiritu & Animâ, tom. 3. operum Auguſtini: qui idem eſt cum libro 2. de Animâ, inter opera Hugonis Victorini.*

p *The ſpirits of the dead be there, where they doe neither ſee nor heare the things that are done or fall out unto men in this life.* q *Yet have they ſuch a care of the living, although they know not at all what they doe, as we have care of the dead, although wee know not what they doe.* r *The dead indeed doe not know what is done here, while it is here in doing: but afterward they may heare it by ſuch as dye and goe unto them from hence; yet not altogether, but as much as is permitted to the one to tell and is fit for the other to heare. They may know it alſo by the Angels which bee here preſent with us, and carry our ſoules unto them. They may know alſo by the revelation of Gods ſpirit ſuch of the things don here as is neceſſary for them to know.* Hitherto *Hugo* out of Saint *Auguſtine*: who is herein alſo followed by *Gratian*, in the ſecond part of the Decrees, *cauſ.* 13. *quæſt.* 2. *cap.* 29. where the *Gloſſe* layeth downe his reſolution thus. s *Gratian moveth a certaine incident queſtion; whether the dead knowe the things that are done in this world by the living? and hee anſwereth, that they doe not: and this hee proveth by the authoritie of* Eſai. (viz. *Eſai.* 63. 16.)

The like queſtion is moved by the Maſter of the Sentences, t *Whether the Saints doe heare the prayers*

p Ibi ſunt ſpiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunq; aguntur, aut eveniunt in iſtâ vitâ hominibus. *Auguſt. de curâ pro mortuis, cap.* 13.

q Ita illi (*Diviti*) fuit cura de vivis, quamvis quid agerent, omnino neſciret: quemadmodum eſt nobis cura de mortuis, quamvis quid agant, omnino utique neſciamus. *Ibid. cap.* 14.

r Proinde fatendum eſt, neſcire quidem mortuos quid hîc agatur, ſed dum hic agitur; poſteà verò audire ab eis, qui hinc ad eos moriendo pergunt. Non quidem omnia, ſed quæ ſinuntur indicare, qui ſinuntur etiam iſta meminiſſe; & quæ illos, quibus hæc indicant, oportet audire. Poſſunt & ab Angelis, qui rebus quæ aguntur hîc præſto ſunt, audire aliquid mortui, quod unumquenque illorum audire debere judicat cui cuncta ſubjecta ſint. &c. Poſſunt etiam ſpiritus mortuorum aliqua quæ hîc aguntur, quæ neceſſarium eſt eos nôſſe, & quæ neceſſarium non eſt eos non nôſſe, non ſolùm præterita vel præſentia, verumetiam futura ſpiritu Dei revelante cognoſcere. *Ibid. cap.* 15. s Facit Grat. quandam incidentem quæſtionem; utrùm defuncti ſciunt quæ in mundo geruntur à vivis? & reſpondet, quòd non; & hoc probat auctoritate Eſaiæ. *Gloſſ. in* 13. *q.* 2. *De mortuis.* t Sed fortè quæris; Nunquid preces ſupplicantium Sancti audiunt, & vota poſtulantium in eorum notitiam perveniunt? Non eſt incredibile, animas Sanctorum, quæ in abſcondito facici Dei ve-

of Suppliants, and the deſire of Petitioners do come unto their notice? and this anſwer is returned thereunto: *It is* NOT INCREDIBLE, *that the ſoules of the Saints, which in the ſecret of Gods preſence are joyed with the illuſtration of the true light, doe in the contemplation thereof underſtand the things that are done abroad, as much as appertayneth either to them for joy, or to us for helpe. For as to the Angels, ſo to the Saints likewiſe which ſtand before God, our petitions are made knowne in the Word of God which they contemplate.* Vpon which place of the Maſter, *Scotus* diſputing, groweth to this concluſion. [u] *I ſay, that it is not neceſſarie in reſpect of the beatitude, that one in bliſſe ſhould ſee our prayers: neither regularly or univerſally in the Word, becauſe it is not ſuch a thing as is a neceſſarie ſequele of beatitude, nor yet that they bee revealed, becauſe that neither ſuch a revelation doth neceſſarily follow upon beatitude.* Notwithſtanding (for a reaſon which we ſhall heare of afterward) hee ſaith, *it is* PROBABLE, *that God doth ſpecially reveale unto him that is in bliſſe ſuch of our prayers as are offered unto him, or unto God in his name.* The ſame concluſion doth *Gabriel Biel* make in his Lectures upon the Canon of the Maſſe. for having ſhewed, firſt, that [x] *the Saints in heaven, by their naturall knowledge, which is the knowledge of things in their proper kinde, know no*

ri luminis illuſtratione lætantur, in ipſius contemplatione ea quæ foris aguntur intelligere, quantum vel illis ad gaudium, vel nobis ad auxilium pertinet. Sicut enim Angelis, ita & Sanctis qui Deo aſsiſtunt, petitiones noſtræ innoteſcunt in Verbo Dei quod contemplantur. *Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. 4. diſtinct. 45.*

u Dico, quòd non eſt neceſſe ex ratione beatitudinis, quòd beatus videat orationes noſtras: neque regulariter ſive univerſaliter in Verbo, quia non eſt aliquid quaſi neceſſaria ſequela beatitudinis; neque quòd revelentur, quia neque talis revelatio neceſſariò ſequitur beatitudinem. &c. *Tamen* probabile eſt, quòd Deus beatis revelat de orationibus ſibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblatis. *Io. Scotus, in 4. diſt. 45. quæſt. 4.*

x Dicendum, quòd Sancti in patriâ qui de facto in cœlis ſunt, naturali cognitione putâ veſpertinâ, quæ eſt cognitio rerum in proprio genere, nullas orationes noſtrum in terra conſiſtentium, neque mentales neque vocales cognoſcunt propter immoderatam diſtantiam inter nos & ipſos. *Gabr. Biel, in Canon. Miſſ. lect. 31.*

prayers

prayers of ours that are here upon earth, neither mentall nor vocall, by reason of the immoderate distance that is betwixt us and them. secondly, that [y] *it is no part of their essentiall beatitude; that they should see our prayers, or our other actions in the Word*; and thirdly, that [z] *it is not altogether certaine, whether it doe appertaine to their accidentall beatitude, to see our prayers*: hee thus at length concludeth. [a] *It is therefore said* PROBABLY, *that although it do not follow necessarily upon the Saints beatitude, that they should heare our prayers of congruetie: yet that God doth reveale all things which are offered unto them by men; whether in magnifying and praysing them, or in praying unto them and imploring their helpe.* Cardinall *Bellarmine* supposeth, that [b] *if the Saints should have neede thus of a new revelation, the Church would not so boldly say unto all the Saints; Pray for us: but would sometimes intreat of God, that hee would reveale our prayers unto them.* Yet because [c] *it seemeth unto him superfluous to desire ordinarily of them that they should pray for us, which cannot ordinarily understand what we doe in particular, but know onely in generall that we are exposed to many dangers*: hee resolveth, that [d] *although there may bee some doubt, in what manner the Saints may know things that be absent, and which are sometime de-*

y Non est de ratione beatitudinis essentialis; ut nostras orationes, aut alia facta nostra, matutinâ cognitione videant in verbo. *Ibid.*

z Vtrùm autem videre nostras orationes pertineat ad eorum beatitudinem accidentalem, non per omnia certum est. *Ibid.*

a Vnde probabiliter dicitur, quòd licèt non necessariò sequitur ad sanctorum beatitudinem, ut orationes nostras audiant de congruo: tamen Deus eis revelat omnia quæ ipsis ab hominibus

offeruntur; sive ipsos magnificando & laudando, sive eos orando & auxilia implorando. *Ibid.* b Si indigerent Sancti novâ revelatione, Ecclesia non diceret ita audacter omnibus Sanctis; *Orate pro nobis*: sed peteret aliquando à Deo, ut eis revelaret preces nostras. *Bellarm. de Eccles. triumph. lib. 1. cap. 20.* c Superfluum videtur ab eis (*qui sunt in Purgatorio*) ordinariè petere, ut pro nobis orent: quia non possunt ordinariè cognoscere quid agamus in particulari, sed solùm in genere sciunt nos in multis periculis versari. *Id. de Purgator. lib. 2. cap. 15.* d Etsi dubitatio esse possit, quemadmodum cognoscant absentia, & quæ solo cordis affectu interdum proferuntur; tamen certum est eos cognoscere. *Id. de Eccles. triumph. lib. 1. ap. 20.*

livered by the affection of the heart alone; yet it is certain that they do know them. And you must [e] note, saith Doctor *Pesantius*, that this is to bee held for a point *of Faith, that the Saints doe know the prayers which wee powre unto them*: becauſe *otherwiſe they ſhould bee made in vaine*. So that to make good the Popiſh maner of praying unto Saints, that which at the firſt was but probable and problematicall, muſt now bee held to bee *de fide*, and an undoubted axiome of *Divinitie*.

Thirdly, in the Popiſh Invocation, formall and abſolute prayers are tendred to the Saints: but the compellations of them uſed at firſt, were commonly either wiſhes onely, or requeſts of the ſame nature with thoſe which are in this kinde uſually made unto the living; where the requeſter is oftentimes ſuperiour to him whoſe prayers hee deſireth (which ſtandeth not well with the condition of [f] *Prayer* properly ſo called) and they that are requeſted, be evermore accounted in the number of thoſe that *pray for us*, but none of thoſe that are *prayed unto by us*. Of this you may heare, if you pleaſe, what one of the more moderate Romaniſts writeth. [g] *If it were lawfull for the Prophet to call to the Angels and the whole hoaſt of Heaven, and to exhort them that they would praiſe* GOD, *which notwithſtanding they doe continually without any one admoniſhing them, whereby nothing*

e Notandum, quòd eſt de fide, beatos cognoſcere orationes quas ad illos fundimus: aliâs fruſtra fierent. *Alexand. Peſant. in* 1. *part. Thom. queſt.* 12. *artic.* 10. *diſput.* 7. *concluſ.* 6.

f Eſt enim oratio actus quidam rationis, quo unus alteri ſupplicat, inferior videlicèt ſuperiori. *Bellarmin. de bonis operib. in particulari, lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

g Si Prophetæ licuit appellare Angelos, & univerſum cœleſtem exercitum, coſque hortari ut Deum laudent, quod tamen nullo etiam monente aſſiduè faciunt; quo ſane nihil aliud quàm abundantia quædam ſtudii divinæ gloriæ amplificandæ declaratur: cur etiam non liceat beatos illos ſpiritus ejuſdem corporis ſocietate nobiſcum conjunctos, ex quâdam pii deſiderii redundantiâ compellare, atque exhortari, uti id faciant, quod eos ultro facere credimus? ut perinde valeat; Omnes Sancti orate Deum pro me: ac ſi dicatur. Vtinam omnes Sancti Deum orent pro me! quàm velim ut omnes Sancti Deum orent pro me. *Georg. Caſſand. Schol. in Hymn. Eccleſiaſtic. Operum pag.* 242.

elſe but a certaine abundance of deſire of the amplifying of Gods glory is declared: why may it not bee lawfull alſo, out of a certaine abundance of godly deſire to call upon thoſe bleſſed ſpirits which by the ſocietie of the ſame body are conjoyned with us; and to exhort them, that they ſhould doe that, which we beleeve they otherwiſe doe of themſelves? That to ſay; All yee Saints, pray unto God for me: ſhould import as much, as if it were ſaid; Would to God, that all the Saints did pray unto God for me! I wiſh earneſtly, that all the Saints ſhould pray to God for me. Thus writeth *Caſſander*, in his notes upon the ancient Eccleſiaſticall Hymnes, publiſhed by him in the yeare 1556. who being challenged for this by ſome others of that ſide, added this further to give them better ſatisfaction. [h] *When I did ſee that it was not neceſſary, that wee ſhould hold that the Saints doe underſtand our prayers; I thought it was ſufficient to put backe the calumnies of ſome, if wee ſhould ſay that theſe interpellations might be expounded by way of wiſhing or deſiring: which hath leſſe abſurditie in it, and is agreeable to the examples of the holy Scriptures. But if any man would have ſuch compellations as theſe to be taken alſo for an intimation of the deſire, and a direct ſpeaking unto them; I doe not gaineſay it. Notwithſtanding I would thinke that a tacite condition ought to bee underſtood in ſuch an intimation: ſuch as* Gregory Nazianzen *doth expreſſe in the funerall oration of his Siſter*

h Cùm videremus non neceſſarium, ut ſtatuamus Sanctos intelligere noſtras preces; credebam ad calumnias nonnullorum repellendas ſatis eſſe ſi dicamus per modum deſiderii eas interpellationes explicari poſſe: quod minus habet abſurditatis, & divinarum literarum exemplis congruit. Si quis autem hujuſmodi compellationes pro intimatione quoq; deſiderii, & directâ (ut ita loquamur) alloquutione haberi velit; non repugno. Crediderim tamen hujuſmodi intimationi tacitam conditionem ſubeſſe debere; qualem Gregorius Nazianzenus in oratione funebri ſororis Gorgoniæ exprimit, cùm ait. Proinde ſi noſtri ſermones vel parumper tibi curæ ſint, honorque talis ſanctis à Deo debetur animabus, ut talia reſciſcant; ſuſcipe & tu ſermonem noſtrum. *Id. epiſt. 19. ad Io. Molinæum. pag. 1109.*

Gorgonia, *when he ſaith. If thou haſt any care at all of our ſpeeches, and holy ſoules receive this honour from God, that they have notice of ſuch things as theſe; doe thou accept this Oration of ours.*

Yea in the very darkeſt times of the Papacie there wanted not ſome, who for certaine reaſons (recited by *Guilielmus Altiſiodorenſis* and *Gabriel Biel*) reſolved that neither the Saints doe pray for us, neither are we to pray unto them. [i] *With theſe and ſuch like reaſons*, ſaith *Biel*, *were the Heretickes deceived: and ſome Chriſtians in our time are now deceived.* Which moved *Iohn Scharpe* in the Vniverſitie of Oxford publikely to diſpute the two queſtions, of praying to Saints, and praying for the Dead* *eſpecially, becauſe it was eſteemed by ſome famous men, and not without probabilitie, that ſuch ſuffrages and prayers were ſuperfluous in the Church of God, although ſome other wiſe men thought the contrarie.* [k] And in this particular queſtion now in hand *Altiſiodorenſis* telleth us, that MANY *doe ſay that neither wee pray unto the Saints, nor they pray for us, but improperly: in reſpect we pray unto God, that the merits of the Saints may helpe us.* For which hee referreth us to the *Verſicle*, uſed to bee ſung at the Feaſt of *All Saints*: which in the Breviarie of *Sarum* I finde layd downe in this manner.

[i] *Adjuvent nos eorum merita,*

i His & ſimilibus rationibus decepti ſunt dicti hæritici. Decipiuntur & nunc nonnulli noſtro tempore Chriſtiani. *Gabriel Biel, in Canon. Miſſ. lect.* 30.

* Præſertim, cùm á quibuſdam famoſis veriſimiliter æſtimatur, quòd hujuſmodi ſuffragia & orationes in Eccleſiâ Dei ſuperfluunt; quibuſdam verò ſapientibus videtur contrarium. *Ioh. Scharpe, Proem. in queſtiones de orationib. auctorum, & ſuffragiis viatorum. Ms. in Bibliothecâ Collegii Mertonenſis Oxon.*

k Propter iſtas rationes & conſimiles dicunt multi, quòd nec nos oramus Sanctos, nec ipſi orant pro nobis, niſi impropriè: ideò ſc. quia oramus Deum ut Sanctorum merita nos juvent. unde: Adjuvent nos eorum merita, &c. *Guilielm. Altiſiodor. in Summ. part. 4. lib. 3. tract. 7. cap. de Orat. queſt. 6.* l *Breviar. ſecundùm uſum Sarum. in Omnium Sanctorum officio. Whence I correct the error of Illyricus, in Catalogo teſtium veritatis. edit. Baſil. an.* 1562. *pag.* 390. (*cited by me in the former editions of this Treatiſe*) *who alleageth this out of the Breviarie of the* Præmonſtratenſian *Order, in a contrary ſenſe; reading the place interrogatively.*

Quos

Quos propria impediunt ſcelera;
Excuſet interceſsio,
Accuſat quos actio;
Et qui eis tribuiſti
Cœleſtis palmam triumphi,
Nobis veniam non deneges peccati.

Let their merits helpe us, whom our owne ſins hinder. Let their interceſsion excuſe us, whoſe owne action doth accuſe us. And thou, who haſt beſtowed upon them the palme of the heavenly triumph, denie not unto us the pardon of our ſinne. Where if any poyſon doe remaine hidden under the name of *Merits*, wee will prepare an antidote againſt it in his proper place; and in the meane time obſerve here a

Fourth difference betwixt the Popiſh prayers and the Interpellations uſed in the ancient time. For by the doctrine and practiſe of the Church of Rome, the Saints in heaven are not onely made joynt petitioners with us (as the Saints are upon earth) but alſo our Atturneyes and Advocates: who carry the ſuit for us, not by the pleading of *Chriſts* merits alone, but by bringing in their owne merits likewiſe; upon the conſideration of the dignitie or condignitie whereof it is beleeved, that God yeeldeth to the motions they make unto him in our behalfe. [m] *Wee pray unto the Saints* (ſaith the Maſter of the Sentences) *that they may intercede for us, that is to ſay, that their merits may helpe us, and that they may will our good: for they willing it,* GOD *doth will it, and ſo it willbee effected.* [n] *Wee ought to*

m Oramus Sanctos, ut intercedant pro nobis, id eſt, ut merita eorum nobis ſuffragentur, & ut ipſi velint bonum noſtrum: quia eis volentibus Deus vult, & ita fiet. *Petr. Lombard. Sentent. lib. 4. diſtinct. 45. & Iacobus de vitriaco, in Litaniâ maiori.*

n Rogare debemus Apoſtolos & alios Sanctos in omni neceſsitate noſtrâ: quia ipſi ſunt advocati noſtri, & medii inter nos & Deum, per quos Deus ordinavit omnia nobis largiri. *Hug. de Prato, ſermon. 35.*

intreat

intreat the Apoſtles and the other Saints (ſaith *Hugo de Prato*) *in all our neceſsities: becauſe they are our advocates, and the meanes betwixt us and God, by whom God hath ordained to beſtow all things upon us.* [o] Becauſe *it is a thing fitting* (ſaith *Scotus*) *that hee that is in bliſſe ſhould be a coadjutor of God in procuring the ſalvation of the Elect, according to ſuch manner as this may agree unto him; and to this it is requiſite, that our prayers which are offered unto him ſhould ſpecially be revealed unto him, becauſe they leane ſpecially upon the merits of him as of a mediator bringing us to the ſalvation which is ſought for: therefore it is probable that God doth ſpecially reveale unto him that is in bliſſe ſuch of our prayers as are offered unto him, or unto God in his name.* But this is an open derogation to the high prerogative of our Saviours meritorious Interceſſion, and a manifeſt incroachment upon the great office of Mediation, which the moſt religious and learned among thoſe Fathers, who deſired to be recommended unto the prayers of the Saints, were ſo carefull to preſerve entire unto him. [p] *For what is ſo proper to Chriſt,* ſaith S. *Ambroſe, as to ſtand by God the Father for an advocate of the people?* [q] He *is the Prieſt,* ſaith S. *Auguſtin, who beeing now entred within the vayle,* ALONE *there of them that have beene partakers of fleſh, doth make interceſsion for us. In figure of which thing, in that firſt people and in that firſt Temple the Prieſt onely did enter into the Holy of holyes, and all the people ſtood without.* And therefore where Saint *Iohn* ſaith; *Theſe*

o Quia congruum eſt beatum eſſe coadjutorem Dei in procurando ſalutem electi, eo modo quo hoc ſibi poteſt competere; & ad iſtud requiritur ſibi revelari orationes noſtras ſpecialiter, quæ ſibi offeruntur, quia illæ ſpecialiter innituntur meritis ejus tanquam mediatoris perducentis ad ſalutem, quæ petitur: ideò probabile eſt, quòd Deus beatis revelat de orationibus ſibi, vel Deo in nomine ejus oblatis. *Io. Scot. in 4. Sent. diſt. 45. quæſt. 4.*

p Quid enim tam proprium Chriſti, quàm advocatum apud Deum patrem adſtare populorum? *Ambroſ. in Pſal. 39.*

q Ipſe Sacerdos eſt, qui nunc ingreſſus in interiora veli, ſolus ibi ex his qui carnem geſtaverunt interpellat pro nobis. In cujus rei figurâ in illo primo populo, & in illo primo templo unus ſacerdos intrabat in ſancta ſanctorum, populus omnis foras ſtabat. *Auguſt in. Pſalm. 64.*

things

things write I unto you, that yee ſinne not: and if any man ſinne, we have an Advocate with the Father Ieſus Chriſt the righteous. (1.Iohn 2.1.) Saint *Auguſtine* in his expoſition upon that place maketh this obſervation thereupon: that Saint *Iohn* being ſo great a man as hee was, [r] *did not ſay,* YEE *have, nor Yee have* MEE, *nor* YEE *have Chriſt himſelfe: but did both put in Chriſt, not himſelfe; and alſo ſayd,* WEE *have, not* YEE *have.* Becauſe *hee had rather put himſelfe in the number of ſinners, that he might have Chriſt to bee his advocate: than put himſelfe for an advocate inſtead of Chriſt, and be found amongſt the proud that ſhould bee damned.* And from thence draweth this concluſion againſt *Parmenian* the Donatiſt. [f] *If he had ſaid thus; I have written this unto you, that you ſinne not, and if any man ſinne, you have mee a Mediator with the Father, I make interceſſion for your ſinnes: (as* Parmenian *in one place doth make the Biſhop a Mediator betwixt the people and God.) what good and faithfull Chriſtian would endure him? who would looke upon him as the Apoſtle of Chriſt, and not as Antichriſt rather?* The doctrine therefore and practiſe of the Church of *Rome* in this point, by this learned Fathers judgement, muſt needs bee held to be ungodly and *Antichriſtian.*

Fiftly, the recommendation of mens ſelves unto the prayers of the Saints deceaſed, which was at firſt admitted in the ancient Church, did no way impeach the confidence and boldneſſe which we have

r Non dixit, habetis, nec me habetis dixit, nec ipſum Chriſtum habetis, dixit: ſed & Chriſtum poſuit, non ſe, & habemus dixit, non habetis. Maluit ſe ponere in numero peccatorum, ut haberet advocatum Chriſtum: quàm ponere ſe pro Chriſto advocatum, & inveniri inter damnandos ſuperbos. *Id. tractat. 1. in 1. epiſt. Iohan. cap. 2.*

f Si ita diceret; Hoc ſcripſi vobis ut non peccetis, & ſi quis peccaverit, mediatorem me habetis apud Patrem, ego exoro pro peccatis veſtris: (ſicut Parmenianus quodam loco mediatorem poſuit Epiſcopum inter populum & Deum:) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Chriſtianorum? Quis ſicut Apoſtolum Chriſti, & non ſicut Antichriſtum intueretur? *Id. lib. 2. contr. epiſt. Parmenian. cap. 8.*

gotten

gotten in *Christ*, to make our immediate approach unto the throne of Grace: which by the Invocation of Saints now taught in the Church of Rome, is very much impaired. For to induce men to the practise of this, the great Majestie of God and the severitie of his Iustice is propounded unto poore sinners on the one hand, and the consideration of their owne baseneſſe and unworthineſſe on the other. Whereupon it is inferred, that aswell for the manifesting of their reverence to Gods Majestie, as the testifying of their submisseneſſe and Humilitie, they should seeke to God by the mediation of his Saints; like as men doe seeke unto the King by the mediation of his servants. Which motives can have no more force to encourage men to the Invocation of Saints, than they have to discharge them from the immediate Invocation of God & his *Christ*. So amongst the causes alledged by *Alexander* of *Hales*, why we ought to pray unto the Saints: one is, [t] *in respect of our want in contemplating; that we who are not able to behold the highest light in it selfe, may contemplate it in his Saints.* another, *in respect of our want in loving: because we miserable men* (miserable men indeed that do so) *or some of us at least are more affected sometimes unto some Saint, than unto our Lord himselfe: and therefore God having compassion on our miserie, is pleased that we should pray unto his Saints.* and a third, [u] *in respect of the reverence of God: that a sinner who hath offended God, because he dareth not to come unto him in his owne*

t Vtcriùs propter noſtram inopiam in contemplando: ut qui non poſſumus ſummam lucem in ſe aſpicere, eam in ſuis Sanctis contemplemur. Tertiò, propter inopiam in amando: quia nos miſerabiles homines, vel pleriq; noſtrum magis afficimur circa Sanctum aliquem aliquando, quàm etiam circa Dominum; & ideò Dominus compaſſus noſtræ miſeriæ, vult quòd oremus Sanctos ſuos. *Alexand. de Hales, Summ. part. 4 queſt. 26. memb. 3. artic. 5.* u Propter Dei reverentiam: ut peccator, qui Deum offendit, quia non audet in propriâ perſonâ adire, recurrat ad Sanctos, eorum patrocinia implorando. *Id. ibid.*

perſon

perſon, may have recourſe unto the Saints, by imploring their patronage. The like wee reade in *Gabriel Biel*, handling the ſame argument. [x] *This is a ſingular conſolation* (ſaith hee) *to ſinners, who have oftentimes more minde to the interpellation of the Saints than of the Iudge: whoſe defect of holineſſe alſo other mens goodneſſe is able to ſupply.* and it maketh [y] *for the reverence of God: that a ſinner who hath offended God, as it were not daring for the droſſe of his ſinne to appeare in his proper perſon, before the moſt high and dreadfull Majeſtie, ſhould have recourſe unto the Saints who are moſt pure and gratefull to God: who may preſent the ſinners prayers unto the moſt High; and by adjoyning their merits and prayers thereunto, might make the ſame more fit for audience, more pleaſing and more gratefull.* Therefore *Salmeron* the Ieſuite ſticketh not to deliver his opinion plainely; that the praying unto God by the Saints ſeemeth to bee better than the praying unto him immediately, as for other reaſons, [z] *ſo becauſe the Church, which hath the Spirit of Chriſt*, (though Saint *Auguſtine* ſurely would have judged ſuch a Church to bee led by the ſpirit of *Antichriſt* rather than of *Chriſt*) *moſt frequently hath recourſe unto God by the Saints, but commeth more rarely unto God by it ſelfe:* and alſo, becauſe *the praying of* GOD *by the Invocations of Saints doth argue greater humilitie; as may be ſeene in the Centurion*, Luk. 7. 6, 7. where

x Peccatoribus ſingularis eſt conſolatio, qui ad Sanctorum interpellationem quandoq; magis animantur quàm Iudicis: quorum etiam ſanctitatis defectum ſupplere poteſt probitas aliena. *Gabr. Biel, in Canon. Miſſ. lect.* 30.

y Propter Dei reverentiam: ut ſc. peccator qui Deum offendit, quaſi non audiens in perſonâ propriâ, propter peccati ſcoriam, coram Majeſtate altiſſimâ pariter & tremendâ apparere, recurreret ad Sanctos puriſsimos & Deo gratos; qui peccatoris preces altiſſimo præſentarent, eaſq; ſuis adjunctis meritis & precibus magis redderent exaudibiles, placidas, atque gratas. *Ibid. lect.* 31.

z Tertiò, quia Eccleſia, quæ Chriſti Spiritum habet, frequentiſsimè per Sanctos recurrit ad Deum, rariùs per ſe ad Deum accedit. Quarto, precatio Dei per invocationem Sanctorum arguit majorem humilitatem; ſicut videre eſt in Centurione. *Alphonſ. Salmer. in* 1. *Timoth.* 2. *diſput.* 7. *ſect. ult.*

unto

unto he applieth alſo the ſaying of Dauid; *He hath had a reſpect to the prayer of the humble; and did not deſpiſe their prayers.* and of Iudith: [b] *The prayer of the humble and meeke hath alway pleaſed thee.*

Thus in the dayes of the Apoſtles themſelves, under the pretence of [c] *Humilitie* ſome laboured to bring into the Church the *worſhipping of Angels*: which carried with it [d] *a ſhew of wiſedome* (as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of it) and ſuch a ſhew as was not farre unlike unto that wherewith our Romiſh Doctors do cozen ſimple people now adayes. For [e] *this* (ſaith *Theodoret*) *did they counſell ſhould bee done* (namely, that men ſhould pray unto Angels) *pretending humilitie, and ſaying, that the God of all things was inviſible, and inacceſſible, and incomprehenſible: and that it was fit wee ſhould procure Gods favour by the meanes of Angels.* whereas Saint *Chryſoſtome* treating of Chriſtian humilitie, ſheweth that the faithfull who are furniſhed with that grace, doe notwithſtanding [f] *aſcend beyond the higheſt tops of heaven, and paſsing by the Angels, preſent themſelves before the Regall throne it ſelfe.* yea [g] by learning thus to ſpeake with God in prayer, hee ſheweth that the man himſelfe is made a kinde of an *Angell*, *the ſoule is ſo ſet looſe from the bonds of the body; the reaſoning is raiſed up ſo high; hee is ſo tranſlated into heaven, hee doth ſo overlooke theſe worldly things, he is ſo placed by the Regall throne it ſelfe: although he bee a poore man, although a ſer-*

a *Pſalm.*102. 17.

b *Iudith*, 9.16.

c *Coloſſ.*2.18.

d *Ibid.verſ.*23.

e Τοῦτο πίνυω συνεβούλευον ἐκεῖνοι γίνεσθαι, τὰ πεπνοφροσύνην σχῆμα κεκτημένοι καὶ λέγοντες, ὡς ἀόρατος ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς καὶ ἀπερίληπτος, καὶ προσήκει διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τινὸς θείαν συμμένειαν πραγματεύεσθαι. Theodoret. in Coloſſ. cap.2.

f οἱ καὶ αὐτὰς ὑπερβαίνοντι τὰ ὄρεσι τὰς ἀψῖδας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παρερχόμενοι παρεστήκασιν αὐτῷ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ. Chryſoſt. in Matt. homil. 65. edit. Græc. 66. Latin.

g Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ θεῷ παυόμενος διαλέγεσθαι, ὡς εἰκὸς τὸν τῷ θεῷ διαλεγόμενον, ἄγγελος ἔστιν λοιπόν· ὅτως ἀπολύεται τῆς σαρκὸς τὸ σῶμα ἡ ψυχή· ὅτω μετάρσιος αὐτῷ γίνεται ὁ λογισμός· ὅτω μετοικίζεται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν· ὅτως ὑπερφρᾶ τῆς βιωτικῶν· ὅτω παρ' αὐτὸν ἵσταται τὸν θρόνον βασιλικὸν, κἂν πένης ᾖ, κἂν οἰκέτης, κἂν ἰδιώτης, κἂν ἰμαθὴς. Id. in Pſalm. 4.

vant,

want, although a ſimple man, although an unlearned. Neither is it to be forgotten, that the heathen Idolaters alſo, to cover [h] *the ſhame of their neglecting of God, were wont to uſe this miſerable excuſe; that by theſe they might goe to God, as by officers wee goe to the King:* which is the very ſelfe-ſame ragge our Romaniſts have borrowed from them to cover their ſuperſtition with, that the nakedneſſe thereof might not appeare. But Saint *Ambroſe* (or whoſoever elſe was author of thoſe Commentaries upon Saint *Pauls* epiſtles that are found among his workes) hath met well with them, and ſufficiently diſcovered the vanitie of theſe groſſe and carnall imaginations.[i] *Goe too* (ſaith hee) *is there any man ſo mad, or ſo unmindfull of his ſalvation, as to give the Kings honour to an officer: whereas if any ſhall be found but to treat of ſuch a matter, they are juſtly condemned as guiltie of high treaſon? And yet theſe men thinke themſelves not guilty, who give the honour of Gods name to a creature, and leaving the Lord adore their fellow-ſervants; as though there were any thing more, that could be reſerved to God. For therefore doe men goe to the King by Tribunes or Officers, becauſe the King is but a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit the ſtate of the commonwealth. But to procure the favour of God, from whom nothing is hid (for he knoweth the merits* or *workes of all men) we need no ſpokeſman, but a devout mind. For whereſoever ſuch a one ſhall ſpeake unto him, he will anſwer him.*

h Solent tamen pudorem paſsi neglecti Dei, miſerâ uti excuſatione, dicentes per iſtos poſſe ire ad Deum, ſicut per comites pervenitur ad Regem. *Ambroſ. in Rom. cap.* 1.

i Age, nunquid tam demens eſt aliquis, aut ſalutis ſuæ immemor, ut honorificentiam Regis vindicet comiti; cùm de hâc re ſi qui etiam tractare fuerint inventi, jure ut rei damnentur majeſtatis? Et iſti ſe non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, & relicto Domino conſervos adorant; quaſi ſit aliquid plus quod ſervetur Deo. Nam & ideò ad Regem per Tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo utique eſt Rex, & neſcit quibus debeat Rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem (quem utique nihil latet, omnium enim merita novit) promerendum ſuffragatore non opus eſt, ſed mente devotâ. Vbicunque enim talis locutus fuerit ei, reſpondebit illi. *Ibid.*

But

But of all others Saint *Chryſoſtome* is moſt plentifull in ſetting out the difference of the acceſſe which wee may have to God and to the great ones in this world. [k] *When we have ſuite unto men* (ſaith hee in one place) *we have need of coſt and money, and ſervile adulation, and much going up and downe and great adoe. For it falleth out oftentimes that wee cannot goe ſtraight unto the Lords themſelves and preſent our gift unto them and ſpeake with them; but it is neceſſary for us firſt to procure the favour of their miniſters and ſtewards and officers, both with paying and praying and uſing all other meanes unto them, and then by their mediation to obtaine our requeſt. But with God it is not thus. For there is no need of interceſſors for the petitioners: neither is hee ſo ready to give a gracious anſwer beeing intreated by others, as by our owne ſelves praying unto him.* [l] *When thou haſt need to ſue unto men,* (ſaith hee in another place) *thou art forced firſt to deale with doore-keepers, and to intreat paraſites and flatterers, and to goe a long way. But with God there is no ſuch matter: without an interceſſor he is intreated, without money, without coſt he yeeldeth unto thy prayer. It ſufficeth onely that thou crie in thine heart, and bring teares with thee; and entring in ſtraightway thou may'eſt draw him unto thee.*

k Ἀνθρώπων μὲν γὰρ δεόμενοι, καὶ δαπάνης χρημάτων δεόμεθα, καὶ κολακείας δουλοπρεποῦς, καὶ πολλῆς περιόδου καὶ φροντίδος· ὁ γὰρ ἐξ εὐτελείας αὐτοῖς τοῖς κυρίοις δῶναι τὴν χάριν ἐνίοτε καὶ διαλεχθῆναι πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη πρότερον διακόνους καὶ οἰκονόμους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτρόπους, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ θεραπείαις καὶ πανταχόθεν θεραπεῦσαι πρόπαν, καὶ τότε δι' ἐκείνων δυνηθῆναι τὴν αἴτησιν λαβεῖν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως· ὁ γὰρ δεῖται μεσιτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀξίας ὄντων, οὐδὲ οὕτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλούμενος, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δεομένων ἑτοίμως τὴν χάριν. Chryſoſt. in Matth. citat. à Theodoro Daphnopat. in Eclogis (tom. 7. edit. Savil. pag. 768.) Maximo, in loc. commun. ſerm. 14. & Io. Damaſceno, in Parallel. lib. 2. cap. 15. ubi ab editore Pontificio ad marginem appoſitum eſt hoc pharmacum: Hæc ὁμιλητικῶς dicuntur non δογματικῶς. l Ἀνθρώπους μὲν γὰρ ὅταν δέῃ παρακαλέσαι, καὶ πυλωροῖς ἡμᾶς συντυχεῖν ἀνάγκη πρότερον, καὶ παρασίτους καὶ κόλακας παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπελθεῖν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μεσίτου παρακληθεὶς, χωρὶς χρημάτων, χωρὶς δαπάνης ἑτοίμως τὴν δέησιν. ἀρκεῖ μόνον βοῆσαι τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ δάκρυα προσενέγκαι, καὶ εὐθέως εἰσελθὼν αὐτὸν ἕλκυσας. Chryſoſt. ſerm. 7. de Pœnitent. tom. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 802. qui in aliis editionibus eſt ſerm. 4. de Pœnitent.

Amongſt

[m] *Amongst men* (saith hee in a third place) *it behoveth him that commeth unto one, to bee a man of speech, and it is required that he should flatter all those that are about the Prince, and to thinke upon many other things, that he may find acceptance. But here there is need of nothing, save of a watchfull minde onely: and there is nothing that hindreth us from being neere to God.* So in his sermon upon the woman of *Canaan*, which hee made in his latter dayes, after his returne from his first banishment: [n] *God is alwayes neere*, saith he. *If thou wilt intreat man; thou askest what he is a doing, and he is asleepe, hee is not at leisure, or the servant giveth thee no answer. But with God their is none of these things. Whithersoever thou goest and callest, he heareth: there is no want of leisure, nor a mediator, nor a servant that keepeth thee off. Say, Have mercy upon mee; and presently God is with thee. For while thou art yet a speaking, saith hee, I will say; Behold here I am.* (Esai. 58. 9.) And therefore hee biddeth us to [o] *marke the philosophie* (as he termeth it) *or the wisedome of the woman of Canaan. She intreateth not Iames* (saith hee) *she beseecheth not Iohn, neither doth she come to Peter, but brake through the whole company of them; saying: I have no neede of a mediator, but taking Repentance with me for a spokesman, I come to the fountaine it selfe. For this cause did he descend, for this cause did he take flesh that I might have the boldnesse to speake unto him. I*

m Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν προσιόντα τινὶ καὶ ῥητορικὸν εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ κολακεύσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα πάντας ἱκανὸν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἐπινοῆσαι, ὥστε γενέσθαι εὐπαρά δεκτον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδενὸς δεῖται, ἀλλὰ γνώμης μόνης νηφούσης. καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ κωλύον ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Id. in Psalm. 4.

n Θεὸς ἀεὶ ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ἐὰν θέλῃς παρακαλέσαι ἄνθρωπον, ἐρωτᾷς τι ποιεῖ, καθεύδει, ἀσχολεῖται, ὁ διακονῶν οὐκ ἀποκρίνεταί σοι· ὅπου δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον. ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς καὶ καλέσῃς, ἀκούει· οὐκ ἀσχολία, οὐ μεσίτης, οὐ διάκονος ἀλλ'

have no need of a mediator: have thou mercy upon me. Hitherto Saint *Chryſoſtome.*

Sixtly, the Romaniſts repoſe ſuch confidence in the interceſſion of the Saints; that they looke to receive farre greater benefit by them, than by their owne prayers. Which conceit how diſtaſtfull it was unto the ancient Doctors, Saint *Chryſoſtome* may be a ſufficient witneſſe: who laboured exceedingly to root out this erroneous opinion, when it firſt began to ſhew it ſelfe in his time. And therefore he is bold to affirme, not onely that [p] *wee have no ſuch neede of others, that wee may intreat by them*; but alſo that God [q] *then doth moſt, when we doe not uſe the intreatie of others.* For *as a kinde friend* (ſaith he) *then blameth he us moſt, as not daring to truſt his love, when wee intreat others to pray unto him for us. Thus uſe we to doe with thoſe that ſecke to us. then we gratifie them moſt, when they come unto us by themſelves, and not by others. But thou wilt ſay, what if I have offended him? Ceaſe offending, and ſhead teares, and ſo come; and thou ſhalt quickly make him appeaſed for the things that are paſt. Say onely; I have offended: ſay it from thy ſoule and a ſincere minde; and all is looſed. Thou doſt not ſo much deſire thy ſinnes to be forgiven thee, as he doth deſire to forgive thy ſinnes unto thee.* Thus doth Saint *Chryſoſtome* writ upon the 16. of the Acts: and upon the *fourth* Pſalme, to the ſame effect. [r] *Thou mayeſt al-*

p μὴ ἑτέρων δεῖσθαι ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων ἀξιώσῃς. Chryſoſt. in Act. 16. homil. 36.

q Οὕτως γὰρ πότε μάλιστα ποιεῖ, ὅταν μὴ ἑτέρων δεηθῶμεν· καθάπερ φίλος γνήσιος, τότε μάλιστα ἡμῖν ἐγκαλεῖ, ὡς οὐ θαῤῥοῦσιν αὐτῷ τῇ φιλίᾳ, ὅταν ἑτέρων πρὸς αὐτὸν δεηθῶμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίως ὄντων. ὅταν καὶ μεῖς ποιῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμᾶς αἰτούντων· τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς χαίρομεν ὅταν δι' ἑαυτῶν ἥκωσιν, καὶ οὐ δι' ἑτέρων προσίωσι. Τί ἂν φησιν. οὐ προσεκλαυσάμην σοι; παῦσαι προσκρούων, καὶ δάκρυσον, καὶ οὕτω πρόσελθε καὶ ταχέως λύσεις τὰ πρόσκαιρα αὐτὸν ἵλεων ποιήσεις. εἰπὲ μόνον, ὅτι ἥμαρτον, εἰπὲ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ γνησίως διανοίας καὶ πάντα λέλυται. οὐκ ὀφθυμεῖς ὅτως ἀφεθῆναί σοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σε ὡς αὐτὸς ὀφθυμεῖ ἀφεῖναί σε σοὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. Id ibid r Ἀεὶ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἔστι τυχεῖν λύσεως, καὶ λυπολύτου ἑστίας πρόκειται. ὅτε γὰρ χρεία τῆς προσευχῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκονόμων ὀπισθόπων, φυλάκων, ἢ φίλων· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ προ-

wayes

wayes and continually ſollicite him, and thou ſhalt meet with no difficultie. For thou ſhalt have no neede of any doore-keepers to bring thee in, nor ſtewards, nor procurators, nor keepers, nor friends: but when thou thy ſelfe commeſt by thy ſelfe, then will he moſt of all heare thee, even then, when thou intreateſt no man. Wee doe not therefore ſo pacifie him when wee intreat him by others, as when we doe it by our owne ſelves. For by reaſon he loveth our friendſhip, and doth all things that wee may put our confidence in him: when hee beholdeth us to doe this by our ſelves, then doth hee moſt yeeld unto our ſuites. Thus did he deale with the woman of Canaan: when Peter and Iames came for her, hee did not yeeld; but when ſhe her ſelfe did remaine, he preſently gave that which was deſired.

σέλθῃς, τότε μάλιστα ἀνοίξεταί σοι, τότε, ὅταν μηδενὸς δεήθῃς. οὐχ οὕτω δὲ ἐν αὐτὴν δυσωπητέον δὲ ἑτέρων ἀξιοῦντες, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐρᾷ φιλίας, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ, ὥστε ἡμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ θαῤῥεῖν. ὅταν ἴδῃ δι' ἑαυτῶν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας, τότε μάλιστα ἐπινεύει. Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Χαναναίας ἐποίησε. καὶ Πέτρου μὲν καὶ Ἰακώβου παρόντων, οὐκ ἐπένευσεν· ὑπομενούσης δὲ ταύτης, τὸ αἰτηθὲν ταχέως ἔδωκεν. Id. in Psalm. 4.

The ſame leſſon doth he repeat in his 44. Homily upon Geneſis: that [f] *our Lord being mercifull, doth not ſo yeeld when hee is intreated for us by others, as hee doth when hee is by our owne ſelves.* and for proofe thereof telleth us againe of the woman of *Canaan*; that [t] *having the diſciples petitioning for her, ſhe could obtaine nothing, untill ſhee by her ſelfe beeing inſtant drew forth the clemency of the Lord:* to the end, wee might thereby *learne, that wee dot not ſo prevaile when wee intreat by others, as when by our ſelves; if we come with fervour and with a vigilant minde.* The like ob-

[f] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ φιλάνθρωπός ὄζιν ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἡμέτερος, οὐχ' ὅτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλέμενος ὥσὲρ ἡμῶν ὀπνεύει, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Id. in Geneſ. cap. 19. homil. 44. [t] Ταύτῃ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς μέσον παραγαγεῖν ἠναγκάσθημεν, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι οὐχ' ὅτω δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλοῦντες αὐόμεν, ὡς αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν, ἐπειδὰν μὴ θερμότητος προσώμεν καὶ διεγηγερμένης διανοίας. ἐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ τοὺ μαθητὰς ἔχετα ὥσὲρ αὐτῆς ἱκετεύοντας οὐδὲν πλέον αὐύσατ ἠδυνήθη, μέχρις ὅτε αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς παραμείνασα τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπεκύσατο τ δεσπότ. Id. ibid.

servation is made by him and by *Theophylact* in their expositions upon that part of the Gospell wherein this history is related. [u] *Marke me*, (saith the one) *how the Apostles being put downe and not prevailing, shee her selfe prevailed: of so great force is the assiduitie of prayer. For God would bee petitioned unto by us that are guiltie, in our owne cause, rather than by others for us.* And [x] *observe* (saith the other) *that although the Saints doe pray for us, as the Apostles did for her; yet we praying for our selves, doe prevaile much more.* One place more I will yet lay downe out of *Chrysostomes* sermon *of the profiting of the Gospell*: and so make an end of this observation. [y] *With God* (saith he) *thou hast need of no intercessours, nor of much running about, nor to flatter others: but although thou bee alone, and hast no patron, thou by thy selfe praying unto God shalt certainely obtaine thy request. Hee useth not to yeeld so soone, beeing prayed unto by others for us, as when wee our selves doe pray unto him, although wee bee repleni∫hed with a thou∫and evils.* And to prove that [z] *praying by our owne selves we prevaile more with God, than praying unto him by others*: he bringeth in againe the historie of the woman of *Canaan*, and wi∫heth us to obserue, [a] *how, when others intreated, hee put her backe: but when shee her selfe cryed out, praying for the gift, he yeelded.* And at la∫t concludeth with this ex-

u Σὺ δέμοι σκόπει πῶς τῆς ἀποστόλων ἡττηθέντων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, αὕτη νίκησε· τοσοῦτόν ἐστι προσεδρία εὐχῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρων παρ' ἡμῶν βέλεται μᾶλλον τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς αἰτεῖσθαι, ἢ παρ' ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Id. in Mat. 15. hom. 52. edit. Græc. vel 53. Latin.

x Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι κἂν ἄλλοι αἰτῶσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης οἱ ἀπόστολοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν αἰτοῦντες, πλέον ἀνύομεν. Theophylact. in Matth. cap. 15

y Οὐ χρείαν σοι μεσιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν, οὐδὲ πολλῆς τῆς περιδρομῆς, κἂν τῷ κολακεύσαι ἑτέρους· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἔρημος ᾖς, κἂν ἀπροστάτευτος, αὐτὸς δι' αὐτῆς παρακαλέσας τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιτύχῃ πάντως· οὐχ' οὕτω δὲ ἑτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παρακαλούντων ἐπινεύει, ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τὰ δεομένων, κἂν μυρίων ὦμεν γέμοντες κακῶν. Chrysost. serm. in Philip. l. 18. de profectu Evangel. tom. 5. edit. Savil. pag. 416.

z δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλούμενος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπινεύει. Ibid. pag. 416. & paulo pòst. Βέλει μαθεῖν καὶ ἄλλο δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ δι' ἑτέρων παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν αὐνύομεν; pag. 417.

a Εἶδες πῶς, ὅτε μὲ ἐκείνοι παρεκάλουν, διεκρούσατο· ὅτε δ' αὐτὴ ἡ δεομένη τὰ δωρεᾶς ἐδόκησεν, ἐπένευσεν; ibid. pag. 417.

hortation,

hortation.[b] *Seeing then we have learned all these things although wee be in sinne and unworthy to receive, let us not despaire; knowing that by perseverance and constancy of minde wee may obtaine our request. Although wee be solitary and without any patrons, let us not bee discouraged, knowing that this is a great patronage that thou by thine owne selfe mayst come to God with much alacritie.*

Seventhly and principally it is to bee considered, that *Invocation* is attributed to Saints in the Church of Rome as a part of the *worship* due unto them: yea as *eximium adorationis genus* (for so doth Cardinall [c] *Bellarmine* pronounce it to bee) *an eminent kind of adoration*. For [d] *wee doe not honour the Saints* (sayth *Azorius* the Iesuite) *with that worship onely, wherewith wee doe men that excell in vertue, wisedome, power, or any other dignity; but also with* DIVINE *worship and honour, which is an act of Religion. For that worship which is given to men of excellency, is an act and office, not of Religion, but of another inferiour vertue, which is called Observance.* And whereas it is as cleare as the nooneday, that the giving of divine honour and worship unto any creature is flat Idolatrie: the poore man weeneth that hee and his fellowes may bee excused from beeing Idolaters; becauſe they *doe not give divine worship and honour unto the Saints for themselves, but for God who hath made them Saints*: as if God, who cannot endure that his [e] *glory should*

b Ταῦτ' ἂν ἅπαντα μαθόντες, κἂν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασιν ὦμεν, καὶ τῶ λαχεῖν ἀνάξιοι, μὴ ἀπογινώσκωμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι τῆ προθυμία τῆς ψυχῆς συνυφάνθα γερέσθαι τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀξιοι, κἂν ἀπροστάτευτοι καὶ ἔρημοι ὦμεν, μὴ ἀπαρρωδῶμεν, εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλη προθυμία, τὸ αὐτὸν δὲ ἑαυτῶ προτελεῖν τῶ Θεῶ μετὰ προθυμίας πολλῆς. Ibid.

c *Bellarmin. Præfat. in controvers. de Eccles. triumphant. in Ordine disputat.*

d Sanctos non solùm honoramus eo cultu, quo viros virtute, sapientiâ, potentiâ, aut qualibet aliâ dignitate præstantes; sed etiam Divino cultu, & honore, qui est religionis actus. nam ille cultus, qui viris primariis defertur, non est religionis sed alterius longè inferioris virtutis, quæ observantia vocatur, actus & officium. Sed divinos cultus & honores Sanctis non damus propter ipsos; sed propter Deum, qui eos Sanctos effecit. *Io. Azor. institut. Moral. tom. 1. lib. 9. cap. 10.* e *Esai* 42. 8. & 48. 11.

be given unto another, would bee mocked with ſuch toyes as theſe. Indeed they were wont heretofore to delude men commonly with an idle diſtinction of * *Dulia* and *Latria*: but now [f] *it is the opinion of the moſt & the wiſeſt of them, that it is one & the ſelfe ſame vertue of Religion, which containeth both Latria and Dulia.* Whereas it hath beene the conſtant doctrine of the ancient Church, that all Religious worſhip (whereof *Prayer* by the judgement of all men, as well [g] Heathen as Chriſtian, hath beene alwayes eſteemed to bee an eſpeciall part) is ſo properly due unto God alone, that without committing of Idolatrie it cannot be communicated unto any creature. For [h] *in the Catholike Church it is divinely and ſingularly delivered, that no creature is to be worſhipped by the ſoule, but hee onely who is the Creator of all things*: ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. And therefore the ancient Doctors who thought it not amiſſe, that men ſhould recommend themſelves unto the prayers of the Saints departed; held it a thing intolerable notwithſtanding, to impart unto any Man or Angell the worſhip of Invocation. For to requeſt the helpe of the prayers of our fellow-ſervants, is one thing, & to worſhip them with the ſervice of Invocation is another: as may be ſeen in the caſe of our brethren upon earth, who may not refuſe the former without the violation of Charitie, nor accept the latter at our hands without an open breach of Pietie.

* *Clement. Conſtitut lib. 3. cap. 7.* Ἀντὶ τῦ Θεῦ λατρεύει τῷ Μαμωνᾷ, τουτέστι, δουλεύει τῷ κέρδει.

f quid ſi & una religionis virtus ſit, quæ latriam, duliamque contineat? Certè plurimis atque ſapientiſſimis ea eſt opinio. *Nicol. Serarius, in Litaneutico 2 quæſt. 27. in fine.*

g *Virgil. Æneid. 3.* Iunonis magnæ primùm prece numen adora. *Ovid. Triſt. lib. 1. eleg. 3.* Hâc prece adoravi ſuperos ego, pluribus uxor. *Donatus in Terent. Phormion. act. 2. ſcen. 1. ad illud: At ego Deos penateis hinc ſalutatum domum devortar.* Salutatum.] Adoratum primâ poſt reditum prece.

h Ideoque divinè ac ſingulariter in Eccleſiâ Catholicâ traditur, nullam creaturam colendam eſſe animæ (libentiùs enim loquor his verbis quibus mihi hæc inſinuata ſunt) ſed ipſum tantummodò rerum quæ ſunt omnium creatorem. *Auguſt. lib. de Quantitate animæ, cap. 34. Vid. eund. de morib. Eccleſ. Catholicæ & Manich. lib. 1. cap. 30.*

Now

Now that the Fathers judged no otherwise of Prayer, than hath beene said, this may be one good argument; that when they define it, they do it with expresse reference to GOD, and no other: as may bee seene in those five severall definitions thereof which[i] *Bellarmine* himselfe repeateth out of them. the first whereof is that of *Basil*: [k] *Prayer is a request of some good thing, which is made by pious men unto* GOD. The second, of *Gregorie Nyssen*: [l] *Prayer is a conversing* or *a conference with* GOD. The third, of the same Father: [m] *Prayer is a request of good things, which is offered with supplication unto* GOD. The fourth, of *Iohn Chrysostome*: [n] *Prayer is a colloquy* or *discourse with* GOD. The fifth, of *Iohn Damascen*: [o] *Prayer is an ascension of the minde unto* GOD, *or a request of things that are fit from* GOD. Whereunto the order set downe, by the Fathers of the Councell of *Carthage* may bee added. * *That none in their prayers should direct their speech unto any but the Father.* And therefore where [p] the names of the Martyrs were solemnely rehearsed in the publike Liturgie of the Church, Saint *Augustine* interpreteth it to bee done for an honourable remembrance of them: but utterly denieth that the Church therein had any intention to *Invocate* them. So for other particular prayers: [q] *Thou alone art to bee in-*

i *Bellarm. de bonis operib. in particul. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

k Προσευχή ἐστιν αἴτησις ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς Θεὸν γινομένη. Basil. orat. in Iulittam martyr.

l Προσευχὴ Θεοῦ ὁμιλία. Gregor. Nyssen. orat 1. de Oratione.

m Προσευχὴ, αἴτησις ἀγαθῶν μετὰ ἱκετηρίας πεμπομένη Θεῷ. Id. orat. 2. de Orat. Dominic. vel, Προσευχὴ, ἱκετηρία ἐστὶν αἰτησις τῶν συμφερόντων πεμπομένη Θεῷ. Id. tract. 2. de inscriptionib. Psalmor. cap. 3.

n Ἡ εὐχὴ διάλεξις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Chrysost. in Genes. homil. 30. Vid. ejusd. lib. 1. de

Orando Deum, tom. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 754. o Προσευχή ἐστιν ἀνάβασις τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν, ἢ αἴτησις τῶν πρεπόντων παρὰ Θεοῦ. Damascen. de fide Orthodox. lib. 3. cap. 24. * Ut nullus in precibus nisi ad Patrem dirigat orationem. *Fulgent. Ferrard. in Breviat. Canon. sect.* 219. *ex Concil. Carthag. tit.* 31. p Ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco & ordine nominantur: non tamen à sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 22. *cap.* 10. q Sed tamen tu solus, Domine, invocandus es; tu rogandus, ut eum in filiis repræsentes. *Ambros. de obitu Theodos.*

vocated O Lord, ſaith Saint *Ambroſe* in his funerall oration upon *Theodoſius* the Emperour; *thou art to bee requeſted, to ſupply the miſſe of him in his ſonnes.* And, [r] *To whom elſe ſhould I cry, beſides thee?* ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. And it is Gods pleaſure,

Eſſe nihil prorſus ſe præter vbiq; rogandum,

that nothing beſide himſelfe ſhould every where be prayed unto: ſaith *Dracontius* in his booke of the Creation, reviſed by *Eugenius* Biſhop of *Toledo* at the command of *Chindaſuindus* King of *Spaine*.

In *Nicetas Serronius* his *Catena* upō the Pſalmes (not yet printed) one of the Greeke Doctors maketh this obſervation upon that place of the *Fifth* Pſalme. *Attend unto the voyce of my petition, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray.* that *the petition is here preſented as to a *King* but the prayer as to *God*. For *unto God* ALONE *doe wee pray:* ſaith hee. From whence that alſo doth not much differ, which we read in the *Catena* tranſlated into Latin by *Daniel Barbarus*. onely where it is there ſaid, that [f] *Prayer is offered to God* ALONE; either the Tranſlator or the publiſher of that worke giveth us warning in the margent, that wee ſhould * *underſtand this well*. But how it may bee ſo underſtood, that praying to Saints may well ſtand with it, this hee leaveth to the favourable conſtruction of the gentle Reader: and to ſave that paines too, *Aloyſius Lippomanus* in his *Catena* thought it beſt to break off that linke of the chaine, and not to trouble his Reader with it at all. Saint *Chryſoſtome* (unto whom, in the chaine ſet out by *Barbarus*, this ſentence is aſſigned) upon thoſe words of the Apoſtle, 1. Corinth.

r Cui alteri præter te clamabo? *Auguſt. Confeſſ. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

* Προσάγει τῷ μὲν δέσποτῃ ὡς βασιλεῖ· δέεται γάρ τις τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὰ ἐνδέοντα (τοῦτέστι τὰ λείποντα) λάβῃ· τῷ δὲ προσεύχεται ὡς θεῷ· Μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ προσεύχεσθε. Nicet. Caten. in Pſalm. 5. Ms.

f Oratio enim ſoli Deo offertur. *Aurea Catena in 50. Pſalmos, edit. Venet. an. 1569. pag. 53.*

* Bene intelligas.

1. 2.

1. 2. *With all that call upon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*; giveth the like expoſition [t] *Not of this man and that man, but upon the Name of the Lord.* And hee elſewhere telleth us, that it was the DIVELS doing to draw men unto the calling upon Angels: as envying them the honour of their immediate acceſſe and admittance unto Gods owne preſence. [u] *For this cauſe* (ſaith hee) *did the Divell bring in this of the Angels; envying us this honour. Theſe bee the inchantments of Divels. Though hee bee an Angell, though an Archangell, though they be Cherubims; endure it not. For neither will theſe Powers themſelves admit it, but reiect it; when they ſee their Lord diſhonoured. I have honoured thee, ſayth hee, and have ſayd; Call upon mee: and doeſt thou diſhonour him?*

Therefore did the Fathers in the Councell of *Laodicea* directly conclude that this Invocation of of Angels was a ſecret kind of Idolatrie, by the practiſe whereof the communion both of *Chriſt* and of his *Church* was forſaken. [x] For *Chriſtians* (ſay they) *ought not to forſake the Church of God, and depart aſide, and invocate Angels, and make meetings: which are things forbidden. If any man therefore bee found to give himſelfe to this priuy Idolatrie; let him bee accurſed. Becauſe hee hath forſaken our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, the ſonne of God, and betaken himſelfe to Idolatrie.* In

t Οὐ τὸ δεῖνο καὶ τὸ δεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. Chryſ. in 1. Cor. hom. 1.

u Διὰ ταῦτα ὁ διάβολος τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπεισήγαγε βασκαίνων ἡμῖν τῆς τιμῆς. τῶν δαιμόνων ταῦτα αἱ ἐπῳδαί. κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, κἂν ἀρχάγγελος, κἂν τὰ χερουβὶμ, μὴ ἀνέχου. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὰ αἱ δυνάμεις καταδέχονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποσείονται ὅταν ἴδωσι τὸν δεσπότην ἀτιμαζόμενον. Ἐγὼ σε ἐτίμησα, φησὶ, καὶ εἶπον, Ἐμὲ κάλει, καὶ σὺ ἀτιμάζεις αὐτόν; Id. in Col. 3. hom. 9.

x Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπέρασι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν. ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται. Εἴπερ οὖν εὑρεθῇ τούτῳ τῷ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσκείμενος, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ παρεδόθη. Concil. Laod. can. 35. Non oportet Chriſtianos, Eccleſiâ Dei relictâ, abire atque angelos nominare & congregationes facere: quæ interdicta noſcuntur. Si quis igitur inventus fuerit huic occultæ idololatriæ ſerviens, ſit anathema: quia dereliquit Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum filium Dei, & ſe idololatriæ tradidit. Concil. Ms. in Bibliothecâ Regiâ & Cottonianâ.

the

the Epitome of the Canons, which Pope *Adrian* delivered to *Charles* the Great, this decree is thus abbridged. *Vt anathema sit, quicunque relictâ Ecclesiâ, Angelos colere, vel congregationes facere præsumpserit. That whosoever, leaving the Church, did presume to worship Angels, or to make meetings, should bee accursed.* Where *Henricus Canisius*, who was the first publisher of this Abbridgement in the 6. *Tome* of his *Ancient* reading, fearing belike that the curse not onely of the Fathers of *Laodicea*, but (which was more dreadfull) of Pope *Adrian* also might light upon him and his companions, who acknowledged themselves to bee of the number of those that *worship Angels*: giveth us warning in his margent, that in steed of *angelos* here [y] *peradventure should bee read, angulos*; that is to say, *Corners* in steed of *Angels*; which although it bee a note that evill beseemeth a man who would be thought to be conversant in *ancient reading*, and such a one especially as professeth himselfe to be a *chiefe professor of the Canons*: yet in that hee leaveth the text untouched, and contenteth himselfe with a *peradventure* too in his marginall annotation, hee is more to bee excused than his fellowes before him, *Carranza*, *Sagittarius*, and *Ioverius*, who setting forth the Canons of the Councels, without all *peradventure* corrupted the text it selfe, removing the *Angels* out of their place, and hiding them in *Corners*.

[y] Angulos forte legendum. *Pag. 424. tom. 6. Antiquæ lectionis Hen. Canisii, SS. Canonum in Academ. Ingolstad. professoris primarii.*

Notwithstanding this also may bee alledged in some part of their excuse too, that they were not the first Authors of this corruption of the Canon: that blame must light either upon *Isidorus Mercator*

(the

(the crafty Merchant, with whose dealings I acquainted you * before) or upon *Iames Merlin* the Popish Doctor, who first caused his ² Collection of Decrees to be printed. But Friar *Crabbe* deserveth no excuse at all: who having store of good copies to direct him, did not onely content himselfe with the retaining of *angulos* in the text of *Isidorus*, as he found it printed before him; but pluckt out *angelos* and chopt in ª *angulos* into the old translation of *Dionysius Exiguus* also, which affoorded no roome for any such corners as these. For howsoever in that version, or perversion rather of the Canon which is extant in the text of *Isidorus*, it might stand with some reason to read: *Nō oportet Christianos, derelictâ Ecclesiâ, abire & ad angulos idololatriæ abominandæ congregationes facere*; *It is not lawfull for Christians, forsaking the Church, to goe and make assemblies of abhominable idolatrie in corners.* yet in the old translation of *Dionysius*, where the Canon was rightly rendred; *Quod non oporteat Ecclesiam Dei relinquere, & abire, atque angelos nominare, & congregationes facere*: it was contrary to all sence to thrust this reading upon us. *It is not lawfull for Christians to forsake the Church of God, and goe and nominate* or *invocate* CORNERS (a wise speech no doubt) *and make meetings.*

But, *veritas non quærit angulos*: the truth will admit none of these *corners*. For the *Greeke* veritie (aswell in all the editions of the Canons that have come forth by themselves, as in the Collections of *Harmenopulus*, *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* likewise) expressely readeth ἀσύνθετος which in that tongue hath no affinitie

* *Supr. pag.* 12.

² *Tom.* 1. *Concil. edit. Colon. anno* 1530. *& Paris. an.* 1535.

ª *Tom.* 1. *Concil. edit. Colon. ann.* 1538.

affinitie at all with *corners*: and the ancient Collectors of the Canons among the Latines, [b] *Crescon-ius* and *Dionysius* and [c] *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, have *Angelos*: and *Theodoret* in his exposition of the Epistle to the *Colossions*, doth twice make mention and declare the meaning of this Canon. Once, upon those words of the Apostle in the *third* Chapter: *Whatsoever yee doe in word or deed, doe all in the name of the Lord Iesus, giving thankes to God and the Father by him.* [d] For *because they commanded men to worship Angels*, (saith *Theodoret*) *he injoyneth the contrary; that they should adorne their words & their deeds with the commemoration of our Lord Christ. and send up thankesgiving to God and the Father by him*, *sayth he, and not by the Angels. The Synod of* Laodicea *also following this rule, and desiring to heale that old disease, made a Law that they should not pray unto Angels, nor forsake our Lord Iesus Christ.* And againe, upon the *second* Chapter of the same Epistle. [e] *This vice continued in* Phrygia *and* Pisidia *for a long time. for which cause also the Synod assembled in* Laodicea *the chiefe Citie of* Phrygya, *forbad them by a Law to pray unto Angels. And even to this day among them and their borderers, there are Oratories of Saint* Michael *to bee seene.* The like hath *Oecumenius* after him upon the same place. [f] *This custome continued in* Phrygia: *in-*

b De his qui Angelos colunt. *Cresc. Breviar. Canon. sect. 90. Dionys. Exig. in Codice Canon. num.* 138.

c Vt nullus ad Angelos congregationem faciat. *Fulgent. Ferrand. Breviar. Canon. sect.* 184.

d ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀγγέλους σέβειν ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παρεγγυᾷ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοσμῆσαι τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ. καὶ τῷ θεῷ δὴ καὶ πατρὶ τὸν εὐχαριστίαν δι' αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀναπέμπετε, μὴ διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. Τέτῳ ἐπομένη τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Συνόδος καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνο πάθος θεραπεῦσαι βουλομένη, ἐνομοθέτησε μὴ εὐχὰς ἀγγέλοις, καὶ καταλιμπάνειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Theodoret. in Colos. 3.

e Ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ. ὃ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἡ Συνελθοῦσα Σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας, νόμῳ κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι. καὶ μέχρι δὴ τοῦ νῦν εὐκλεὴς τοῖς τόποις Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκείνων ὄρη ἰδεῖν. Id. in Col. 2.

f Ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν τὸ ἔθος. ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Σύνοδον νόμῳ κωλῦσαι τὸ προσεύχεσθαι ἀγγέλοις καὶ προσεύχεσθαι. ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ναοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ πολλοί. Oecumen. Ms. in Colos. 2. ab Hœlchelio citatus in notis ad Origenis libros contra Cels. pag. 483.

somuch

ſomuch that the Councell of Laodicea *did by a Law forbid to come unto Angels and to pray unto them. from whence it is alſo, that there bee many Churches of* Michael, *the chiefe Captaine of Gods hoaſt, among them.* This Canon of the *Laodicean* Fathers, *Photius* doth note to have beene mad againſt the g *Angelites*: or the *Angelickes* rather. For ſo doth Saint *Auguſtine* name thoſe heretickes that were h *inclined to the worſhip of Angels*: being from thence i *called Angelici*, as *Iſidorus* noteth, *becauſe they did worſhip Angels*.

To tranſcribe here at large the ſeverall teſtimonies of the Fathers, which condemne this worſhipping of Angels or any other creature whatſoever, would bee an endleſſe worke. *Gregory Nyſſen* in the beginning of his *fourth* (or *fifth* booke rather) againſt *Eunomius*, layeth this downe for an undoubted principle. k *That none of thoſe things which have their being by Creation is to bee worſhipped by men, the the word of* GOD *hath by Law ordained: as almoſt out of all the holy Scripture we may learne. Moſes, the Tables, the Law, the Prophets afterward, the Goſpels, the determinations of all the Apoſtles, doe equally forbid the looking unto the Creature.* Then having ſhewed that the neglect of this was the cauſe of the bringing in of a multitude of Gods among the Heathen: l *leaſt the ſame things ſhould happen unto us*, ſaith hee, *who are inſtructed by the Scripture to looke unto the true Deitie; wee are taught to underſtand that whatſoever is*

g Περὶ Ἀγγελιτῶν. Phot. Nomocanen. tit. 12. cap. 9.

h Angelici, in angelorum cultu inclinati. *Auguſt. de hæreſ. cap. 39.*

i Angelici vocati, quia Angelos colunt. *Iſidor. Origen. lib. 8. cap. 5.*

k Οὐδὲν τῶν διὰ κτίσεως γενομένων σεβάσμιον ἔστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὃ θεῖος ἐνομοθέτησε λόγος. ὡς ἐκ πάσης μικρᾶς δεῖν ὅτι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς τὸ τοιοῦτο μαθεῖν. ὁ Μωϋσῆς, αἱ πλάκες, ὁ νόμος, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προφῆται, τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὰ δόγματα πάντων, ὁμοίως

παραγορεύει τὸ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν βλέπειν. Greg. Nyſſen. contr. Eunom. orat. 4. tom. 2. edit. Græcolat. pag. 144.

l Ὡς ἂν ἵνα μὴ ταυτὰ πάθοιμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν θεότητα βλέπειν παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς διδασκόμενοι, πᾶν τὸ κτιστὸν ἔξω τῆς θείας φύσεως νοεῖν ἐπαιδεύθημεν, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀκτιστον φύσιν λατρεύειν τε καὶ σεβάζεσθαι, ἧς χαρακτὴρ ὄντως καὶ γνώρισμα, τὸ μήτε ἄρχεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ποτε μήτε παύεσθαι εἶναι. Id. ibid. pag. 146.

created

created is a different thing from the Divine nature, and that we are to worship and adore that Nature only which is uncreated; whose character and marke is, that it neither at any time began to bee nor ever shall cease to bee. But our Romanists have long since overthrowne this principle: and so altered *Moses*, and the *Tables*, and the *Law*; that of the [m] foure and twenty mortall sinnes, whereby they say the first Commandement is broken, they reckon the first to be committed by him,

m *Hieronym. Zanetinus, de foro conscientiæ & contentioso, sect.* 168.

Qui colit extra Deum vel Sanctos quodq; creatũ, *who worshippeth any created thing beside God and the Saints.* And whereas [n] *Antonius* in his *Melissa* had set downe the foresaid sentence of *Nyssen*; that *we have learned to worship and adore that nature* ONELY *which is uncreated:* the Spanish Inquisitors have taken order, that a peece of his tongue should bee cut off; and given commandement, that [o] *the word* ONELY *should be blotted* out of his writing; not considering that this was the principall word, upon which the whole sentence of *Nyssen* mainely did depend: and that *Nyssen* was not the only man that had taught us this lesson.

n *Anton. Meliss. lib.* 1. *serm.* 1.

o Deleatur dictio, SOLVM-MODO. *Index Expurgator. Gasp. Quiroga Cardinalis jussu editus; de consilio supremi Senatus generalis Inquisit. Madrit. an.* 1584.

Athanasius before him had used the very same argument against the *Arrians*, to prove that the Sonne of God was of an uncreated nature. [p] For *Peter the Apostle* (saith hee) *did forbid* Cornelius, *when hee would have worshipped him, saying; Because I my selfe also am a man.* (Act. 10. 26.) *The Angell also did forbid*

p Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος προσκυνῆσαι θέλοντα τὸν Κορνήλιον, κωλύει λέγων, ὅτι κἀγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι. ἄγγελος δὲ θέλοντα προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει, κωλύει λέγων, &c. Οὐκοῦν, ὅτε δεῖ μόνῳ τῷ προσκυνεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι· ὅτι κἂν τῶν ἄλλων τὰς δόξας ὑπερέχωσιν, ἀλλὰ κτίσματα πάντες εἰσὶ· καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν προσκυνουμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δεσπότην. Athanas. orat. 3. contra Arrian.

John,

Iohn, *when hee would have worshipped him in the Revelation, saying: See thou doe it not; for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the Prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this booke: worship God.* (Revel. 22. 9.) *Wherefore it appertaineth to God onely to be worshipped. And this doe the Angels themselves know well: that although they do surpasse others in glory, yet they are all but Creatures; and are in the number, not of those that are to bee adored, but of them that adore the Lord.* So we have heard Saint *Ambrose* [q] before, reprehending those *that doe adore their fellow servants.* And *Epiphanius* refuting the heresie of the *Collyridians*, concludeth, that [r] *neither* Elias *nor* Iohn, *nor* Thecla, *nor any of the Saints is to bee worshipped. For that ancient errour* (saith hee) *shall not prevaile over us, to forsake the living* GOD *and to worship the things that are made by him. For they served and worshipped the creature above the Creator, & became fooles. For if he will not have the Angels to be worshipped; how much more would hee not have her that was borne of* Anna? [s] Let *Marie* then be had *in honour:* but let *the Lord be worshipped.* Lastly, Saint *Augustin* (to omit all others) in the booke which hee wrote *of true Religion*, delivereth this for one of the maine grounds thereof; that [t] *the worshipping of men that are dead should be no part of our Religion, because* (saith hee) *if they did live piously, they are not held to bee*

q *Ambros. in Rom. cap. 1. supr. pag. 459.*

r Ἀλλ' ὅτε Ἡλίας προσκυνητός, καίπερ ἐν ζωῇσιν ὤν, ὅτε Ἰωάννης προσκυνητός, &c. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἡ Θέκλα, ὅτι τις τῶν ἁγίων προσκυνεῖται. Οὐ χειδώσει ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀρχαία πλάνη, καταλιμπάνειν τὸν ζῶντα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς γενόμενα. ἐλάττους ἦσαν καὶ ἔσονται ἀεὶ τῶν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, καὶ ἐμωράνθησαν.

Εἰ γὰρ ἀγγέλους προσκυνεῖσθαι οὐ θέλει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπὸ Ἄννης γεγεννημένην; Epiphan. hær. 79. pag. 448. s Ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνείσθω. Id. ibid. pag. 450. t Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: qui si piè vixerunt, non sic habentur ut tales quærant honores; sed illum à nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. *Augustin. de vera religion. cap. 55.*

such

such as would ſeeke that kinde of honour; but would have him to be worſhipped of us, by whoſe enlightning they doe rejoyce that wee are made partners of their merit. They are to be honoured therefore for imitation, not to bee adored for Religion. The ſame doth he alſo there ſay of *Angels:* that [u] *wee doe honour them with love, not with ſervice; neither doe wee build Temples unto them. For it is not their deſire, that they ſhould bee ſo honoured by us: becauſe they know that wee our ſelves, if wee bee good, are the Temples of the high God. and therefore it is rightly written, that a man was forbidden by an Angell, that hee ſhould not worſhip him, but God alone under whom hee was his fellow ſervant;* Revel. 22. 9.)

But, what ſaith Cardinall *Bellarmine* now, thinke you, unto theſe teſtimonies of the Fathers? [x] *I ſay,* ſaith he, not knowing indeed what hee ſaith, nor whereof hee affirmeth) *that they doe ſpeake againſt the errours of the Gentiles, who of wicked men did make true Gods; and did offer ſacrifices unto them.* wherein you may diſcerne the juſt hand of God, confounding the mans wits, that would thus abuſe his learning to the upholding of Idolatrie. For had hee beene here his owne man, and not beene ſtrangely overtaken with the ſpirit of ſlumber, hee could not poſſibly have failed ſo fouly, as to reckon the Angels and the Saints, and the very mother of God her ſelfe (of whom theſe Fathers do expreſſely ſpeake, in the number of thoſe *wicked* perſons whom the Gentiles did take for their Gods. And here alſo out of *Epiphanius* we may further obſerve, who were the maſters, or the miſtreſſes rather (for this was [y] *the womans hereſie)*

u Quare honoramus eos charitate, non ſervitute. Nec eis templa conſtruimus. Nolunt enim ſe ſic honorati à nobis, quia noſipſos cùm boni ſumus, templa ſummi Dei eſſe noverunt. Rectè itaq; ſcribitur, hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne ſe adoraret, ſed unum Deum ſub quo ei eſſet & ille conſervus. *Id. ibid.*

x Dico eos loqui contra errores Gentiliũ, qui ex hominibus ſceleratis veros Deos faciebant; eiſque ſacrificia offerebant. *Bellar. de Eccleſ. triumphant. lib. 1. fine cap. 14. collat. cum fine cap. 11.*

y ἡ τῆς γυναικῶν αἵρεσις. *Epiphan. hæreſ. 79. pag. 449.* Οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι τὸ τοιοῦτο διδάσκοντες τίνες εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' ἢ γυναῖκες; *Ibid. pag. 446.*

resie) from whom our Romanists did first learne their *Hyperdulia*, or that transcendent kinde of service wherewith they worship the Virgin *Mary*; namely, the *Collyridians*: [z] so called from the *Collyrides* or *Cakes*, which at a certaine time of the yeare they used to offer unto the blessed Virgin. against whom *Epiphanius* doth thus oppose himselfe. [a] *What Scripture hath delivered any thing concerning this? Which of the Prophets have permitted a man to bee worshipped, that I may not say a woman? For a choise vessell shee is indeed; but yet a woman.* [b] *Let Mary bee in honour; but let the Father and the Sonne and the holy Ghost be worshipped: let no man worship Mary. This mysterie is appointed, I doe not say for a woman, nor yet for a man neither, but for God: the Angels themselves are not capable of such kind of glorifying.* [c] *Let none eate of this errour touching holy Mary. for although the tree be beautifull, yet it is not for meate: and although Mary be most excellent, and holy, and to be honoured, yet is she not to bee worshipped.* [d] *The body of Mary was holy indeed, but not God: the Virgin indeed was a Virgin and honourable; but not given unto us for adoration, but one that did her selfe worship him, who was borne of her in the flesh, and came from heaven out of the bosome of his Father.*

z Id. in Anacephalæosi, pag. 529. Κολλυριδιανοὶ (hoc vocabulum enim ibi addendum) οἱ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ ἀποτεταγμένῃ κολλυρίδας τινὰς προσφέροντες· οἷς ἐπεδεύθα ὄνομα τῇ προξενεῖ αὐτῶν ἀκόλουθον, Κολλυριδιανὸς αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες.

a Ποία δέ τις γραφὴ διηγήσατο περὶ τούτου; ποίου προφητῶν ἐπέτρεψεν ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ γυναῖκα λέγειν; ἐξαίρετον μὲν γὰρ ὄντι τὸ σκεῦος, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ· Id. hæres. 79. pag. 448.

b Ἐν τιμῇ ἔστω Μαρία, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσκυνείσθω, τὸν δὲ Μαρίαν μηδεὶς προσκυνείτω. Οὐ λέγω γυναῖκα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνδρὶ, Θεῷ προσετάκτῳ τὸ μυστήριον. ὅτι ἄγγελοι χωροῦσι δοξολογίαν τοιαύτην. Id. ibid. pag. 449. c Μὴ φαγέτω τις ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης τῆς διὰ Μαρίαν τὴν ἁγίαν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ὡραῖον τὸ ξύλον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς βρῶμα· καὶ εἰ καλλίστη ἡ Μαρία, καὶ ἁγία, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι. Id. ibid. d Ναὶ μὴν ἅγιον ἦν τὸ σῶμα τῆς Μαρίας, ἀλλὰ θεὸς· ναὶ ἡ παρθένος ἦν ἡ παρθένος καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προσκύνησιν ἡμῖν δοθεῖσα, ἀλλὰ προσκυνοῦσα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκὶ γεγεννημένον, ἀπὸ ἐρανῶν ὄντα καὶ ἐκ κόλπων πατρῴων παραγεγονότα. Id. ibid. pag. 447. e Τῆς εἰδωλοπειθοῦς ταύτης αἱρέσεως τὰς ῥίζας ἐκτεμόντες Id. ibid. pag. 446.

Thus did this learned Father labour to [c] *cut the*

roots of this Idolatrous hereſie, when it firſt began to take hold of the feminine ſexe: animating all that were of maſculine ſpirits to the extirpation thereof, in this manner. [f] *Goe to then, ye ſervants of God, let us put on a manlike mind, and beat downe the madneſſe of theſe women.* But when this diſeaſe afterwards had gotten a farther ſpred, and had once throughly ſeized upon men as well as women: it is a moſt wonderfull thing to conſider, into what extremitie this frenzie brake out; after the time of Sathans looſing eſpecially. For then [g] there wanted not ſuch as would interpret that ſpeech of the Angell unto the holy Virgin, *Haile full of grace, the Lord is with thee:* of the *equalitie* of her Empire with her Sonnes. as if it had been ſaid. *Even as he, ſo thou alſo doeſt enjoy the ſame moſt excellent dignitie of ruling.* [h] *In the redundance and effuſion of grace upon the creatures, the Lords power and will is ſo accommodated unto thine, that thou mayeſt ſeeme to bee the firſt in that, both Diadem, and Tribunall. The Lord is with thee: not ſo much thou with the Lord, as the Lord is with thee, in that function.* Then it was taught for good Divinitie, that [i] *from the time wherein the Virgin mother did conceive in her wombe the Word of God, ſhee hath obtained ſuch a kinde of juriſdiction (ſo to ſpeake) or authoritie in*

[f] Ἄγε τάνυν θεοῦ δοῦλοι ἀνδρικὸν φρόνημα ἐνδυσάμεθα, γυναικῶν δὲ τέκνων τὸν μανίαν διαπεδήσωμεν. Id. ibid.

[g] De cujus Imperii ad ſimiles effectus æqualitate cum filio, non deſunt, qui conſtruant illud ab Angelo ipſi prænunciatum; Ave gratiâ plena, Dominus tecum. id eſt, Sicut & ipſe, ita & tu eâdem dominandi excelentiſimâ dignitate perfrueris. *Emanuel de Valle de Moura, Doct. Theol. ac Inquiſitionis Deputatus Luſitan. Opuſc. 1. de Incantationib. ſeu Enſalmis, ſect. 1. cap. 1. num. 46.*

[h] Ad quem ſenſum facilè accommodari poſſunt præcitata Angeli verba; Dominus tecum, gratiâ plena. Id eſt, in gratiæ plenitudine redundantiæ, & effuſione in creaturas, ita Domini potentia ac voluntas ad tuam accommodatur, ut tu prior in eo, & diademate, & tribunali eſſe videaris. Dominus tecum: non tam tu cum Domino, quàm tecum Dominus in eo munere. *Ibid.*

[i] A tempore enim quo Virgo mater concepit in utero Verbum Dei, quandam (ut ſic dicam) juriſdictionem ſeu auctoritatem obtinuit in omni Spiritus Sancti proceſsione temporali; ita quòd nulla creatura aſiquam à Deo obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, niſi ſecundùm ipſius piæ matris diſpenſationem. *Bernardin. Senenſ. ſerm. 61. artic. 1. cap. 8.*

all

all the temporall processiõ of the holy Ghost; that no creature hath obtained any grace or vertue from God, but according to the dispensation of his holy mother. that, [k] *because she is the mother of the Sonne of God who doth produce the holy Ghost; therefore all the gifts, vertues, and graces of the holy Ghost are by her hands administred to whom shee pleaseth, when shee pleaseth, how she pleaseth, and as much as she pleaseth.* That she [l] hath singularly obtained of God this office from eternitie; as her selfe doth testifie, *Proverb.* 8. 23. *I was ordained from everlasting*, namely, *a dispenser of celestiall graces*; and that [m] in this respect, *Cantic.* 7. 4. it is said of her: *thy neck is as a tower of Ivorie*; because that *as by the neck the vitall spirits doe descend from the head into the body; so by the Virgin the vitall graces are transmitted from Christ the head into his mysticall body: the fulnesse of grace beeing in him as in the head from whence the influence commeth, and in her as in the neck through which it is transfused* unto us. So that [n] *take away the patronage of the Virgin, you stop as it were the sinners breath, that he is not able to live any longer.*

k Et quia talis est mater filii Dei qui producit Spiritum sanctum; ideò omnia dona, virtutes & gratiæ ipsius Spiritus sancti quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, & quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur. *Id. ibid.*

l Nulla gratia de cœlo nisi eâ dispensante ad nos descendit. Hoc enim singulariter officium divinitùs ab æterno adepta est: sicut *Proverb.* 8. ipsa testatur, dicens. Ab æterno ordinata sum; sc. dispensatrix cœlestium gratiarum. *Id. ibid. artic.* 3. *cap.* 3. m In Christo fuit plenitudo gratiæ, sicut in capite influente; in Mariâ verò sicut in collo transfundente. Vnde *Cantic.* 7. de Virgine ad Christum Salomon ait: Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Nam sicut per collum vitales spiritus à capite descendunt in corpus; sic per Virginem à capite Christo vitales gratiæ in ejus corpus mysticum transfunduntur. *Id. ibid. artic.* 1. *cap.* 8. *& artic.* 2. *cap.* 10. *ex Pseud-Hieronymi serm. de assumpt. Mariæ.* Sicut enim à capite, mediante collo, descendunt omnia nutrimenta corporis: sic à Christo per beatam Virginem in nos veniunt omnia bona, & beneficia, quæ Deus nobis confert. Nam ipsa est dispensatrix gratiarum & beneficiorum Dei. *Ioan. Herolt. in Sermon. Discipuli de Tempore, serm.* 163. Per Collum, Virginis apud Deum gratia, & intercessio intelligitur: ita ut ejus intercessio sit veluti collum, per quod à Deo omnes gratiæ, præsidiaque in homines transfunduntur. *Blas. Vicgas in Apocalyps. cap.* 12. *comment.* 2. *sect.* 10. *num.* 1. Collum enim dicitur; quia per Virginem universa in nos à Deo tanquam à capite beneficia derivantur. *Id. ibid. num.* 2. n Quasi sublato Virginis patrocinio, perinde atque halitu intercluso, peccator vivere diutius non possit. *Vicgas ibid. sect.* 2. *num.* 6.

Then men ſtuck not to teach, that unto her [o] *all power was given in heaven and in earth.* So that for *heaven*, when our Saviour aſcended thither, this might bee aſſigned for one reaſon (among others) why hee left his mother behinde him: [p] *leſt perhaps the court of Heaven might have beene in a doubt whom they ſhould rather goe to meete, their Lord or their Lady*; and for *earth*, [q] ſhee may rightly apply unto her ſelfe that in the firſt of *Ezra*; *All the Kingdomes of the earth hath the Lord given unto me.* and we may ſay unto her againe, that in *Tob.* 13. *Thy Kingdome endureth for all Ages.* and in the 144. or 145. Pſalme, *Thy Kingdome is a Kingdome of all Ages.* That howſoever ſhe was [r] *the nobleſt perſon that was or ever ſhould bee in the World, and of ſo great perfection, that although ſhee had not beene the Mother of God, ſhee ought nevertheleſſe to have beene the Lady of the world: yet according to the lawes whereby the world is governed, by the right of inheritance ſhee did deſerve the principality and Kingdome of this world.* That [s] *Chriſt never made any legatie of this Monar-*

o Data eſt tibi omnis poteſtas in cœlo & in terrâ. *Petr. Damian. ſerm. 1. de Nativ. B. Mariæ. tom. 5. Surii, Sept. 8.*

p Fortaſsis Domine, ne tuæ cœleſti Curiæ veniret in dubium, cui potiùs occurreret; tibi videlicèt Domino ſuo, regnum tuum in aſſumptâ carne petenti, an ipſi Dominæ ſuæ, ipſum regnum jam ſuum materno jure effectum aſcendenti. *Anſelm. Cantuar. de excell. B. Virg. cap. 7. & eum ſecuti, Bern. de Buſt. in Mariali, part. 11. ſerm. 1. part. 3. & Sebaſt. Barrad. Ieſuit. Concord. Evang. l. 6. c. 11.*

q O igitur Regina noſtra ſereniſsima, profectò tu dicere potes illud, 1. *Eſdr.* 1. Omnia regna terræ dedit mihi Dominus. Et nos tibi dicere poſſumus illud, *Tobi* 13. In omnia ſecula regnum tuum. & *Pſal.* 144. Regnum tuum regnum omnium ſeculorum. &c. & *Dan.* 2. Regnum quod in æternum non diſsipabitur. Veni ergo, & ſuper nos regnum accipe, *Iudit.* 9. De regno enim tuo dici poteſt illud, *Pſal.* 103. Et regnum ipſius omnibus dominabitur. & *Luc.* 1. Et regni ejus non erit finis. *Bernardin. de Buſt. Mariali part.* 12. *ſerm.* 1. *part.* 1.

r Quamvis autem benedicta Virgo fuerit nobilior perſona quæ fuerit vel futura ſit in orbe terrarum, tantæq; perfectionis, quòd etiamſi non fuiſſet mater Dei, nihilominùs debuiſſet eſſe Domina mundi: tamen ſecundùm leges quibus regitur mundus, jure hæreditario omnem mundi hujus meruit principatum & regnum. *Bernardin. Senenſ. ſerm. 61. artic. 1. c. 7.*

ſ De Monarchiâ autem univerſi nunquam Chriſtus teſtatus eſt: eo quòd ſine matris præjudicio nequaquam fieri poterat. Inſuper noverat, quòd poteſt mater filii irritare teſtamentum, ſi in ſui præjudicium ſit confectum. Ex his omnibus apertiſsimè claret, quòd mater Ieſu Maria hæreditario jure omnium qui ſunt infra Deum habet regale dominium & inclytum obtinet principatum. *Id. ibid.*

chie 2

chie: because that could not bee done without the prejudice of his Mother; and hee knew besides, that the Mother could make voyd the Testament of the Sonne, if it were made unto her prejudice. And therefore, that by all this it appeareth most evidently, that Mary the Mother of Iesus, by right of inheritance hath the regall dominion over all that bee under GOD. That [t] as many creatures doe serve the glorious Virgin Mary, as serve the Trinitie. Namely all creatures, whatsoever degree they hold among the things created (whether they be spirituall as angels, or rationall as Men, or corporall as the Heavenly bodies or the Elements) and all things that are in Heaven and in Earth, whether they bee the damned or the blessed: all which beeing brought under the government of God, are subiect likewise unto the glorious Virgin. forasmuch as hee who is the Sonne of God and of the blessed Virgin, beeing willing as it were to equall in some sort his Mothers soveraigntie unto the soveraigntie of his Father; even he who was God, did serve his Mother upon earth. Whence Luk. 2. 51. it is written of the Virgin and glorious Ioseph: He was subject unto them. that as this proposition is true; All things are subject to Gods command, even the Virgin her selfe: so this againe is true also; All things are subject to the command of the Virgin, even God himselfe. that [u] considering the blessed Virgin is the Mother of God and God is her Sonne,

t Tot creaturæ serviunt glorioſæ Virgini Mariæ, quot serviunt Trinitati. Omnes nempe creaturæ, quemcunq; gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut Angeli, sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora cœlestia vel elementa, & omnia quæ sunt in cœlo & in terrâ, sive damnati sive beati, quæ omnia sunt divino imperio subjugata, glorioſæ Virgini sunt subjecta. Ille enim qui Dei filius est & Virginis benedictæ, volens (ut sic dicam) paterno principatui quodammodo principarum æquiparare maternum; ipse qui Deus erat matri famulabatur in terrâ. Vnde Lucæ 3. scriptum est de Virgine & glorioso Ioseph: Erat subditus illis. Prætercà hæc est vera: Divino imperio omnia famulantur & Virgo. Et iterum hæc est vera: Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur & Deus. Id. ibid. cap. 6.

u Cùm beata Virgo sit mater Dei, & Deus filius ejus; & omnis filius sit naturaliter inferior matre & subditus ejus, & mater prælata & superior filio: sequitur quòd ipsa benedicta Virgo sit superior Deo, & ipse Deus sit subditus ejus ratione humanitatis ab eâ assumptæ. Bernardin. de Buſt. Marial. part. 9. serm. 2.

and everie Sonne is naturally inferiour to his Mother and subject unto her, and the Mother hath preeminence and is superiour to her Sonne; it therefore followeth that the blessed Virgin is superiour to God, and God himselfe is subject unto her, in respect of the Manhood which hee assumed from her. that [x] *howsoever shee bee subject unto God inasmuch as she is a creature: yet is she said to be superiour and preferred before him, inasmuch as shee is his Mother.*

Then men were put in minde, that [y] *by sinning after Baptisme they seemed to contemne and despise the Passion of Christ: and so that no sinner doth deserve that Christ should any more make intercession for him to the Father; without whose intercession none can bee delivered either from the Eternall punishment or the Temporall, nor from the fault which hee hath voluntarily committed. And therefore that it was necessary, that Christ should constitute his welbeloved Mother a Mediatrix betwixt us and him.* [z] *and so in this our pilgrimage, there is no other refuge left unto us in our tribulations and adversities, but to have recourse unto the Virgin* Mary *our mediatrix; that shee would appease the wrath of her Sonne.* That [a] *as Hee is ascended into heaven, to appeare in the sight of God for men;* (Hebr. 9.

x. Ipsa benedicta Virgo, licèt sit subjecta Deo inquantum creatura; superior tamen illi dicitur & prælata, inquantum est ejus mater. Vnde Luc. 2. de Christo Deo & homine scriptum est, quòd erat subditus illi. O ineffabilis dignitas Mariæ, quæ imperatori omnium meruit imperare. *Id. part.* 12. *serm.* 2.

y. Peccando post Baptismum videntur contemnere & despicere passionem Christi: & sic nullus peccator mereatur quòd Christus amplius intercedat pro ipso apud Patrem; sine cujus intercessione nemo potest liberari à pœnâ æternâ, nec temporali, nec culpâ quam ipse voluntariè perpetravit. Et ideò fuit necesse ut Christus constitueret matrem suam prædilectam mediatricem inter nos & ipsum. *Iac. de Valent. episc. Christopolit. in expos. Cant. virg. Mariæ.* Magnificat.

z. Et sic in hâc peregrinatione non relinquitur nobis aliud refugium in nostris tribulationibus & adversitatibus, nisi recurrere ad virginem Mariam mediatricem, ut velit placare iram Filii. *Id. ibid.*

a. Sicut ille ibi ascendit ut continuè appareat vultui Dei pro hominibus. *Hebr.* 9. ita ego debeo ibi ascendere, ut appaream vultui ipsius filii pro peccatoribus: & sic humanum genus habeat semper ante faciem Dei adjutorium simile Christo ad procurandam suam salutem. *Bernardin. de Busti. Marial. part.* 11. *serm.* 2. *membr.* 1.

24.) *ſo Shee ought to aſcend thither, to appeare in the ſight of her Sonne for ſinners: that ſo Mankind might have alwayes before the face of* GOD *a Helpe like unto Chriſt for the procuring of his ſalvation.* That [b] *this Empreſſe is of ſo great authoritie in the palace of Heaven, that it is lawfull to appeale unto her from any grievance, all other intermediall Saints omitted. For howſoever according to the Civill law the due meane muſt be obſerved in Appeales: yet in her the ſtile of the Canon law is obſerved, wherein the Pope is appealed unto, any intermediall whatſoever omitted.* That [c] *ſhee is a Chancellour in the Court of heaven: and giveth letters of mercy onely in this preſent life; but for the ſoules that depart from hence, unto ſome letters of pure grace, unto others of ſimple juſtice, and unto ſome mixt of juſtice and grace. For ſome (* ſay they*) were much devoted unto her: and unto them ſhee giveth letters of pure grace, whereby ſhee commandeth glorie to bee given them without any paine of Purgatorie. Others were miſerable ſinners and not devoted to her: and unto them ſhee giveth letters of ſimple juſtice, whereby ſhee commandeth that condigne puniſhment be taken of them. Others*

b Tantæ autem auctoritatis in cœleſti palatio eſt iſta Imperatrix, quòd omnibus aliis Sanctis intermediis omiſſis, ad ipſam licet ab omni gravamine appellare. Licèt enim ſecundùm jura civilia debitum medium ſervetur in appellationibus: (*l.* Imperatores. *ff. de* appel. reci.) tamen in ipſâ ſervatur ſtylus juris Canonici, quo omiſſo quolibet medio appellatur ad ſummum Pontificem. (*c.* ſi duobus. *extra. de* appel.) *Id. part.* 3. *ſerm.* 3. *in excellent.* 4.

c Nos autem dicere poſſumus, quòd beatiſsima Virgo eſt Cancellaria in cœleſti curiâ. Nam videmus quòd in Cancellariâ Domini Papæ conceduntur tria genera literarum. *&c.* Iſtas autem literas miſericordiæ dat (B. Virgo) ſolùm in præſenti vitâ. Nam animabus decedentibus quibuſdam dat literas puræ gratiæ: aliis vero ſimplicis iuſtitiæ, & quibuſdam mixtas, ſc. iuſtitiæ & gratiæ. Quidam enim fuerunt ſibi valde devoti: & iſtis dat literas puræ gratiæ, per quas mandat ut detur eis gloria ſine aliquâ Purgatorii pœnâ. Alii autem fuerunt miſeri peccatores & eius indevoti: & iſtis dat literas ſimplicis iuſtitiæ, per quas mandat ut eis fiat condigna vindicta. Alii vero fuerunt in devotione tepidi & remiſsi: & iſtis dat literas iuſtitiæ & gratiæ ſimul; per quas mandat ut & gratia eis fiat, & tamen illis inferatur aliqua Purgatorii pœna propter negligentiam & torporem. Et iſta ſignificantur in Heſter reginâ, quæ (ut habetur *Heſt.* 8.) ſcripſit literas ut Iudæi ſalvarentur, & hoſtes interficerentur, & pauperibus munuſcula darentur. *Id. part.* 12. *ſerm.* 2. *memb.* 1. *in excellent.* 22.

were luke-warme and remisse in devotion: and to them she giveth letters of justice and grace together; whereby shee commandeth that both favour bee done unto them, and yet some paine of Purgatorie bee inflicted upon them for their negligence and sluggishnesse. And these things they say *are signified in Queene Esther; who wrote letters that the Iewes should be saved, and the enemies should bee killed, and to the poore small gifts should be given.* Yea further also, [d] where King *Assuerus* did profer unto the said *Esther* even the *halfe of his Kingdome:* (Esth. 5°3.) thereby they say was signified that God bestowed halfe of his Kingdom upon the blessed Virgin. that *having Iustice and Mercie as the chiefest goods of his Kingdome, hee retained Iustice unto himselfe, and granted Mercy unto her:* and [e] *therefore that if a man do finde himselfe aggrieved in the court of Gods Iustice, hee may appeale to the court of Mercie of his Mother:* shee beeing that [f] *throne of grace,* whereof the Apostle speaketh, *Hebr.* 4. 16. *Let us goe boldly unto the throne of Grace, that wee may receive Mercie, and finde Grace to helpe in time of neede.*

They tell us, that [g] *it is for the ornament of an*

d Confugimus autem primò ad beatissimam Virginem cœlorum Reginã; cui rex Regum, pater cœlestis, dimidium regni sui dedit. Quod significatum est in Hester Reginâ: quæ cùm ad placandum Assuerum regem accessisset, dixit ei Rex; Etiam si dimidiam partem regni mei petieris, dabitur tibi. Sic pater cœlestis, cùm habeat iustitiam & misericordiam tanquam potiora regni sui bona; iustitiâ sibi retentâ, misericordiam matri Virgini concessit. *Gabr. Biel in Canon. Missæ, lect.* 80. *Vide Iohan. Gerson. tract.* 4. *super* Magnificat. e Ista imperatrix figuravit imperatricem cœlorum, cum quâ Deus regnum suum divisit. Cùm enim Deus habeat iustitiam & misericordiam: iustitiam sibi in hoc mundo exercendam retinuit, & misericordiam matri concessit. Et ideò si quis sentit se gravari à foro iustitiæ Dei, appellet ad forum misericordiæ matris eius. *Bernardin. de Bust. Mariał. part.* 3. *serm.* 3. *in excellent.* 4. f *Id. ibid. excellent.* 5. *& part.* 5. *serm.* 7. *in fine.* g Ad ornamentum regni terreni est, quòd habeat Regem & Reginam. Et propter hoc quando aliquis rex non habet uxorem, eius subditi plerunq; ei supplicant ut eam accipiat. Supernum ergo cœlorum regnum volens Rex æternus & Imperator omnipotens decorare; fabricavit hanc beatissimam Virginem, ut illam regni & imperii sui faceret Dominam & Imperatricem: ut verificaretur prophetia Davìd, *Psal.* 44. ei dicentis; Astitit regina à dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate. *Id. part.* 9. *serm.* 2.

earthly

earthly Kingdome, that it ſhould have both a King and a Queene: and therefore when any King hath not a wife, his Subjects often doe requeſt him to take one. Hereupon they ſay, that *the eternall King and omnipotent Emperour minding to adorne the Kingdome of Heaven above, did frame this bleſſed Virgin, to the end hee might make her the Lady and Empreſſe of his Kingdome and Empire: That the propheſie of David might bee verified, ſaying unto her in the* Pſalme: *Vpon thy right hand did ſtand the Queene in clothing of Gold.* That [h] *ſhee is an Empreſſe, becauſe ſhee is the ſpouſe of the eternall Emperour: of whom it is ſaid,* Ioh. 3. 29. *Hee that hath the Bride is the Bridegroome.* and that *when God did deliver unto her the Empyre of the world and all the things contayned therein; hee ſaid unto her that which wee reade in the firſt of the Æneids:*

His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
Imperium ſine fine dedi.

That ſhee is [i] the Empreſſe alſo *of Heaven and Earth, becauſe ſhe did beare the heavenly Emperour: and therefore that ſhee can aske of him what ſhe will and obtaine it.* That *this was figured in the hiſtory of the Kings, where the Mother of* Salomon *ſaid unto him: I deſire one petition of thee, doe not confound my face: for then ſhould he confound her face, if hee did denie that which ſhee requeſted.* and that, *if in reſpect of her maternall juriſdiction ſhee hath command of her Sonne, who was ſubject unto her: (as we reade,* Luke 2. 51.*) then much more hath ſhe command over all the creatures that are ſubject to her*

h Eſt etiam Imperatrix, quia æterni Imperatoris eſt ſponſa; de quo dicitur Iohan. 3. *cap.* Qui habet ſponſam, ſponſus eſt. Quando verò Deus illi tradidit imperium orbis & omnium contentorum in eo: dixit ei illud quod habetur 1. Ænid. *Id. part. 3. ſerm. 3. in excellent. 4.*

i Beata Virgo eſt imperatrix cœli & terræ: quia ipſa genuit cœleſtem Imperatorem. Et ideò poteſt ab eo petere quicquid vult & obtinere. quod figuratum fuit 3. Reg. 2. ubi mater Salomonis dixit ei: Petitionem unam peto à te; ne confundas faciem meam. tunc enim faciem ſuam confunderet, quando illud quod peteret denegaret. Si ergo imperat filio ratione maternalis juriſdictionis, qui fuit ſubditus illi (ut habetur *Luc.* 2.) multo magis imperat omnibus creaturis filio ſuo ſubiectis. *Id. ibid.*

Sonne.

Sonne. That this[k] *mighty God did* (*as farre as hee might*) *make his Mother partner of his divine Majesty & power: giving unto her of olde the soveraignetie both of celestiall things and mortall: ordering at her pleasure* (*as the patronage of men did require*) *the Earth, the Seas, Heaven, and Nature: at her liking, and by her, bestowing upon mortall-men his divine treasures and heavenly gifts. So as all might understand, that whatsoever doth flow into the earth from that eternall and glorious Fountaine of good things, doth flow by* MARY. That [l] *shee is constituted over every creature, and whosoever boweth his knee unto* IESVS, *doth fall downe also and supplicate unto his Mother: so that the glory of the Sonne may be judged not so much to bee common with the Mother, as to be the very same.* That [m] *so great is her glory, that shee exceedeth the nature of Angels and Men, joyned together, as farre in glory, as the circumference of the firmament exceedeth his center in magnitude: when shee understandeth her selfe in her Sonne to bee, as his other selfe, clothed with the Deitie.* That shee being [n] *the mother of God, doth assume unto her selfe of the omnipotency of her Sonne* (*upon which shee leaneth*) *as much as shee pleaseth.* and that shee [o] *doth come before the*

k Matrem quippe suam præpotens ille Deus divinæ majestatis potestatisque sociam, quatenus licuit, adscivit. Huic olim cœlestium, mortaliumq; principatum detulit: ad huius arbitrium (quoad hominum tutela postulat) terras, maria, cœlum, naturamque moderatur: hâc annuente, & per hanc divinos thesauros mortalibus, & cœlestia dona largitur. Vt omnes intelligant, quicquid ab æterno illo augustoq; bonorum fonte in terras profluat, fluere per MARIAM. *Horat. Tursellin. Iesuit. in epist. dedicat. Historiæ Lauretanæ ad Cardinalem Aldobrandinum.* l Constitutus quippe est super omnem creaturam; & quicunq; IESV curvat genu, matri quoque pronus supplicat: & filii gloriam cum matre non tam communem iudico, quàm eandem. *Arnold. Carnoten. tract. de laudib. Virginis.* m Tanta est gloria Virginis matris Dei; quod tantum excedit in gloriâ naturam angelicam & humanam simul junctam, quantum circumferentia firmamenti excedit in magnitudine suum centrum: cùm intelligat in filio suo se quasi alterum ipsum Deitate vestitam. *Bernardin. de Bust. Marial. part.* 12. *serm.* 2. *in excellent.* 21. n Qui enim alicui rei innititur, virtutem eius sibi assumit, & eâ sicut vult utitur. Et similiter ipsa Dei mater de omnipotentiâ filii sui cui est innixa, quantum vult sibi assumit. *Id. part.* 12. *serm.* 2. *in excellent.* 28. o Accedis ante illud aureum humanæ reconciliationis altare, non solùm rogans, sed imperans; Domina, non ancilla. *Petr. Damian. serm.* 1. *de nativit. B. Mariæ.*

golden

golden altar of humaine reconciliation, not intreating onely, but commanding; a Miſtreſſe, not a Maid.

They tell us, that the bleſſed Virgin her ſelfe appeared once unto *Thomas Becket*, & uſed this ſpeech unto him. P *Rejoyce & be glad, and be joyfull with me: becauſe my glory doth excell the dignitie and joy of all the Saints and all the bleſſed ſpirits; and I alone have greater glory than all the Angels & Saints together. Rejoyce, becauſe that as the Sunne doth inlighten the day & the world, ſo my brightneſſe doth inlighten the whole celeſtiall world. Rejoyce, becauſe the whole hoaſt of Heaven obeyeth me, reverenceth and honoureth me. Rejoyce, becauſe my Sonne is alwayes obedient unto me, and my will, and all my prayers he alwayes heareth.* (or as others doe relate it: * *The will of the bleſſed Trinitie and mine is one and the ſame; and whatſoever doth pleaſe me, the whole Trinitie with unſpeakable favour doth give conſent unto.*) *Rejoyce, becauſe God doth alwayes at my pleaſure reward my ſervitors in this world, and in the world to come. Rejoyce, becauſe I ſit next to the holy Trinitie, and am clothed with my body glorified. Rejoyce, becauſe I am certaine and ſure that theſe my joyes ſhall alwayes ſtand and never be finiſhed or fayle. And whoſoever*

P Gaude & lætare, ac exulta mecum; quia gloria mea excellit dignitatem & lætitiam omnium ſanctorum & cunctorum ſpirituum beatorum, & maiorem gloriam habeo ipſa ſola quàm omnes ſimul Angeli & Sancti. Gaude, quia ſicut Sol illuminat diem ac mundum, ſic claritas mea illuminat totum orbem cœleſtem. Gaude, quia tota militia cœli mihi obedit, me veneratur & honorat. Gaude, quia filius meus mihi ſemper eſt obediens, & meam voluntatem, & cunctas preces meas ſemper exaudit. Gaude, quia Deus ſemper ad beneplacitum meum remunerat ſervitores meos in hoc ſeculo & in futuro. Gaude, quia proxima ſedeo ſanctæ Trinitati, & veſtita ſum corpore meo glorificato. Gaude, quia certa ſum & ſecura, quòd hæc mea gaudia ſemper ſtabunt & nunquam finientur vel deficient. Et quicunq; cum his gaudiis ſpiritualibus lætando in hoc ſeculo me venerabitur, in exitu animæ ſuæ de corpore præſentiam meam obtinebit; & ipſam animam ab hoſtibus malignis liberabo, & in conſpectu filii mei ut mecum gaudia poſſideat præſentabo. *Bernardin. de Buſi. Marial. part. 10. ſerm. 2. ſect. ult.* * Quòd ſummæ Trinitatis & mea eſt una voluntas; & quodcunq; mihi placuerit, tota Trinitas ineffabili favore conſentit. *Promptuar. Diſcipuli, de miraculis B. Mariæ, exempl. 14.* (*pag. 8. edit. Moguntin. ann. 1612.*)

by

by rejoycing with these spirituall joyes shall worship mee in this world, at the time of the departure of his soule out of the body hee shall obtaine my presence: and I will deliver his soule from the malignant enemies, and present it in the sight of my Sonne, that it may possesse joyes with me. They tell us, *that many* (q *many whoores* for example, that *would not sinne on Saturday, for the reverence of the Virgin*; whatsoever they did on the Lords day) *seeme to have the blessed Virgin in greater veneration than* Christ *her Sonne*; *moved thereunto out of simplicitie more than out of knowledge. Yet that the Sonne of God doth beare with the simplicitie of these men and women*: becausse he is not ignorant, that *the honour of the Mother doth redound to the Child.* (Prov. 17. 6.) They argue further, that r *if a Cardinall have this priviledge, that if hee put his Cap upon the head of one that is ledde unto Iustice, he is freed thereby: then by an argument drawne from the stronger, the cloake of the blessed Virgin is able to deliver us from all evill: her mercy being so large, that if shee should see any man who did devoutly make her Crowne* (that is to say, repeate the Rosarie or Chaplet of prayers made for her worship) *to be drawne unto punishment in the midst of a thousand Divels*; *she would presently rescue him, and not permit that any one should have an evill end, who did study reverently to make her Crowne.* They adde more-

q Multæ meretrices in die Sabbati non peccarent propter reverentiam Virginis. Et multi videntur beatam Virginem in maiori veneratione habere, quàm Christum filium eius; magis ex simplicitate moti quam scientiâ. Sed quia honor matris redundat in filium, *Prov.* 17. patientiam habet filius Dei, de hâc quorundam virorum & mulierum simplicitate. *Bernardin. de Busti part.* 6. *serm.* 2. *memb.* 3.

r Si hoc privilegium habet Cardinalis, quòd si ponat pileum sive capellum suum super caput illius qui ducitur ad iustitiam, liberatur: (secundùm Baldum & Paulum de Castro, in l. addictos. C. de appel.) à fortiori, pallium beatæ Virginis potest nos ab omnibus malis liberare. Tam lata enim est eius misericordia, quòd si aliquem devotè facientem Coronam suam viderit in medio millium dæmonum trahi ad supplicium; eum protinùs liberabit: nec permittet aliquem malè finiri, qui eius Coronam reverenter studuerit facere. *Id. part.* 12. *serm.* 1. *memb.* 3.

over

over, that [f] *for every of these Crownes* a man shall obtaine 273758. *dayes of Indulgence*: and that *Pope Sixtus the fourth granted an Indulgence of twelve thousand yeares for every time that a man in the state of grace should repeat this short orizon or salutation of the Virgin, which by many is inserted into her Crowne. Haile most holy Mary, the mother of God, the Queene of heaven, the gate of Paradise, the Lady of the world. Thou art a singular and pure Virgin: thou didst conceive Christ without sinne: thou didst beare the Creator and Saviour of the world, in whom I doe not doubt. Deliver mee from all evill, and pray for my sinnes. Amen.*

In the *Crowne* composed by *Bonaventure*, this is one of the orizons that is prescribed to bee said. [t] *O Empresse and our most kinde Lady, by the authority of a mother command thy most beloved Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, that hee would vouchsafe to lift up our minds from the love of earthly things unto heavenly desires.* which is sutable unto that Versicle which wee reade in the 35. Psalme, of his Ladies Psalter. [u] *Incline the countenance of God upon us: compell him to have mercie upon sinners.* the harshnesse whereof our Romanists have a little qualified in some of their editions, reading thus. [x] *Incline the countenance of thy Sonne upon us: compell him by thy prayers to have mercy upon us sinners.* The psalmes of this Psalter doe all of them

[f] Sic in summâ erunt ducenta septuaginta tria millia septingenti quinquaginta octo dies indulgentiæ pro qualibet Coronâ. Felicis autem recordationis Sixtus Papa quartus, omnibus dicentibus in statu gratiæ infra scriptam orationem sive salurationem ipsius Virginis, quæ à multis dicitur in Coronâ, concessit indulgentiam duodecim millium annorum pro qualibet vice quâ dicitur. Ave sanctissima Maria, mater Dei, regina cœli, porta paradisi, domina mundi. Singularis & pura tu es Virgo. Tu concepisti Christum sine peccato. Tu peperisti creatorem & salvatorem mundi, in quo non dubito. Libera me ab omni malo; & ora pro peccatis meis. Amen. *Ibid.* t O Imperatrix & Domina nostra benignissima, jure matris impera tuo dilectissimo filio Domino nostro Iesu Christo, ut mentes nostras ab amore terrestrium ad cœlestia desideria erigere dignetur. *Bonaventur. Corona B. Mariæ Virginis, Operum. tomo 6. edit. Rom. an.* 1588. u Inclina vultum Dei super nos: coge illum peccatoribus misereri. *Id. in Psalterio B. Mariæ Virg. ibid.* x inclina vultum filii tui super nos: coge illum precibus nobis peccatoribus misereri. *Psalter. Bonavent. seorsim edit. Parisiis, an.* 1596. *in Capeleto Dominicæ 2.*

them begin as *Davids* doe: but with this maine difference, that where the Prophet in the one aymeth at the advancement of the honour of our *Lord*, the Friar in the other applieth all to the magnifying of the power & goodneſſe of our *Ladie*. So in the firſt Pſalme: [y] *Bleſſed is the man* (quoth *Bonaventure*) *that loveth thy name, O Virgin Mary: thy grace ſhall comfort his ſoule*; and in the others following. [z] *Lady, how are they multiplied that trouble mee? with thy tempeſt ſhalt thou perſecute and ſcatter them.* [a] *Lady, ſuffer mee not to be rebuked in the furie of God; nor to be judged in his wrath.* [b] *My Lady, in thee have I put my truſt: deliver mee from mine enemies, O Lady.* [c] *In our Lady put I my truſt; for the ſweetneſſe of the mercy of her name.* [d] *How long wilt thou forget mee, O Lady, and not deliver mee in the day of tribulation?* [e] *Preſerve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my truſt: and impart unto me the drops of thy grace.* [f] *I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth: and I will call upon thy name among the Nations.* [g] *The heavens declare thy glory: and the fragrance of thine ointments is ſpred among the Nations.* [h] *Heare us, Lady, in the day of trouble: and turne thy mercifull face unto our prayers.* [i] *Vnto thee, O Lady, have I lifted up my ſoule: in the judgement of God, by thy prayers, I ſhall not be aſhamed.* [k] *Iudge me,*

y Beatus vir qui diligit nomen tuum Maria Virgo: gratia tua animam eius confortabit. *Pſal.* 1.

z Domina, quid multiplicati ſunt qui tribulant me? in tempeſtate tuâ perſequeris & diſsipabis eos. *Pſal.* 3.

a Domina, ne in furore Dei ſinas corripi me; neque in irâ eius iudicari. *Pſal.* 6.

b Domina mea, in te ſperavi: de inimicis meis libera me Domina. *Pſal.* 7.

c In Dominâ confido, propter dulcedinem miſericordiæ nominis ſui. *Pſal.* 10. d Vſquequo Domina obliviſceris me; & non liberas me in die tribulationis. *Pſal.* 12. e Conſerva me Domina, quoniam ſperavi in te: mihique tuæ ſtillicidia gratiæ impartire. *Pſal.* 15. f Diligam te, Domina cœli & terræ: & in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. *Pſal.* 17. g Cœli enarrant gloriam tuam: & unguentorum tuorum fragrantia in gentibus eſt diſperſa. *Pſal.* 18. h Exaudias nos Domina in die tribulationis: & precibus noſtris converte clementem faciem tuam. *Pſal.* 19. i Ad te Domina levavi animam meam: in iudicio Dei, tuis precibus non erubeſcam. *Pſal.* 24. k Iudica me Domina, quoniam ab innocentiâ meâ digreſſus ſum: ſed quia ſperabo in te, non infirmabor. *Pſal.* 25.

Lady,

Lady, for I have departed from mine innocency : but becauſe I will truſt in thee, I ſhall not be weakened. l *In thee, O Lady, have I put my truſt, let me never be confounded: in thy favour receive mee. Bleſſed are they whoſe hearts doe love thee, O Virgin Mary: their ſinnes by thee ſhall mercifully be waſhed away.* m *Ladie, judge thoſe that hurt mee: and riſe up againſt them, and plead my cauſe.* n *Wayting have I waited for thy grace: and thou haſt done unto mee according to the multitude of the mercy of thy name.* o *Lady, thou art our refuge in all our neceſſities; and the powerfull ſtrength treading downe the enemie.* p *Have mercy upon me, O Lady, who art called the mother of mercy & according to the bowels of thy mercies, cleanſe me from all mine iniquities.* q *Save me, Lady, by thy name; and deliver me from mine unrighteouſneſſe.* r *Have mercie upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me : becauſe my heart is prepared to ſearch out thy will: and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I reſt.* s *Let* Mary *ariſe; and let her enemies be ſcattered: let them all be trodden downe under her feet.* t *In thee, O Lady, have I put my truſt, let me never be put to confuſion: deliver mee in thy mercy, and cauſe me to eſcape.* u *Give the king thy Iudgement, O God, and thy Mercy to the Queene his Mother.* x *Lady, the Gen-*

l In te Domina ſperavi, non confundar in æternum: in gratiâ tuâ ſuſcipe me. *Pſal.*30.

m Beati quorum corda te diligunt, virgo Maria: peccata ipſorum à te miſericorditer diluentur. *Pſal.*31.

n Iudica Domina nocentes me: & contra eos exurge, & vindica cauſam meam. *Pſal.*34.

o Expectans expectavi gratiam tuam: & feciſti mihi ſecundùm multitudinem miſericordiæ nominis tui. *Pſal.* 39.

p Domina refugium noſtrum tu es in omni neceſsitate noſtrâ; & virtus potentior conterens inimicum. *Pſal.*45. q Miſereri mei Domina, quæ mater miſericordiæ nuncuparis: & ſecundùm viſcera miſericordiarum tuarum, munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis. *Pſalm.*50. r Domina in nomine tuo ſalvum me fac: & ab injuſtitiis meis libera me. *Pſal.* 53. ſ Miſerere mei Domina, miſerere mei: quia paratum eſt cor meum exquirere voluntatem tuam: & in umbrâ alarum tuarum requieſcam. *Pſal.* 56. t Exurgat Maria, & diſſipentur inimici ejus: conterantur omnes ſub pedibus ejus. *Pſal.*67. u In te Domina ſperavi, non confundar in æternum: in tuâ miſericordiâ libera me, & eripe me. *Pſal.*70. x Deus judicium tuum Regi da; & miſericordiam tuam Reginæ matri ejus. *Pſal.* 71. y Domina, venerunt Gentes in hæreditatem Dei: quas in meritis tuis Chriſto confœderaſti. *Pſal.*78.

tiles

tiles are come into the inheritance of God: whom thou by thy merits haſt confederated unto Chriſt. [z] Thy mercies, O Lady, will I ſing for ever. [a] God is the Lord of revenges: but thou the mother of Mercie doeſt bow him to take pitie. [b] O come let us ſing unto our Lady: let us make a joyfull noyſe to Mary our Queene that brings ſalvation. [c] O ſing unto our Lady a new ſong: for ſhee hath done marvailous things. [d] O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: give thanks unto his mother, for her mercy endureth for ever. [e] Lady, diſpiſe not my prayſe: and vouchſafe to accept this Pſalter which is dedicated unto thee. [f] The Lord ſaid unto our Lady: ſit thou, my mother, at my right hand. [g] They that truſt in thee, O mother of God, ſhall not feare from the face of the enemy. [h] Except our Lady build the houſe of our heart: the building thereof will not continue. [i] Bleſſed are all they who feare our Lady: and bleſſed are all they who know to doe thy will, and thy good pleaſure. [k] Out of the deepe have I cryed unto thee, O Lady: Lady heare my voyce. [l] Lady, remember David, and all that call upon thy name. [m] O give thankes unto the Lord, becauſe he is good: becauſe by his moſt ſweete mother the Virgin Mary is his Mercy given. [n] Bleſſed be thou, O Lady, which teacheſt thy ſervants to warre; and ſtrengtheneſt them againſt

z Miſericordias tuas, Domina, in ſempiternum decantabo. *Pſal.* 88.

a Deus ultionum Dominus: ſed tu Mater miſericordiæ ad miſerandum inflectis. *Pſal.* 93.

b Venite, exultemus Dominæ noſtræ: jubilemus ſalutiferæ Mariæ Reginæ noſtræ. *Pſal.* 94.

c Cantate Dominæ noſtræ canticum novum: quia mirabilia fecit. *Pſal.* 97.

d Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus: confitemini matri ejus, quoniam in ſeculum miſericordia ejus. *Pſal.* 106. & 117.

e Domina, laudem meam ne deſpexeris: & hoc dedicatum tibi Pſalterium digneris acceptare. *Pſal.* 108. f Dixit Dominus Dominæ noſtræ: ſede mater mea à dextris meis. *Pſal.* 109. g Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici. *Pſal.* 124. h Niſi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis noſtri: non permanebit ædificium ejus. *Pſal.* 126. i Beati omnes qui timent Dominam noſtram: & beati omnes qui ſciunt facere voluntatem tuam, & beneplacitum tuum. *Pſal.* 127. k De profundis clamavi ad te Domina: Domina exaudi vocem meam. *Pſal.* 129. l Memento Domina David; & omnium invocantium nomen tuum. *Pſal.* 131. m Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus eſt: quoniam per ſuam dulciſſimam matrem Virginem Mariam datus miſericordia eius. *Pſal.* 135. n Benedicta ſis Domina, quæ inſtruis ſervos tuos ad prælium: & eos roboras contra inimicum. *Pſal.* 143.

the

the enemy. and ſo the laſt Pſalme is begun with, • *Praiſe our Lady in her Saints; praiſe her in her vertues and miracles:* and ended accordingly, with, *Omnis ſpiritus laudet Dominam noſtram. Let every ſpirit* (or, *every thing that hath breath*) *praiſe our Lady.*

o Laudate Dominam in Sanctis ejus: laudate eam in virtutibus & miraculis eius. *Pſal.* 150.

To this we may adjoyne the p *Pſalter of the ſalutations of the Virgin*, framed by *Iohn Peckham* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which is not yet printed. His preface he beginneth thus:

p Pſalterium meditationum B. Mariæ, vocatur à Io. Pitſio, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptorib. pag. 380.

Mente concipio laudes preſcribere
Sanctæ Virginis; quæ nos à carcere
Solvit per filium, genus in genere
Miri vivificans effectus opere.

and endeth with a prayer to the bleſſed Virgin, that ſhee would *releaſe the ſinnes of all thoſe for whom hee prayed, and cauſe both his owne name and theirs to bee written in the booke of life.*

Nec non & omnibus relaxes crimina,
Pro quibus ſupplicans fundo precamina:
Noſtrumq; pariter & horum nomina
Conſcribi facias in vitæ paginâ.

Then followeth his firſt Pſalme; wherein hee praieth, that ſhe would *make us to meditate often Gods Law*, and afterwards *to be made bleſſed in the glory of Gods Kingdome.*

Ave Virgo virginum parens abſq; pari,
Sine viri ſemine digna fœcundari:
Fac nos legem Domini crebrò meditari,
Et in regni gloriâ beatificari.

His other 149. Pſalmes (which are fraught with the ſame kinde of ſtuffe) I paſſe over. But *Bernardinus*

de Senis his boldneſſe may not bee forgotten: who thinketh that [q] God will give him leave to maintaine, that *the Virgin* Mary *did more unto him, or at leaſt as much, as he himſelfe did unto all Mankinde*; and *that wee may ſay for our comfort* (forſooth) *that in reſpect of the bleſſed Virgin* (*whom* GOD *himſelfe did make notwithſtanding*) GOD *after a ſort is more bound unto us, than wee are unto him.* With which abſurd and wretched ſpeculation *Bernardinus de Buſti* after him was ſo well pleaſed: that hee dareth to revive againe this moſt odious compariſon, and propoſe it afreſh in this ſaucie maner. [r] *But O moſt gratefull Virgin, didſt not thou ſomething to God? Didſt not thou make him any recompence? Truely (if it bee lawfull to ſpeake it) thou in ſome reſpect didſt greater things to God, than God himſelfe did to thee and to all mankind. I will therefore ſpeake that, which thou out of thy humilitie haſt paſt in ſilence. For thou onely didſt ſing: He that is mightie hath done to me great things. but I doe ſing and ſay: that thou haſt done greater things to him that is mightie.* Neither is that viſion much better, which the [s] ſame author reciteth as ſhewed to Saint *Francis*, or (as [t] others would have it) to his companion Friar *Lion*; touching the two Ladders that reached from earth unto heaven. The one *red*, upon

q Sola benedicta virgo Maria plus fecit Deo vel tantùm (ut ſic dicam) quàm fecit Deus tòti generi humano. Credo etenim certè quòd mihi indulgebit Deus, ſi nunc pro Virgine loquar. Congregemus in unum quæ Deus homini fecit: & conſideremus quæ Maria virgo Domino ſatisfecit. &c. Reddendo ergo ſingula ſingulis, ſc. quæ fecit Deus homini, & quæ fecit Deo beata Virgo; videbis quòd plus fecit Maria Deo, quàm homini Deus: ut ſic pro ſolatio dicere liceat, quòd propter beatam Virginem, quam tamen ipſe fecit, Deus quodammodo plus obligetur nobis, quam nos ſibi. *Bernardin. Senenſ. ſerm.* 61. *artic.* 1. *cap.* 11. r Sed ô virgo gratiſsima, nunquid tu aliquid feciſti Deo? Nunquid vicem ei reddidiſti? Profectò (ſi fas eſt dicere) tu ſecundùm quid majora feciſti Deo, quàm ipſe Deus tibi & univerſo generi humano. Volo ergo ego dicere, quod tu ex humilitate reticuiſti. Tu enim ſolùm cecinisti; Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens eſt: ego verò cano & dico; Quia tu feciſti majora ei qui potens eſt. *Bernardin. de Buſt. Marial. part.* 6. *ſerm.* 2. *membr.* 3. ſ *Id. part.* 9. *ſerm.* 2. *aſſimilat.* 2. t *Speculum vitæ Franciſci & ſociorum ejus: part.* 2. *cap.* 45. *edit. Gulielmi Spoelberch. Item, Speculum exemplorum, diſt.* 7. *exempl.* 41.

which

which *Christ* leaned : from whence many fell backward, and could not aſcend. The other *white*, upon which the holy *Virgin* leaned : the helpe whereof ſuch as uſed, *were by her received with a cheerefull countenance, and ſo with facilitie aſcended into Heaven.* Neither yet that ſentence, which came firſt from *Anſelme*, and was after him uſed by *Ludolphus Saxo* the *Carthuſian*, and *Chryſoſtomus à Viſitatione* the *Ciſtercian* Monke : that [u] *more preſent reliefe is ſometimes found by commemorating the name of Mary, than by calling upon the name of our Lord Ieſus her onely Sonne.* Which one of [x] our Ieſuites is ſo far from being aſhamed to defend, that he dareth to extend it further to the mediation of other Saints alſo : telling us verie peremptorily, that *as our Lord Ieſus worketh greater miracles by his Saints than by himſelfe :* (Ioh. 14. 12.) *ſo often he ſheweth the force of their interceſſion more than of his owne.*

u Velocior eſt nonnunquam ſalus memorato nomine Mariæ, quàm invocato nomine Domini Ieſu unici Filii ſui. *Anſelm. de excellentiâ B. Virginis, cap. 6. Ludolph. Carthuſian. de Vitâ Chriſti, part. 2. cap. 68. & Chryſoſtom. à Viſitatione, de Verbis Dominæ, tom. 2. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

x *Henr. Fitz-Simon*, of the Maſſe. *lib. 2. part. 2. chap. 3.*

All which I doe lay downe thus largely, not becauſe I take any delight in rehearſing thoſe things, which deſerve rather to be buried in everlaſting oblivion : but *firſt*, that the world may take notice, what kinde of monſter is nouriſhed in the Papacie under that ſtrange name of *Hyperdulia :* the bare diſcoverie wherof, I am perſwaded, wil prevaile as much with a mind that is touched with any zeal of Gods honor, as all other arguments & authorities whatſoever. *Secondly*, that ſuch unſtable ſoules as look backe unto *Sodome*, and have a luſt to returne unto *Ægypt* againe, may be adviſed to looke a little into this ſinke, and conſider with themſelves whether the ſteame that ariſeth from thence be not ſo noyſome, that it is not

to be indured by one that hath any ſenſe left in him of pietie. And *thirdly*, that ſuch as bee eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth, may bee thankefull to God for this great mercy vouchſafed unto them; and make this ſtill one part of their prayers. From all Romiſh *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia*, good Lord deliver us.

OF IMAGES.

WIth *Prayer to Saints*, our Challenger joyneth *the uſe of holy Images*: which what it hath beene and ſtill is in the Church of *Rome*, ſeeing hee hath not beene pleaſed to declare unto us in particular, I hope hee will give us leave to learne from others. [a] *It is the Doctrine then of the Roman Church, that the Images of Chriſt and the Saints ſhould with pious Religion be worſhipped by Chriſtians*: ſaith *Zacharias Boverius* the *Spaniſh* Friar, in his late *Conſultation* directed to our moſt noble Prince *Charles*, [b] *the Hope of the Church of England*, and [c] *the future felicitie of the World*; as even this *Balaam* himſelfe doth ſtyle him. The repreſentations of *God*, and of *Chriſt*, and of *Angels*, and of *Saints*, [d] *are not onely painted that they may be ſhewed as the Cherubims were of old in the Temple, but that they may be adored*; *as the frequent uſe of the Church doth teſtifie*: ſaith Cardinall *Cajetan*. So *Thomas Arundell* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in his Provinciall Councell held at *Oxford* in

a Doctrina eſt Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Chriſti & Sanctorum Imagines piâ Religione à Chriſtianis colendas eſſe. *Zach. Boverius, in Orthodoxâ Conſultat. de ratione veræ Fidei & Religionis amplectandâ. part. 2. Regul. 1. pag. 189. edit. Matrit. an. 1623.*

b Sereniſſimæ Carolo, ſpes Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ. *Id. part. 1. Regul. 4. pag. 58.*

c Princeps futura orbis fœlicitas. *Id. part. 2. Regul. 2. pag. 196.*

d Non ſolùm pinguntur, ut oſtendantur, ſicut Cherubim olim in templo, ſed ut adorentur: ut frequens uſus Eccleſiæ teſtatur. *Cajetan. in 3. part. Thomæ, queſt. 25. artic. 3.*

the

the yeere 1408. eſtabliſhed this Conſtitution following. * *From henceforth let it be taught commonly and preached by all, that the Croſſe and the Image of the Crucifixe and the reſt of the Images of the Saints, in memorie and honour of them whom they figure, as alſo their places and Reliques, ought to bee worſhipped with proceſſions, bendings of the knee, bowings of the body, incenſings, kiſſings, offerings, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages; together with all other manners and formes whatſoever, as hath beene accuſtomed to be done in our or our predeceſſors times.* And in the *Romane Catechiſme* ſet out by the appointment of the Councel of *Trent*, [e] the Pariſh Prieſt is required to declare unto his Pariſhioners, *not onely that it is lawfull to have Images in the Church, and to give honour and worſhip unto them (for aſmuch as the honour which is done unto them, is referred unto the things which they repreſent) but alſo that this hath ſtill been done to the great good of the faithfull.* and that [f] *the Images of the Saints are put in Churches, aſwell that they may bee worſhipped, as that we being admoniſhed by their example, might confirme our ſelves unto their life and manners.*

Now for the manner of this worſhip, wee are told by one of their Biſhops; that [g] *it muſt not onely bee*

* Ab omnibus deinceps doceatur communiter atque prædicetur, Crucem & Imaginem Crucifixi cæteraſq; Imagines Sanctorum, in ipſorum memoriam & honorem quos figurant, ac ipſorum loca & reliquias proceſsionibus, genuflexionibus, inclinationibus, thurificationibus, deoſculationibus, oblationibus, luminarium accenſionibus, & peregrinationibus, nec non aliis quibuſcunq; modis & formis quibus noſtris & prædeceſſorum noſtrorum temporibus fieri conſuevit, venerari debere. *Guilhelm. Lyndewode Provincial. lib. 5. de Hæretic. cap.* Nullus quoque. e Non ſolùm autem licere in Eccleſiâ imagines habere, & illis honorem & cultum adhibere, oſtendet Parochus (cum honos qui illis exhibetur, referatur ad prototypa) verum etiam maximo fidelium bono ad hanc uſque diem factum declarabit. *Catechiſm. Roman. part. 3. cap. 2. ſect. 14.* f Sanctorum quoque imagines in templis poſitas demonſtrabit; ut & colantur, & exemplo moniti, ad eorum vitam ac mores nos ipſos conformemus. *Ibid.* g Ergo non ſolùm fatendum eſt, fideles in Eccleſiâ adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam fortè loquuntur, ſed & adorare Imaginem, ſine quo volueris ſcrupulo. quin & eo illam venerantur cultu, quo & prototypon eius: propter quod, ſi illud habet adorari latriâ, & illa latriâ; ſi duliâ vel hyperduliâ, & illa pariter, eiuſmodi cultu adoranda eſt. *Iacob. Naclantus, in epiſt. ad Rom. cap. 1. fol. 42. edit. Venet. an. 1557.*

confeſſed, that the faithfull in the Church doe adore before the Images (as ſome peradventure would cauteloufly ſpeake) but alſo adore the Image it ſelfe , without what ſcruple you will: yea they doe reverence it with the ſame worſhip , wherewith they doe the thing that is repreſented thereby. Wherefore (ſaith hee) *if that ought to bee adored with Latria* (or, *divine worſhip*) *this alſo is to be adored with Latria ; if with Dulia or Hyperdulia, this likewiſe is to bee adored with the ſame kinde of worſhip.* And ſo wee ſee that *Thomas Aquinas* doth directly conclude ; that [h] *the ſame reverence is to bee given unto the Image of Chriſt and to Chriſt himſelfe : and by conſequence , ſeeing Chriſt is adored with the adoration of Latria* (or, *divine worſhip*) *that his Image is to bee adored with the adoration of Latria.* Vpon which place of *Thomas* , Friar *Pedro de Cabrera*, a great Maſter of Divinitie in Spaine, doth lay downe theſe concluſions. I. [i] *It is ſimply and abſolutely to be ſaid, that holy Images are to be worſhipped , in Churches and out of Churches : and the contrary is an hereticall Doctrine.* For explication whereof he declareth, that by this worſhipping hee meaneth ; *that ſignes of ſervice and ſubmiſsion are to bee exhibited unto Images, by embracing, lights, oblation of incenſe, uncovering of the head, &c.* and that *this Concluſion is a doctrine of Faith collected out of the holy Scripture ; by which it appeareth, that things created yea although they bee ſenceleſſe , ſo that they be conſecrated unto God, are to bee adored.*

h Sic ſequitur, quòd eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Chriſti & ipſi Chriſto. Cùm ergo Chriſtus adoretur adoratione latriæ: conſequens eſt, quòd ejus imago ſit adoratione latriæ adoranda. *Thom. Summ. part. 3. quæſt. 25. artic. 3.*

i Simpliciter & abſolutè dicendum eſt, ſacras imagines eſſe venerandas in templis, & extra templa: & contrarium eſt dogma hæreticum. Hoc eſt, imaginibus exhibenda eſſe ſigna ſervitutis & ſubmiſsionis, amplexu, luminaribus, oblatione ſuffituum, capitis nudatione, &c. Hæc concluſio eſt dogma fidei collectum ex Sanctâ Scripturâ, ex quâ conſtat, res creatas etiam inanimes dummodo Deo ſint ſacratæ, eſſe adorandas. *Pet. de Cabrera, in 3. part. Thom. quæſt. 25. artic. 3. diſput. 2. num. 15.*

dored. II. [k] *Images are truely and properly to bee adored; and out of an intention to adore themſelves, and not onely the ſamplers that are repreſented in them.* This concluſion (which hee maketh to be the *common* reſolution of the Divines of that ſide) he oppoſeth againſt *Durand* and his followers: who held that Images are adored onely improperly, becauſe they put men in minde of the perſons repreſented by them; who are then adored before the Images, as if they had beene there really preſent. But this opinion hee ſaith is cenſured by the *latter* Divines to bee *dangerous, raſh, and ſavouring of Hereſie:* yea, and by Fr. *Victoria* to be plainely *hereticall.* For [l] *if Images be adored onely improperly, they are not to bee adored ſimply and abſolutely: which is a manifeſt Hereſie;* ſaith *Cabrera.* And [m] *if Images were onely to be worſhipped by way of rememoration and recordation, becauſe they make us remember the ſamplers, which we doe ſo worſhip, as if they had beene then preſent: it would follow that all Creatures ſhould be adored with the ſame adoration, wherewith we worſhip God; ſeeing all of them do leade us unto the knowledge and remembrance of God, and God is preſent in all things.* III. [n] *The doctrine delivered by* Thomas, *that the Image and the ſampler repreſented by it is to bee worſhipped with the ſame act of adoration; is moſt true, moſt pious, and very conſo-*

k Imagines ſunt verè & propriè adorandæ, & ex intentione ipſas adorandi, & non tantùm exemplaria in ipſis repræſentata. Hæc concluſio eſt contra Durandum & ſectatores illius; quorum ſententia à recentioribus cenſetur periculoſa, temeraria, & ſapiens hæreſim: & M. Medina hic refert, Magiſtrum Victoriam reputâſſe illam hæreticam. Sed noſtra concluſio eſt communis Theologorum. *Ibid. num.* 32.

l Si imagines impropriè tantum adorantur; ſimpliciter & abſolutè non adorantur, neque ſunt adorandæ: quod eſt hæreſis manifeſta. *Ibid. num.* 34. m Si imagines ſolùm adorantur rememorativè & recordativè, quia recordari nos faciunt exemplarium, quæ ita adoramus, acſi eſſent præſentia: ſequeretur eâdem adoratione, quâ colimus Deum, eſſe adorandas omnes creaturas; cùm omnes in Dei cognitionem & recordationem nos ducant, & Deus ſit in omnibus rebus. Sed conſequens eſt abſurdum. Ergo. *Ibid. num.* 35. n Sententia Divi Thomæ, quatenùs docet eodem actu adorationis coli Imaginem, & exemplar per illam repræſentatum; eſt veriſsima, piiſsima, & fidei decretis adnodum conſona. *Ibid. diſput.* 3. *num.* 56.

nant to the decrees of Faith. This hee [o] saith is the Doctrine not onely of *Thomas*, and of *all his disciples*, but also of *all the old Schoole-men almost.* And particularly he quoteth for it, *Cajetan, Capreolus, Paludanus, Ferrariensis, Antoninus, Soto, Alexander* of *Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Richardus de Mediavilla, Dionysius Carthusianus, Major, Marsilius, Thomas Waldensis, Turrecremata, Angestus, Clichtoveus, Turrian* and *Vasquez.* In a word; [p] *It is the constant judgement of Divines,* (saith *Azorius* the Iesuite) *that the Image is to be honoured and worshipped with the same honour and worship, wherewith that is worshipped whereof it is an Image.*

o *Id. ibid. num.* 30.

p Constans est Theologorum sententia; Imaginem eodem honore & cultu honorari & coli, quo colitur id cuius est Imago. *Io. Azor. Institut. moral. tom.* 1. *lib.* 9. *cap.* 6.

Against this use, or rather horrible abuse of Images, to what purpose should we heape up any testimonies of holy Scripture; if the words of the second Commandement, uttered by Gods owne mouth with Thundring and Lightning upon mount *Sinai*, may not be heard? *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven Image, nor the likenesse of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bowe downe to them, nor worship them.* Which thunderclap from heaven the guides of the Romish Church discerning to threaten fore that fearefull Idolatrie which dayly they commit; thought fit in wisedome, first to conceale the knowledge of this from the people, by excluding those words out of the Decalogue that went abroad for common use, under pretence (forsooth) of including it in the *first* Commandement: and then afterwards to put this conceit into mens heads, that this first Commandement was so farre from

from condemning the veneration of Images, that it commanded the ſame, and condemned the contrary neglect thereof. And therefore *Laurence Vaux* in his Catechiſme, unto this Queſtion; *Who breaketh the firſt Commandement of God by unreverence of God?* frameth this Anſwer. [q] *They that do not give due reverence to God, and his Saints, or to their Reliques and* IMAGES. and *Iacobus de Graffiis* in his explication of the ſame Commandement, ſpecifieth the *due reverence* here required, more particularly. namely, [r] *that we ſhould reverence every Image with the ſame worſhip that wee doe him whoſe Image it is. that is to ſay, that wee impart Latria (or divine worſhip) to the Image of God, or of Chriſt, or to the ſigne of the Croſſe alſo, inaſmuch as it bringeth the Paſſion of our Lord unto our minde: and that wee uſe the adoration of Hyperdulia at the Image of the holy Virgin, but of Dulia at the Images of other Saints.* And can there bee found (thinke you) among men, a more deſperate impudency then this? that not onely the practiſe of this wretched Idolatrie ſhould be maintained againſt the expreſſe commandement of Almightie God; but alſo that he himſelfe ſhould be made the author and commander of it, even in that very place where hee doth ſo ſeverely forbid it; and [s] *reveale his wrath from heaven againſt the ungodlineſſe and unrighteouſneſſe of men, which with-hold the truth in unrighteouſneſſe.* The miſerable ſhifts and ſilly evaſions, whereby they labour to obſcure the light of this truth, have beene detected by others to the full, and touched alſo in ſome part by my ſelfe in an [t] other place: where I have ſhewed out of *Deuter.* 4. 15, 16. and

q *Vaux Catechiſm. chap.* 3.

r Vt unamquamque imaginem eodem cultu, quo ille, cuius imago eſt, veneremur. id eſt, ut imagini Dei, vel Chriſti, vel etiam Crucis ſigno, prout Dominicam paſſionem ad mentem revocat, latriam impartiamur: ad ſacræ Virginis imaginem hyperduliæ, aliorum vero Sanctorum duliæ adoratione adoremus. *Iacob. de Graffiis, Deciſion. aure. caſuum conſcient. part.* 1. *lib.* 2. *c.* 2. *ſect. penult.*

s *Rom.* 1. 18.

t Sermon at weſtminſt. before the houſe of Commons.

and *Rom.* 1. 23. that the adoring of the very true God himſelfe in or by an Image, commeth within the compaſſe of that Idolatrie which the Word of God condemneth. And to this truth doethe Fathers of the ancient Church give plentifull teſtimonie: in what *great account* ſoever our Challenger would haveus thinke that the *uſe of Images* was with them.

Indeed in ſo *great account* was the uſe of Images among them; that in the ancienteſt and beſt times, Chriſtians would by no meanes permit them to bee brought into their Churches; nay, ſome of them would not ſo much as admit the art it ſelfe of making them: ſo jealous were they of the danger, and carefull for the prevention of the deceit, whereby the ſimple might any way be drawne on to the adoring of them. [u] *Wee are plainely forbidden,* ſaith *Clemens Alexandrinus, to exerciſe that deceitfull art. For the Prophet ſaith, Thou ſhalt not make the likeneſſe of any thing, either in the heaven or in the earth beneath.* [x] *Moſes commandeth men, to make no Image, that ſhould repreſent God by art.* [y] *For in truth an Image is a dead matter, formed by the hand of an artificer. But wee have no ſenſible Image made of any ſenſible matter, but ſuch an Image as is to be conceived with the underſtanding.* So his ſcholler *Origen,* writing againſt *Celſus* the philoſopher: [z] *Who having his right wits*

u Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀπαγόρευται ἡμῖν ἀναφανδὸν, ἀπατηλὸν δεῖξαι τέχνῃ. Οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω. Clem. Alexan. Protreptic. ad Gentes.

x Οὐδεμίαν εἰκόνα ὁ Μωϋσῆς παραγγέλλει ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀντίτεχνον τῷ θεῷ. Id. Pædagog. lib. 3. cap. 2.

y Ἔστι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὕλη νεκρὰ τεχνίτου χειρὶ μεμορφωμένη. ἡμῖν δὲ, οὐχ ὑλικῶς αἰσθητὸν, ἀλλὰ νοητὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα. Id. in Protreptic.

z Τίς γὰρ νῦν ἔχων ὑγιῶς καταγελάσεται τῶν ἀπὸ πολὺ πλείστους καὶ τοσούτους ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δοκοῦντα θεῶν ἢ θεῶν λόγους, ἐνορῶντα τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, καὶ ἤτοι αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τὸν εὐχῶν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τόπου ὄψεως, ἐφ' ὃν φαντάζεται δεῖν ἀναβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν βλεπομένων καὶ συμβόλων ὄντων, αὐχρέωντός τε ἐπὶ τὰ νοούμενα; Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 7. pag. 373.

(ſaith

(ſaith he) *will not laugh at him, who after ſuch great philoſophicall diſcourſes of God or Gods, doth looke on Images: and either preſenteth his prayer to them, or by the ſight thereof offereth it to him who is conceived thereby, unto whom he imagineth that hee ought to aſcend from that which is ſeene, and is but a ſigne and ſymbol of him?* And whereas *Celſus* had brought in that ſpeech of *Heraclitus*; [a] *They pray unto theſe Images, as if a man ſhould enter into conference with his houſe:* and demanded; [b] *Whether any man unleſſe he were a very Child, did thinke theſe things to be Gods, and not monuments and Images of the Gods? Origin* replieth; that [c] *It is not a thing poſsible that one ſhould know God, and pray to Images:* and that Chriſtians [d] *did not eſteeme theſe to be divine Images, who uſed not to deſcribe any figure of God who was inviſible and without all bodily ſhape;* [e] *nor could endure to worſhip God with any ſuch kind of ſervice as this was.* In like maner, when the Gentiles demanded of the ancient Chriſtians, [f] *Why they had no knowne Images? Minutius Felix* returneth them for anſwer againe. [g] *What Image ſhall I make to God; when man himſelfe, if thou rightly judge, is Gods Image?* [h] Theſe *holy Images*

a Καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τυτέοισιν εὔχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοισι λεχοίμην. Heraclit. Epheſ. ibid. pag. 384. & apud Clem. Alexand in Protreptic. ad Gent. pag. 25. edit. Græcolat. ubi ſtatim ſubjungitur: ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τερατώδεις οἱ λίθοις προσευχόμενοι; An non enim ſunt prodigioſi qui lapides adorant?

b Τὶς γὰρ κὰ ἄλλος, εἰ μὴ παντὶ νήπιος, ταῦτα ἡγεῖται θεὸς; ἀλλὰ θεῶν εἰκάσματα, κὰ ἀγάλματα. Celſ. apud Origen. ut ſupr. pag. 384. c Οὐ μὰ δυνατόν ἐστι κὰ γινώσκειν τὸν θεὸν, κὰ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὔχεσθαι. Origen. ib. p. 386. d Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θείας εἰκόνος (lege εἰκένας: ut in verbis Celſi, p. 384. lin. 24.) ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὰ ἀγάλματα (ἅτε) μορφὴν ἀορίστου (θεοῦ) κὰ ἀσωμάτου μὴ διαγράφοντες θεόν. Id. ib. p. 287. e Χεισιανοὶ κὰ Ἰουδαῖοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται τὸν τοιαύτης ὑπολαμβανομένης εἰς τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας. hoc eſt (ut ex verbis ſubſequentib. intelligitur) διὰ τὸ ἐκκλίνειν κὰ καταπατᾶν κὰ καταγνῶναι τὸν περὶ τὸ θεῖον δρησκείαν ὅτι τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὕλῃ ὅτῳοῦν ἐσχηματισμένῃ, οὐκ ἀνέχονται βωμῶν κὰ ἀγαλμάτων. Id. ibid. pag. 385. f Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota ſimulacra? *Minut. Felix in Octavio.* g Quod enim ſimulacrum Deo fingam; cùm ſi rectè exiſtimes, ſit Dei homo ipſe ſimulacrum? *Ibid.* h Ipſæ imagines ſacræ, quibus inaniſſimi homines ſerviunt, omni ſenſu carent, quia terra ſunt. Quis autem non intelligat, nefas eſſe rectum animal curvari, ut adoret terram? quæ idcirco pedibus noſtris ſubjecta eſt, ut calcanda nobis, non adoranda ſit. *Lactant. divin. Inſtitut. lib. 2. cap. 17.*

(ſaith

(saith *Lactantius*) *which vaine men serve, want all sense; because they are earth. Now who is there that understandeth not, that it is unfit for an upright creature to be bowed downe, that hee may worship the earth? which for this cause is put under our feet, that it may be trodden upon, not worshipped by us.* [i] *Wherefore there is no doubt, that there is no Religion, wheresoever there is an Image. For seeing Religion consisteth of divine things; and nothing divine is to bee found but in heavenly things: Images therefore are voyd of Religion; because nothing that is heavenly can be in that thing, which is made of earth.*

When [k] *Adrian* the Emperor *had commanded that Temples should be made in all Cities without Images*; it was presently conceived, that he did prepare those Temples for *Christ*: as *Ælius Lampridius* noteth in the life of *Alexander Severus*. Which is an evident argument, that it was not the use of Christians in those dayes to have any Images in their Churches. And for keeping of Pictures out of the Church, the Canon of the *Eliberine* or *Illiberitane* Councell (held in *Spaine*, about the time of *Constantine* the Great) is most plaine. [l] *It is our minde, that Pictures ought not to be in the Church; lest that which is worshipped or adored, should bee painted on Wals.* Which hath so troubled the mindes of our latter Romanists, that *Melchior Canus* sticketh not to charge the Councell

i Quare non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est nisi in cœlestibus rebus: carent ergo religione simulacra; quia nihil potest esse cœleste in eâ re, quæ fit ex terrâ. *Ibid. cap.* 18.

k *Alexander Amp.* Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod & Adrianus cogitâsse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri; quæ hodie idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani: quæ ille ad hoc parâsse dicebatur. sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros si id optatò evenisset, & templa reliqua deserenda. *Lamprid. in Alexandro.*

l Placuit, picturas in Ecclesiâ esse non debere; ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur. *Concil. Eliber. cap.* 36.

[m] *not only with Imprudencie, but also with Impietie,* for making such a Law as this. [n] *The Gentiles* (saith S. *Ambrose*) *worship Wood, because they thinke it to bee the Image of God: but the Image of the invisible God is not in that which is seene, but in that which is not seene.* [o] *God would not have himselfe worshipped in Stones*: saith the same Father in another place; and [p] *the Church knoweth no vain ideaes diverse figures of Images; but knoweth the true substance of the Trinitie.* So S. *Hierom*: [q] *We worship one Image which is the Image of the invisible and omnipotent God.* and S. *Augustine*: [r] *In the first Commandement, any similitude of God in the figments of men is forbidden to be worshipped. not because God hath not an Image, but because no image of him ought to be worshipped, but that which is the same thing that he is,* (Coloss. 1. 15. Hebr. 1. 3.) *nor yet that for him, but with him.* As for the representing of God in the similitude of a man: he resolveth, that [s] *it is utterly unlawfull to erect any such Image to God in a Christian Church.* and touching the danger of Images in generall, and the practise of the Church in this matter, thus he writeth. [t] The Gentiles *worship that,*

m Illa (*lex*) non imprudenter modò, verum etiam impiè, à Concilio Elibertino lata est de tollendis imaginibus. *Camus, loc. Theologic. lib 5. cap. 4. conclus. 4.*

d Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant: sed invisibilis Dei imago non in eo est quod videtur, sed in eo utique quod non videtur. *Ambros. in Psal. 118. Octonar. 10.*

o Non vult se Deus in lapidibus coli. *Id. epist. 31. ad Valentinianum Imp.*

p Ecclesia ina-

nes ideas & varias nescit simulacrorum figuras; sed veram novit Trinitatis substantiam. *Id. de fuga seculi. cap 5.* q Nos unum habemus virum, & unam veneramur imaginem, quæ est imago invisibilis & omnipotentis Dei. *Hieronym. lib. 4. in Ezech. cap. 16.* r In primo præcepto prohibetur coli aliqua in figmentis hominum Dei similitudo: non quia non habet imaginem Deus, sed quia nulla imago ejus coli debet nisi illa quæ hoc est quod ipse, nec ipsa pro illo, sed cum illo. *Aug. epist. 119. ad Ianuar. cap. 11.* s Tale simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare.. *Id. de Fide & Symbol. cap. 7.* t Hoc enim venerantur, quod ipsi ex auro argentoque fecerunt. Sed enim & nos pleraq; instrumenta & vasa ex hujusmodi materiâ vel metallo habemus in usum celebrandorum sacramentorum; quæ ipso ministerio consecrata sancta dicuntur, in ejus honorem cui pro salute nostrâ inde servitur. Et sunt profecto etiam ista instrumenta vel vasa, quid aliud quàm opera manuum hominum? Veruntamen nunquid os habent, & non loquentur? Nunquid oculos habent, & non videbunt? Nunquid eis supplicamus, quia per ea supplicamus Deo? Illa causa est maxima

which

which they themſelves have made of gold and ſilver. But even wee alſo have divers inſtruments and veſſels of the ſame matter or mettall, for the uſe of celebrating the ſacraments: which being conſecrated by this very miniſterie are called holy, in honour of him who for our ſalvation is ſerved thereby. And theſe inſtruments and veſſels alſo, what are they elſe but the worke of mens hands? Yet have theſe any mouth, and will not ſpeake? Have they eyes, and will not ſee? doe we ſupplicate unto theſe, becauſe by theſe wee ſupplicate unto God? That is the greateſt cauſe of this mad impietie, that the forme like unto one living which maketh it to bee ſupplicated unto, doth more prevale in the affections of miſerable men; than that it is manifeſt it doth not live at all, that it ought to be contemned by him who is indeed living. For Images prevaile more to bowe downe the unhappy ſoule, in that they have a mouth, they have eyes, they have eares, they have noſthrils, they have hands, they have feete; than to correct it, that they will not ſpeake, they will not ſee, they will not heare, they will not ſmell, they will not handle, they will not walke. Thus farre Saint *Auguſtine.*

impietatis inſanæ, quòd plus valet in affectibus miſerorum ſimilis viventi forma quæ ſibi efficit ſupplicari, quàm quòd eam manifeſtum eſt non eſſe viventem, ut debeat à vivente contemni. Plus enim valent ſimulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quòd os habent, oculos habent; aures habent, nares habent, manus habent, pedes habent; quàm ad corrigendam, quòd non loquentur; non videbunt, non audient, non adorabunt, non contrectabunt, non ambulabunt. *Id. in Pſal.* 113. *conc.* 2.

The ſpeech of *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium* to this purpoſe is memorable: [u] *Wee have no care to figure by colours the bodily viſages of the Saints in tables, becauſe wee have no need of ſuch things; but by vertue to imitate their converſation.* But the fact of *Epiphanius*, rending the vaile that hung in the Church of *Anablatha*, is much more memorable: which hee himſelfe in his Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of

u Θεὸν γὰρ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων διὰ χρωμάτων ὁπωμηλὲς ἡμῖν ἐν τυπῷ, ὅπ ἐ χρήζομεν τότων· ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν δι' ἀρετῆς ἐμμιμεῖσθαι. Amphiloch. citatus à Patrib. Concil. Conſtantinop. ann. 754.

Ieruſalem

Ieruſalem (tranſlated by Saint *Hierome* out of Greeke into Latine) doth thus recount. [x] *I found there a vaile hanging at the doore of the Church dyed and painted, and having the Image as it were of Chriſt or ſome Saint: for I doe not well remember, whoſe Image it was. When therefore I ſaw this, that contrary to the authoritie of the Scriptures the image of a man was hanged up in the Church of Chriſt: I cut it, and gave counſell to the keepers of the place, that they ſhould rather wrap and burie ſome poore dead man in it.* and afterwards hee intreateth the Biſhop of *Ieruſalem* (under whoſe government this Church was) [y] *to give charge hereafter, that ſuch vailes as theſe which are repugnant to our religion, ſhould not be hanged up in the Church of Chriſt.* Which agreeth very well with the ſentence attributed to the ſame Father in the Councell of Conſtantinople: [z] *Have this in mind, beloved ſonnes, not to bring Images into the Church, nor into the Cœmiteries of the Saints, no not into an ordinarie houſe: but alwayes carry about the remembrance of God in your hearts. For it is not lawfull for a Chriſtian man to be carried in ſuſpenſe by his eyes & the wandrings of his minde.* and with his diſcourſe againſt the hereſie of the *Collyridians*, which made an Idoll of the Virgin *Mary* (as in the former queſtion hath more largely beene declared:) to which he oppoſeth

x Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejuſdem Eccleſiæ tinctum atque depictum, & habens imaginem quaſi Chriſti, vel Sancti cujuſdam: non enim ſatis memini, cujus imago fuerit. Cùm ergo hoc vidiſſem, in Eccleſiâ Chriſti contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, ſcidi illud; & magis dedi conſilium cuſtodibus ejuſdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent & efferrent. *Epiphan. epiſt. ad Ioann. Hieroſolym. tom. 1. oper. Hieronym. epiſt. 60.*

y Deinceps præcipere, in Eccleſiâ Chriſti iſtiuſmodi vela, quæ contra religionem noſtram veniunt, non appendi. *Id. ibid.*

z Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μνήμιον ἔχετε, τέκνα ἀγαπητὰ, τὸ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας, μήτε ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις τῶν ἁγίων (ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχετε τὸν θεὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν) ἀλλ' ὅτε κατ' οἶκον κοινὸν. οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ Χριστιανῷ διὰ ὀφθαλμῶν μετεωρίζεσθαι ἐκ ῥεμβασμῶν τοῦ νοὸς. Epiphan. citat. à Concil. Conſtantinop. in Act. 6. tom. 5. Concil. Nicen. II.

ſeth

seth himselfe in this manner. [a] *How is not this course Idolatrous, and a devillish practise? For the Devill stealing alwayes into the minde of men under pretence of righteousnesse, deifying the mortall nature in the eyes of men, by variety of artes framed Images like unto men. And they truly who are worshipped are dead, but their Images that never yet were alive (for they cannot bee said to bee dead that never were alive) they bring in to bee worshipped, by a minde going awhoring from the one and onely God: as a common harlot, stirred with a wicked desire of promiscuous mixture, and rejecting the sobrietie of the lawfull marriage of one man.*

If it bee inquired who they were that first brought in this use of Images into the Church: it may well be answered, that they were partly lewd Heretikes, partly simple Christians newly converted from Paganisme, the customes whereof they had not as yet so fully unlearned. Of the former kinde the *Gnostique* heretikes were the principall: who [b] *had Images, some painted in colours, others framed of gold and silver, and other matter; which they said were the representations of Christ, made under Pontius Pilate, when he was conversant here among men.* Whence *Carpocrates*, and *Marcellina* his disciple (who brought this Idolatrous heresie first to Rome in the dayes of Pope *Anicetus*) [c] *having privily made Images of Iesus,*

a Πόθεν ἐχ εἰδωλοποιὸν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἢ τὸ ἐγχείρημα διαβολικόν; προφάσει γὰρ δικαίᾳ εἰς ὑπεισδύων τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ διάβολος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν θεοποιῶν εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνθρώπων, ἀνδροείκελα ἀγάλματα διὰ ποικιλίας τεχνῶν διέξεισι. καὶ τεθνήκασι μὲν οἱ προσκυνούμενοι, τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀγάλματα οὐδέποτε ζήσαντα (ὅτε γὰρ νεκρὰ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι τὰ μηδέποτε ζήσαντα) προσκυνητὰ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ μοιχευούσης διανοίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ. ὡς ἡ πολυέχοινος πόρνη ὅλῃ πολλῇ ἀτοπίᾳ πολυμιξίας ἐρεθισθεῖσα, καὶ τὸ σῶφρον ἀποτιναμένη τῆς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐνομίας. Epiphan. in Panar. hæres. 79. p. 447.

b Ἔχουσι δὲ εἰκόνας ἐνζωγράφους διὰ χρωμάτων, τινὲς (vel τινὰς potiùs) δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λοιπῆς ὕλης, ἅπερ ἐκ τυπώματός φασιν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γεγονέναι τὰ ἐκτυπώματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτε ἐπεδήμει τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει. Epiphanius in Panar. hæres. 27. pa. 52. ex Irenæo, lib. 1 adversus hæres. cap. 4.

c Epiph. in Anacephal. pag. 525. de Carpocrate. Τοῦτο γέγονεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μαρκελλίνα εἰκόνας

sus,

ſus, and Paul, and Homer, and Pythagoras did cenſe them, and worſhip them: as *Epiphanius* and *Auguſtine* doe report. To the latter, that obſervation of *Euſebius* may bee referred concerning the Image of Chriſt, thought to be erected by the woman that was cured of the bloudy iſſue. *It is no marvaile* (ſaith hee) *that thoſe of the Heathen, who of old were cured by our Saviour, ſhould doe ſuch things: ſeeing wee have ſeene the Images of his Apoſtles Paul and Peter, yea and of Chriſt himſelfe, kept painted with colours in tables: for that of old they have beene wont by a heathenish cuſtome thus to honour them whom they counted to bee their Benefactors* or *Saviours.*

δὲ ποιήσας ἐν χρυσῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ Ὁμήρου, καὶ Πυθαγόρου, πάντας ἐνδυμία καὶ θυμιάματα σεβόμενοι. Sectæ ipſius fuiſſe traditur ſocia quædam Marcellina; quæ colebat imagines Ieſu, & Pauli, & Homeri, & Pythagoræ, adorando incenſumq; ponendo. *Auguſt. de hæreſ. cap. 7.*

But by whomſoever they were firſt brought in, certain it is that they proved a dangerous ſnare unto the ſimple people, who quickly went a whooring after them: contrary to the doctrine which the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did deliver unto them. And therefore Saint *Auguſtine* writing *of the manners of the Catholicke Church* againſt the *Maniches*, directly ſevereth the caſe of ſuch men from the common cauſe, and approved practiſe of the Catholicke Church. * *Doe not collect unto me* (ſaith hee) *ſuch profeſſors of the name of Chriſt, as either know not or keepe not the force of their profeſſion. Doe not bring in the companies of rude men, which either in the true Re-*

d Καὶ θαυμάσαι ἔστιν, τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλων αὐτῷ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ Χριστῷ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σῳζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν παλαιῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. Euſeb. lib. 7. hiſtor. Eccleſ. cap 18. * Nolite mihi colligere profeſſores nominis Chriſtiani, nec profeſſionis ſuæ vim aut ſcientes aut exhibentes. Nolite conſectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipſâ verâ religione ſuperſtitioſi ſunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti ſint quicquid promiſerint Deo. Novi multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores &c. Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando Eccleſiæ Catholicæ maledicere deſinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos & ipſa condemnat, & quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere ſtudet. *Auguſt. de moribus Eccleſ. Catholicæ, cap. 34.*

ligion it ſelfe are ſuperſtitious, or ſo given unto their luſts that they have forgotten what they did promiſe unto God. Then for an inſtance of the firſt, hee alledgeth that he himſelfe did *know many which were worſhippers of Graves and Pictures:* and at laſt concludeth. *Now this I adviſe you, that you ceaſe to ſpeake evill of the Catholicke Church, by upbraiding it with the manners of thoſe men, whom ſhee her ſelfe condemneth, and ſeeketh every day to correct as naughtie Children.* This alſo gave occaſion to *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſiles* 200. yeares after, to breake downe the Images in his Church, when he found them to bee thus abuſed: which fact of his though Pope *Gregorie* diſliked, becauſe he thought that Images might profitably bee retayned as Lay-mens bookes; yet in this hee commended his zeale, that hee would by no meanes ſuffer them to be worſhipped. [a] *I certifie you* (ſaith hee) *that it came of late to our hearing, that your brotherhood, ſeeing certaine worſhippers of Images, did breake the ſaid Church-images and threw them away. And ſurely, wee commended you that you had that Zeale, that nothing made with hands ſhould be worſhipped: but yet we judge that you ſhould not have broken thoſe Images. For painting is therefore uſed in Churches, that they which are unlearned, may yet by ſight reade thoſe things upon the walls, which they cannot read in bookes. Therefore your brotherhood ought, both to preſerve*

a: Prætereà indico dudum ad nos perveniſſe, quòd fraternitas veſtra quoſdam imaginum adoratores aſpiciens, eaſdem Eccleſiæ imagines confregit, atq; projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari poſſit, habuiſſe laudavimus: ſed frangere eaſdem imagines non debuiſſe judicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in Eccleſiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nelciunt, ſaltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas & illas ſervare, & ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit: quatenus & literarum neſcii haberent unde ſcientiam hiſtoriæ colligerent; & populus in picturæ adoratione minimè peccaret. *Gregor. Regiſtr. lib. 7. epiſt. 109. ad Serenum. Vide etiam. lib. 9. epiſt. 9. ad eundem.*

the

the Images, and to reſtraine the people from worſhipping of them: that both the ignorant might have had, whence to gather the knowledge of the hiſtorie; and the people might not ſinne in worſhipping the picture.

There would be no end, if we ſhould lay downe at large the fierce contentions that afterwards aroſe in the Church touching this matter of Images: the Greeke Emperours, *Leo Iſaurus*, *Conſtantinus Caballinus*, *Nicephorus*, *Stauratius*, *Leo Armenus*, *Michael Balbus*, *Theophilus*, and others, oppoſing them in the Eaſt; and on the other ſide, *Gregorie* the *ſecond* and *third*, *Paul* the *firſt*, *Stephen* the *fourth*, *Adrian* the *firſt* and *ſecond*, *Leo* the *third*, *Nicholas* the *firſt*, and other Popes of Rome as ſtiffely upholding them in the Weſt. In a Councell of CCCXXXVIII. Biſhops held at *Conſtantinople* in the yeere of our Lord 754. they were ſolemnly condemned: in another Councell of CCCL. Biſhops held at *Nice* in the yeere 787. they were advanced again, & the veneration of them as much commended. This baſe decree of the ſecond *Nicene* Councell, touching the adoration of Images, although it were not by the hundreth part ſo groſſe, as that which was afterwards invented by the Popiſh ſchoole-men: yet was it rejected as repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of God; by the Princes and Biſhops of *England* firſt, about the yeere 792. and by *Charles* the Great afterward, and the Biſhops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germanie*, which by his appointment were gathered together in the Councell of *Frankford*, the yeere of our Lord 794.

The foure bookes, which by his authority were

publiſhed againſt that *Nicene* Synod, and the adoration of Images defended there in, are yet to be ſeene: as the Reſolution alſo of the Doctors of *France* aſſembled at *Paris* by the command of his ſonne *Ludovicus Pius*, in the yeere 824. and the booke of *Agobardus* Biſhop of *Lions*, concerning *Pictures and Images*, written about the ſame time; the argument whereof is thus delivered by *Papirius Maſſonus* the ſetter out of it. [g] *Detecting moſt manifeſtly the errours of the Grecians touching Images and Pictures, hee denieth that they ought to be worſhipped: which opinion all wee Catholickes doe allow; and follow the teſtimonie of Gregorie the Great concerning them.* This paſſage, together with the larger view of [h] the concontents of this Treatiſe following afterwards, the *Spaniſh Inquiſitors* in their *Index Expurgatorius* command to be blotted out: which we finde to be accordingly performed by the Divines of *Cullen*, in their late corrupt edition of the [i] great *Bibliotheck* of the ancient Fathers. *Gretſer* profeſſeth that he [k] *extremely wondereth, that this judgement of the booke of Agobardus ſhould proceed from a Catholicke man. For Agobardus* (ſaith he) *in that whole book doth nothing elſe, but endevour to demonſtrate* (*although with a vaine labour*) *that Images are not to be worſhipped.* [l] *And who be theſe Grecians whoſe errors touching Images* Agobardus *doth*

g Græcorum errores de imaginibus & picturis manifeſtiſſimè detegens, negat eas adorari debere: quam ſententiam omnes Catholici probamus, Gregoriique Magni teſtimonium de illis ſequimur. *Papir. Maſſon. Præfat. in Agobardi Opera, edit. Pariſ. ann.* 1605.

h Expunguntur omnia, quæ ſub hoc titulo (*De Imaginibus*) continentur. *Index librorum expurgatorum, Bernardi de Sandoval & Roxas Card. de conſilio ſenatus generalis Inquiſit. Hiſpan. excuſ. Madriti, ann.* 1612.

i *Magn. Bibliothec. Veter. Patrum, tom.* 9. *part.* 1. *edit. Colan. ann.* 1618. *pag.* 548. *&* 551.

k Vehementer profectò hoc judicium de libro Agobardi ab homine Catholico profectum, miratus ſum. Nam Agobardus toto libello, nihil aliud facit, quàm quod demonſtrare nititur (quamvis caſſo conatu) imagines non eſſe adorandas. *Iac. Gretſer. lib.* 1. *de Cruce, cap.* 58.

l Et quinam ſunt Græci, quorum de imaginibus errores Agobardus refellit, ut Editor ait? Nimirum Græci iſti ſunt Patres Nicæni Concilii; qui ſanxerunt, imagines adorandas & colendas eſſe. Contra quos qui diſputat, is ab orthodoxis toto cœlo diſcordat. *Ibid.*

refell,

refell, as this Publiſher ſaith? Surely theſe Grecians are the Fathers of the Nicene Councell, who decreed that Images ſhould bee adored and worſhipped. Againſt whom whoſoever diſputeth, doth mainly diſſent from right beleevers. To which blinde cenſure of the Ieſuite we may oppoſe, not onely the generall judgement of the ancient [m] *Almaines* his own Country-men, who within theſe foure or five hundred yeares did flatly diſclaime this *Image-worſhip* (as by *Nicetas Choniates* is witneſſed:) but alſo the teſtimony of the Divines and Hiſtorians of *England*, *France*, and *Germany* touching the *Nicene* Councell in particular; rejecting it as a [n] *Pſeudo-ſynode*, becauſe it concluded [o] *that Images ſhould be worſhipped: which thing* (ſay our Chroniclers) *the Church of God doth utterly deteſt.* And yet for all that, wee have newes lately brought us from *Rome*: that [p] *it is moſt certaine, and moſt aſſured, that the Chriſtian Church, even the moſt Ancient, the Whole, and the Vniverſall Church, did with wonderfull conſent, without any oppoſition or contradiction, worſhip Statues and Images.* Which if the cauterized conſcience of a wretched *Apoſtata* would give him leave to utter: yet the extreame ſhameleſſeneſſe of the aſſertion might have with-held their wiſedomes whom he ſought to pleaſe thereby, from giving him leave to publiſh it.

But it may bee I ſeeke for ſhamefac'tneſſe, in a place where it is not to bee found: and therefore leaving them to their Images, like to like (for * *they*

m Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ὅπως ἡ περὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται Nicet. Choniat. Annal. lib. 2.

n *Hincmar. Remenſ. lib. contr. Hincmar. Laudunenſ. cap. 20. Egoliſmenſ. monach. in vitâ Caroli Magni. Annal. Fuldenſ. Ado, Regino. & Hermann. Contract. in Chronic. an. 794.*

o Imagines adorari deberè quod omninò Eccleſia Dei execratur. *Simeon Dunelmenſ. Roger. Hoveden. & Matth. Weſtmonaſt. hiſt. ann. 792. vel 793.*

p Eccleſiam porrò Chriſtianam, etiam Antiquiſſimam, Totam, ac Vniverſalem, ſummo conſenſu, abſque ullâ oppoſitione, aut contradictione, Statuas ac Imagines veneratam eſſe, eſt certiſſimum ac probatiſſimum. *M. Anton. de Dominis, De conſilio ſui reditus, ſect. 23.* * *Pſal.* 115. 8. & 135. 18.

that make them are like unto them; and ſo is *every one that truſteth in them)* I proceed from this point unto that which followeth

OF FREE-WILL.

THat *man hath Free-will*, is not by us gainſaid: though we dare not give him ſo large a *freedome* as the Ieſuits preſume to doe. Freedome of will we know doth as eſſentially belong unto a man, as reaſon it ſelfe: and he that ſpoileth him of that power, doth in effect make him a very beaſt. For this is the difference betwixt reaſonable and unreaſonable creatures, as *Damaſcen* rightly noteth. * *The unreaſonable are rather led by nature, than themſelves leaders of it: and therefore doe they never contradict their naturall appetite, but as ſoone as they affect any thing, they ruſh to the proſecution of it. But man, being indued with reaſon, doth rather lead nature, than is led by it: and therefore being moved with appetite, if hee will, hee hath power to reſtraine his appetite, or to follow it.* Hereby he is inabled to doe the things which hee doth, neither by a bruit inſtinct of nature nor yet by any compulſion, but by adviſe and deliberation: the *Minde* firſt taking into conſideration the grounds and circumſtances of each action, and freely debating on either ſide what in this caſe were beſt to be done or not done; and then the *Will* inclining it ſelfe to put in execution the laſt and concluſive judgement of the practicall Underſtanding. This libertie we acknowledge a man may exerciſe in all actions that are within his power to doe: whether they be lawfull, unlawfull,

* Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἐκ εἰσὶν αὐτεξούσια· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἥπερ ἄγεται. διὸ δὲ καὶ ἀντιπλέγεται τῇ φυσικῇ ὀρέξει, ἀλλ' ἅμα ὀρεχθῶσι πινὸς, ὁρμῶσι πρὸς τὸ προσβαλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος λογικὸς ὢν, ἄγει μᾶλλον τὴν φύσιν, ἥπερ ἄγεται. διὸ καὶ βουλόμενος, εἴπερ ἐθέλοι, ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀναχαιτίσαι τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἢ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῇ. Io. Damaſcen. Orthodox. fid. lib. 2. cap. 27. edit. Græc. vel 44. Latin.

lawfull, or indifferent; whether done by the ſtrength of Nature or of Grace. for even in doing the workes of Grace, our free will ſuſpendeth not her action, but being moved and guided by grace, doeth that which is fit for her to doe: grace not taking away the *libertie*, which commeth by Gods creation, but the *pravitie* of the Will, which ariſeth from Mans corruption. In a word, as wee condemne [b] *Agapius* and the reſt of that mad ſect of the *Manichees*, for bringing in ſuch a kinde of neceſſitie of ſinning, whereby men were made to *offend againſt their wills*: ſo likewiſe with *Polychronius* and other men of underſtanding we defend, that [c] *vertue is a voluntarie thing, and free from all neceſſitie*; and with the author of the bookes *De vocatione Gentium* (attributed unto *Proſper*) [d] *we both beleeve and feele by experience that Grace is ſo powerfull, that yet wee conceive it no way to be violent.*

b Ἀναγκῃ πῦ καὶ ἄκοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πταίειν διατείνεται. Phot. Biblioth. num. 179.

c Αὐθαίρετον γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἐκούσιον. καὶ οὐ δι' ἀνάγκης πάσης ἐλευθέρου. Polychron. in Cantic. pag. 93. edit. Meurſii.

d Hanc quippe abundantiorem gratiam ita credimus atque experimur potentem, ut nullo modo arbitremur eſſe violentam. *Proſp. de vocat. Gent. lib. 2. cap. 26.*

But it is one thing to inquire of the *nature*, another to diſpute of the *ſtrength* and abilitie of Free-will. Wee ſay with *Adamantius* (in the Dialogues collected out of *Maximus* againſt the *Marcionites*) that [e] *God made Angels and Men*, αὐτεξουσίους, *but not* παντεξουσίους: hee indued them with freedome of Will, but not with abilitie to doe *all* things. And now ſince the fall of *Adam* wee ſay further, that freedome of Will remayneth ſtill among men; but the * abilitie which once it had, to performe ſpirituall duties and things pertayning to ſalvation, is quite loſt and

e Τὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτεξουσίους λέγω ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παντεξουσίους. Orig. Dial. 3. contr. Marcion.

* *Potentiam proximam & activam intelligo; non remotam, quæ meré paſſiva eſt.*

extinguished. For [f] *who is there of us* (saith Saint *Augustine*) *which would say, that by the sinne of the first Man free-will is utterly perished from mankinde? Freedome indeed is perished by sinne: but that freedome which was in Paradise, of having full righteousnesse with immortalitie. for which cause Mans nature standeth in neede of Gods Grace, according to the saying of our Lord; If the Sonne shall free you, then yee shall bee free indeede: namely, free to live well and righteously. For free will is so farre from having perished in the sinner; that by it they sinne, all they especially who sin with delight, & for the love of sinne, that pleaseth them which liketh them.* When wee denie therefore that a naturall man hath any free-will unto good: by *a naturall man*, wee understand one that is without *Christ*, and distitute of his renewing grace; by *free-will*, that which the Philosophers call τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, a thing that is *in our own power* to doe; and by *good*, a Theologicall not a Philosophicall good, *bonum verè spirituale & salutare*, a spirituall good and tending to salvation. This then is the difference which Gods Word teacheth us to put betwixt a *regenerate* and an *unregenerate* man. The one is [g] *alive unto God, through Iesus Christ our Lord*; and so inabled to [h] *yeeld himself unto God, as one that is alive from the dead, and his members as instruments of righteousnesse unto God.* [i] having *his fruit unto holinesse, and the end everlasting life.* The other is a meere [k] *stranger from the life of God,* [l] *dead in trespasses and sinnes*; and so no more able to leade a holy life acceptable

Quis autem nostrûm dicat, quòd primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere? Libertas quidem periit per peccatum; sed illa quæ in Paradiso fuit, habendi plenam cum immortalitate justitiam: propter quod natura humana divinâ indiget gratiâ, dicente Domino; Si vos Filius liberaverit, tunc verè liberi eritis; utiq; liberi ad bene justeq; vivendum. Nam liberum arbitrium usq; adeò in peccatore non periit; ut per illud peccent, maximè omnes qui cum delectatione peccant, & amore peccati, hoc eis placet quod eis libet. *Aug. contr. duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

g *Rom. 6. vers. 11.* h *Ibid. vers. 13.* i *Ibid. vers. 22.* k *Ephes. 4. 18.* l *Ephes. 2. 1, 5.*

ceptable unto God, than a dead man is to performe the actions of him which is alive.

Hee may live indeed the life of a naturall and a morall man, and ſo exerciſe the freedome of his Will, not onely in naturall and civill, but alſo in morall actions, ſo farre as concerneth externall conformitie unto thoſe notions of good and evill that remaine in his minde: (in reſpect whereof the verie [m] *Gentiles* themſelves *which have not the Law*, are ſaid to *do by nature the things contained in the Law:*) he may have ſuch fruit, as not only common honeſty & civilitie, but cõmon gifts of Gods ſpirit likewiſe will yeeld; and in regard therof he may obtaine of God temporal rewards appertaining to this tranſitory life, and a leſſer meaſure of puniſhment in the world to come: yet untill hee be quickened with the life of grace, & [n] *married to him who is raiſed from the dead*, he cannot *bring forth fruit unto God*, nor be accepted for one of his ſervants. This is the doctrine of our Saviour himſelfe, Ioh. 15.4,5. *As the branch cannot beare fruit of it ſelfe, except it abide in the vine; no more can yee, except ye abide in mee. I am the Vine, yee are the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit, for without mee yee can doe* NOTHING; that is, nothing truely good and acceptable unto God. This is the leſſon that S. *Paul* doth every where inculcate. [o] *I know that in mee, that is, in my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing.* [p] *The naturall man perceiveth not the things of the ſpirit of God, for they are fooliſhneſſe unto him: neither can he underſtand them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* [q] *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe* God. [r] *Vnto them that*

m *Rom.* 2.14.
n *Rom.* 7.4.
o *Rom.* 7.18.
p 1. *Cor.* 2.14.
q *Hebr.* 11.6.
r *Tit.* 1.15.

are

are defiled and unbeleeving is nothing pure: but even their minde and conſcience is defiled. Now ſeeing
1. *Tim.* 1. 5. [r] *the end of the commandement is charitie, out of a pure heart, and of a good conſcience, and of faith unfained:* ſeeing the firſt beginning, from whence every good action ſhould proceede, is a ſanctified heart, the laſt end the ſeeking of Gods glorie, and faith working by love muſt intercurre betwixt both: the morall workes of the unregenerate fayling ſo fouly both in the beginning, middle, and end, are to bee accounted breaches rather of the Commandement than obſervances, depravations of good workes rather than performances. For howſoever theſe actions bee in their owne kinde good, and commanded of God, yet are they marred in the carriage, that which is *bonum* being not done *bene*: and ſo though in regard of their *matter* they may bee accounted good, yet for the *manner* they muſt be eſteemed vicious.

The *Pelagian* heretickes were wont here to object unto our forefathers (as the *Romaniſts* doe now adayes unto us) both the examples of the Heathen, [t] *who being ſtrangers from the faith*, did notwithſtanding (as they ſaid) *abound with vertues*: and Saint *Pauls* teſtimonie alſo concerning them, *Rom.* 2. 14, 15. by which they laboured to prove, [u] *that even ſuch as were ſtrangers from the faith of Chriſt, might yet have true righteouſneſſe; becauſe that theſe, as the Apoſtle witneſſed, naturally did the things of the Law.* But will you heare how Saint *Auguſtine* tooke up *Julian* the *Pelagian*, for making this objection? [x] *Here-*

r Sed acerbiſſimi gratiæ hujus inimici, exempla nobis apponitis impiorum, quos dicitis alienos à fide abundare virtutibus. *Aug. contra Iulian. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

u Per hos enim probare conatus es, etiam alienos à fide Chriſti, veram poſſe habere juſtitiam; eo quòd iſti, teſte Apoſtolo, naturaliter quæ legis ſunt faciunt. *Ibid.*

x Vbi quidem dogma veſtrum quo iſtis inimici gratiæ Dei, quæ datur per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, qui tollit peccatum mundi, evidentiùs expreſſiſti; introducens hominum genus, quod Deo placere poſſit ſine Chriſti fide, lege naturæ. Hoc eſt unde nos maximè Chriſtiana deteſtatur Eccleſia. *Ibid.*

in

in haſt thou expreſſed more evidently that doctrine of yours, wherein you are enemies unto the grace of God which is given by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, who taketh away the ſinne of the world: bringing in a kind of men, which may pleaſe God without the faith of Chriſt, by the law of nature. This is it, for which the Chriſtian Church doth moſt of all deteſt you. and againe. [y] *Be it farre from us to thinke, that true vertue ſhould bee in any one, unleſſe he were righteous. and as farre, that one ſhould be truely righteous, unleſſe he did live by Faith: for the juſt doth live by Faith. Now which of them, that would have themſelves accounted Chriſtians, but the Pelagians alone, or even among them, perhaps thou thy ſelfe alone, would ſay that an Infidell were righteous, would ſay that an ungodly man were righteous, would ſay that a man mancipated to the Devill were righteous? although hee were* Fabricius, *although hee were* Fabius, *although hee were* Scipio, *although hee were* Regulus. And whereas *Iulian* had further demanded; [z] *If a Heathen man doe cloath the naked, becauſe it is not of faith, is it therefore ſin?* S. *Auguſtine* anſwereth abſolutely, *in as much as it is not of faith, it is ſinne: not becauſe the fact conſidered in it ſelfe, which is to cloath the naked, is a ſin; but of ſuch a worke not to glorie in the Lord, none but an impious man will denie to be a ſin.* For howſoever, [a] *in it ſelfe, this naturall compaſſion bee a good*

y Sed abſit, ut ſit in aliquo vera virtus, niſi fuerit juſtus. Abſit autem ut ſit juſtus verè, niſi vivat ex fide: Iuſtus enim ex fide vivit. Quis porro eorum qui ſe Chriſtianos haberi volunt, niſi ſoli Pelagiani, aut in ipſis etiam fortè tu ſolus, juſtum dixerit infidelem, juſtum dixerit impium, juſtum dixerit Diabolo mancipatum? ſit licet ille Fabricius, ſit licet Fabius, ſit licet Scipio, ſit licet Regulus. *Ibid.*

z Si gentilis (inquis) nudum operuerit, nunquid quia non eſt ex fide, peccatum eſt? Prorſus in quãtum non eſt ex fide peccatum eſt: non quia per ſeipſum factum, quod eſt nudum operire, peccatum eſt: ſed de tali opere non in Domino gloriari, ſolus impius negat eſſe peccatum. *Ibid.* a Quòd ſi & ipſa (miſericordia) per ſeipſam naturali compaſſione opus eſt bonum; etiam iſto bono malè utitur qui infideliter utitur, & hoc bonum malè facit qui infideliter facit: qui autem malè facit aliquid, profectò peccat. Ex quo colligitur, etiam ipſa bona opera quæ faciunt infideles, non ipſorum eſſe, ſed illius qui bene utitur malis: ipſorum autem eſſe peccata, quibus & bona malè faciunt; quia ea non fideli, ſed infideli, hoc eſt, ſtultâ & noxiâ faciunt voluntate. qualis voluntas, nullo Chriſtiano dubitante, arbor eſt mala, quæ facere non poteſt niſi fructus malos, id eſt, ſola peccata. Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non eſt ex fide, peccatum eſt. *Ibid.*

good worke; yet hee uſeth this good worke amiſſe, that uſeth it unbeleevingly, and doth this good worke amiſſe, that doth it unbeleevingly: but who ſo doth any thing amiſſe, ſinneth ſurely. From whence it is to be gathered, that even thoſe good workes which unbeleevers doe, are not theirs, but his who maketh good uſe of evill men: but that the ſinnes are theirs, whereby they do good things amiſſe; becauſe they doe them not with a faithfull, but with an unfaithfull, that is, with a fooliſh and naughtie will. Which kinde of will no Chriſtian doubteth to be an evill tree, which cannot bring forth but evill fruits, that is to ſay, ſinnes onely. For all that is not of faith, whether thou wilt or no, is ſinne. This and much more to the ſame purpoſe, doth Saint *Auguſtine* urge againſt the Hereticke *Iulian*: proſecuting at large that concluſion which he layeth down in his booke of the acts of the *Paleſtine* Councell againſt *Pelagius*. [b] *How much ſoever the workes of unbeleevers be magnified, we know the ſentence of the Apoſtle to be true & invincible; What ſoever is not of faith, is ſin.* Which maketh him alſo in his Retractations to correct himſelfe, for ſaying in one place, [c] That the *Philoſophers ſhined with the light of vertue, who were not endued with true pietie.*

The like ſentence doth Saint *Hierome* pronounce againſt thoſe, [d] *who not beleeving in Chriſt, did yet thinke themſelves to bee valiant and wiſe, temperate or juſt: that they might know that no man doth live without* CHRIST, *without whom all vertue is accounted vice.* And *Proſper* againſt *Caſsianus*, a Patron of the free

b Quantumlibet opera infidelium prædicentur: Apoſtoli ſententiam veram novimus & invictam; Omne quod non eſt ex fide, peccatum eſt. *Id. de geſtis contra Pelagium, cap.* 14.

c Quòd Philoſophos non verâ pietate præditos, dixi virtutis luce fulſiſſe. *Id. Retract. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

d Sententiam proferamus adverſus eos, qui in Chriſtum non credentes, fortes & ſapientes, temperantes ſe putant eſſe & iuſtos: ut ſciant nullum abſque Chriſto vivere, ſine quo omnis virtus in vitio eſt. *Hieronym. in Galat. cap.* 3.

free-will of the *Semipelagians*: e *It appeareth* (saith hee) *most manifestly, that there dwelleth no vertue in the minds of the ungodly, but that all their workes be uncleane and polluted; who have wisedome not spirituall but animall, not heavenly but earthly, not Christian but Diabolicall, not from the Father of light but from the Prince of darkenesse; while by those very things which they should not have had but by Gods giving, they are made subject to him, who did first fall from God.* f *Neither ought we therefore to imagine, that the beginnings of vertues bee in the treasures of nature, because many commendable things are found in the mindes of ungodly men, which doe proceed indeed from nature; but because they have departed from him that made nature, cannot be accounted vertues. For that which is illuminated with the true light, is light; and that which wanteth that light, is night: because the wisedome of this world is foolishnes with God. And so that is vice, which is thought to be vertue: as that is foolishnesse, which is thought to wisedome.* Hitherto also pertaineth that sentence, produced by him out of S. *Augustines* workes: g *The whole life of unbelievers is sinne; and there is nothing good without the chiefest good. For where there is wanting the acknowledgement of the eternall and unchangeable truth, there is false vertue even in the best manners.* Which he elegantly expresseth in verse, as

e Manifestissimè patet, in impiorum animis nullam habitare virtutem: sed omnia opera eorum immunda esse atque polluta; habentium sapientiam non spiritualem sed animalem, non cœlestem sed terrenam, non Christianam sed Diabolicam, non à Patre luminum sed à Principe tenebrarum; dum per ea ipsa quæ non haberent nisi dante Deo, subduntur ei qui primus recessit à Deo. *Prosper, contra Collator. cap.* 13.

f Nec ideò existimare debemus, in naturalibus thesauris principia esse virtutum, quia multa laudanda reperiuntur etiam in ingeniis impiorum: quæ ex naturâ quidem prodeunt; sed quoniam ab eo qui naturam condidit recesserunt, virtutes esse non possunt. Quod enim vero illuminatum est lumine, lumen est; & quod eodem lumine caret, nox est: Quia sapientia hujus mundi stultitia est apud Deum. Ac sic vitium est quod putatur esse virtus: quandoquidem stultitia est, quod putatur esse sapientia. *Ibid.*

g Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est: & nihil est bonum sine summo bono. Vbi enim deest agnitio æternæ & incommutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est, etiam in optimis moribus. *Id. ex Augustino Sentent.* 106. & *Epigram.* 81.

well

well in his 81. *Epigramme*, as in his *Poeme* against the *Pelagians*, wherein of *naturall Wisedome* hee writeth thus:

[h] *Et licèt eximias studeat pollere per artes,*
Ingeniumq; bonum generosis moribus ornet:
Cæca tamen finem ad mortis per devia currit,
Nec vitæ æternæ veros acquirere fructus
De falsâ virtute potest; unamq; decoris
Occidui speciem mortali perdit in ævo.
Omne etenim probitatis opus, nisi semine veræ
Exoritur fidei, peccatum est, inq; reatum
Vertitur, & sterilis cumulat sibi gloria pœnam.

h *Id. de Ingratis, cap. 16.*

i Etsi fuit qui naturali intellectu conatus sit vitiis reluctari; hujus tantùm temporis vitam steriliter ornavit, ad veras autem virtutes æternamque beatitudinem non profecit. Sine cultu enim veri Dei, etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est: nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest. Qui vero Deo non placet, cui nisi sibi & Diabolo placet? A quo cùm homo spoliaretur; non voluntate, sed voluntatis sanitate privatus est. *Prosp. de Vocatione Gent. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

The Author of the booke *De vocatione Gentium* (by some wrongly attributed to Saint *Ambrose*, to *Prosper* by others) delivereth the same doctrine in these words: [i] *Although there have beene some who by their naturall understanding have endevoured to resist vices; yet have they onely barrenly adorned this temporall life, but not profited at all unto true vertues and everlasting blisse. For without the worship of the true God, even that which seemeth to bee vertue is sinne: neither can any man please God without God. And he that doth not please God, whom doth hee please but himselfe and the Devill? By whom when man was spoyled, he was deprived not of his will, but of the sanitie of his will.* [k] *Therefore if God doe not worke in us, wee can be partakers of no vertue. For without this good, there is no-*

k Qui si non operatur in nobis, nullius possumus esse participes virtutis. Sine hoc quippe bono, nihil est bonum: sine hâc luce, nihil est lucidum: sine hâc sapientiâ, nihil sanum; sine hâc justitiâ, nihil rectum. *Ibid. cap. 8.*

thing

thing good; without this light, there is nothing lightſome; without this wiſedome, there is nothing ſound; without this righteouſneſſe, there is nothing right. So *Fulgentius*, in his booke *of the Incarnation and Grace of Chriſt.* [l] *If unto ſome who did know God, and yet did not glorifie him as God, that knowledge did profit nothing unto ſalvation: how could they bee juſt with God, which doe ſo keepe ſome goodneſſe in their manners and workes, that yet they referre it not unto the end of Chriſtian faith and charitie? In whom there may be indeede ſome good things that appertaine to the equitie of humaine ſocietie: but becauſe they are not done by the love of God, profit they cannot.* And *Maxentius* in the Confeſſion of his faith: [m] *We beleeve that naturall Free-will hath abilitie to nothing elſe, but to diſcerne and deſire carnall or ſecular things onely; which not with* GOD, *but with men peradventure may ſeeme glorious: but for the things that pertaine to everlaſting life, that it can neither think, nor wil, nor deſire, nor effect, but by the infuſion & inward operation of the Holy Ghoſt.* And *Caſſiodorus*, in his Expoſition of the Pſalmes. [n] *On the evill part indeed there is an execrable freedome of the will, that the ſinner may forſake his Creator, and convert himſelfe to wicked vices: but on the good part, by* Adams *ſinning, wee have loſt free-*

l Quòd ſi quibuſdam cognoſcentibus Deum, nec tamen ſicut Deum glorificantibus, cognitio illa nihil profuit ad ſalutem: quomodo hi potuerunt juſti eſſe apud Deum, qui ſic in ſuis moribus atque operibus bonitatis aliquid ſervant, ut hoc ad finem Chriſtianæ fidei charitatiſque non referant? Quibus aliquo quidem bona, quæ ad ſocietatis humanæ pertinent æquitatem, ineſſe poſſunt: ſed quia non charitate Dei fiunt, prodeſſe non poſſunt. *Fulgent. de Incarn. & Grat. Chriſti, cap. 26.*

m Liberum naturale arbitrium ad nihil aliud valere credimus, niſi ad diſcernenda tantùm & deſideranda carnalia ſive ſecularia; quæ non apud Deum, ſed apud homines poſſunt fortaſſis videri glorioſa. Ad ea verò quæ ad vitam æternam pertinent, nec cogitare, nec velle, nec deſiderare, nec perficere poſſe, niſi per infuſionem & inoperationem intrinſecus Spiritus Sancti. *Jo. Maxent. in Confeſſione ſuæ fidei.*

n Eſt quidem in malâ parte execrabilis libertas arbitrii, ut prævaricator creatorem deſerat, & ad vitia ſe nefanda convertat: in bonâ verò parte arbitrium liberum, Adam peccante, perdidimus; ad quod niſi per Chriſti gratiam redire non poſſumus: dicente Apoſtolo; Deus eſt enim qui operatur in vobis, & velle, & perficere, pro bonâ voluntate. *Caſſiod. in Pſal. 117.*

will,

will, unto which otherwiſe than by the grace of Chriſt we cannot returne: according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle; It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to doe, of his good pleaſure. (Philip. 2. 13.)

The firſt preſumptuous advancer of *Free-will*, contrary to the doctrine anciently received in the Church, is by *Vincentius Lirinenſis* noted to bee *Pelagius* the Hereticke. For [o] *who ever* (ſaith hee) *before that profane* Pelagius, *preſumed the vertue of Free-will to bee ſo great; that hee did not thinke the grace of* GOD *to bee neceſſary for the helping of it in good things at every act?* For maintaining of which ungodly opinion, both he and his diſciple *Celeſtius* were condemned by the cenſure of the CCXIIII. Biſhops aſſembled in the great Councell of *Carthage* (Anno Dom. 418.) [p] *untill they ſhould acknowledge by a moſt open confeſsion, that by the grace of God through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, wee are holpen not onely to know but alſo to doe righteouſneſſe at every act: ſo that without it wee can have, thinke, ſay, doe, nothing that belongeth to true and holy pietie.* Wherewith *Pelagius* beeing preſſed, ſtucke not to make this profeſſion: [q] *Anathema to him, who either thinketh or ſaith, that the grace of God, whereby Chriſt came into this world to ſave ſinners, is not neceſſarie, not onely at every houre or every moment, but alſo at every act of*

o Quis unquam ante profanum illum Pelagium tantam virtutem liberi præſumpſit arbitrii; ut ad hoc in bonis rebus per actus ſingulos adjuvandum, neceſſariam Dei gratiam non putaret? *Vincent. Lirinenſ. adverſ. hæreſ. Commonitor. 1. cap. 34.*

p Donec apertiſſimâ confeſſione fateantur, Gratiâ Dei per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, non ſolùm ad cognoſcendam verumetiam ad faciendam juſtitiam, nos per actus ſingulos adjuvari; ita ut ſine ea nihil veræ Sanctæque pietatis habere, cogitare, dicere, agere valeamus. *Synod. African. Epiſt. ad Zoſimum. Pap. apud Proſperum contra Collator. cap. 5. & Reſponſ. ad object. 8. Gallorum: ubi addit, hanc* conſtitutionem contra inimicos gratiæ Dei totum mundum amplexum eſſe. q Anathema qui vel ſentit vel dicit, gratiam Dei, quâ Chriſtus venit in hunc mundum peccatores ſalvos facere, non ſolùm per ſingulas horas aut per ſingula momenta, ſed etiam per ſingulos actus noſtros non eſſe neceſſariam: & qui hanc conantur auferre, pœnas ſortiuntur æternas. *Pelag. apud Auguſtin. lib. 1. de gratiâ Chriſti, contr. Pelag. & Celeſt. cap. 2.*

ours: and they who goe about to take away this, are worthy to ſuffer everlaſting puniſhment. Foure bookes alſo did he publiſh in defence of *Free-will*: to which he thus referreth his adverſaries, for further ſatisfaction in this matter. [r] *Let them reade the late worke, which wee were forced to ſet out the other day for Free-will; and they ſhall perceive how unjuſtly they goe about to defame us with the deniall of Grace, who throughout the whole context almoſt of that worke doe perfectly and intirely confeſſe both Free-will and Grace.* Yet for all this he did but equivocate in the name of *Grace*: [ſ] *under an ambiguous generalitie hiding what hee thought, but by the tearme of Grace breaking the envie, and declining the offence* which might be taken at his doctrine, as Saint *Auguſtine* well obſerveth. For, by *Grace*, hee did not underſtand, as the Church did in this queſtion, the infuſion of a new qualitie of holineſſe into the ſoule, whereby it was regenerated, and the will of evill made good: but *firſt* [t] the poſſibility of nature, that is to ſay, the naturall freedome of will which every one hath received from God by vertue of the firſt Creation. Againſt which Saint *Auguſtine* thus oppoſeth himſelfe. [u] *Why is there ſo much preſumed of the poſſibilitie of nature? It is wounded, it is maimed, it is vexed, it is loſt. It hath neede of a true confeſſion, not of a falſe defence.* And *Proſper*, ſpeaking of the ſtate of mans Free-will after *Adams* fall;

—[x] *hinc arbitrium per devia lapſum*

r Legant etiam recens meum opuſculum, quod pro libero nupor arbitrio edere compulſi ſumus; & agnoſcent quàm iniquè nos negatione gratiæ infamare geſtierint; qui per totum penè ipſius textum operis perfectè atque integrè & liberum arbitrium confitemur & gratiam. *Id. ibid. cap.* 41.

ſ Sub ambiguâ generalitate quid ſentiret abſcondens; gratiæ tamen vocabulo frangens invidiam, offenſionemq; declinans. *Auguſtin. ibid. cap.* 37.

t *Pelag. apud Auguſtin. de geſtis contra Pelag. cap.* 10. *& in epiſt.* 95. *Vid. etiam. Auguſtin. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap.* 13. *& ſerm.* 11. *de verbis Apoſtoli.*

u Quid tantum de naturæ poſſibilitate præſumitur? Vulnerata, ſauciata, vexata, perdita eſt. Verâ confeſſione, non falſâ defenſione opus habet. *Auguſtin. de natur. & grat. cap.* 53.

x *Proſp. de Ingratis, cap.* 27.

Claudicat, & cæcis conatibus inque ligatis
Motus ineſt, non error abeſt. manet ergo voluntas
Semper amans aliquid quò ſe ferat; & labyrintho
Fallitur, ambages dubiarum ingreſſa viarum.
Vana cupit, vanis tumet & timet: omnimodaque
Mobilitate ruens, in vulnera vulnere ſurgit.

Secondly, by Grace hee underſtood the grace of Doctrine and inſtruction, whereby the minde was informed in the truth out of the word of God. Which by *Proſper* is thus objected to his followers:

—y *aliud non eſt vobiſcum gratia quàm lex,*
Quamq; Propheta monens, & quâ doctrina miniſtri.

Vnto whom Saint *Auguſtine* therefore ſaith well. z *Let them reade and underſtand, let them behold and confeſſe, that not by the law and doctrine ſounding outwardly, but by an inward and hidden, by a wonderfull and unſpeakeable power, God doth worke in the hearts of men, not onely true revelations, but good wills alſo.* And thereupon the *African* Fathers in the Councell of *Carthage*, enacted this Canon. a *Whoſoever ſhall ſay, that the grace of God by Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, doth for this cauſe onely helpe us not to ſinne, becauſe by it the underſtanding of the Commandements is revealed and opened unto us, that wee may know what wee ought to affect, what to ſhunne, and that by it there is not wrought in us, that wee may alſo love and be inabled to do that*

y *Id. ibid. cap.* 20. *Vid. eund. in epiſt. ad Ruffinum, non procul ab initio: & Auguſtin. de hæreſ. cap.* 88. *& lib.* 1. *de gratiâ Chriſti contr. Pelag. cap.* 8, 9, 10.

z Legant ergo & intelligant, intueantur atque fateantur, non lege atque doctrinâ intonante foriſecus, ſed internâ atque occultâ, mirabili ac ineffabili poteſtate operari Deum in cordibus hominum, non ſolùm veras revelationes, ſed etiam bonas voluntates. *Auguſtin. ibid. cap.* 24.

a Quiſquis dixerit gratiam Dei per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, propter hoc tantùm nos adjuvare ad non peccandum, quia per ipſam nobis revelatur & aperitur intelligentia mandatorum, ut ſciamus quid appetrere, quid vitare debeamus; non autem per illam nobis præſtari, ut quod faciendum cognoverimus, etiam facere diligamus atque valeamus: anathema ſit. *African. Patr. in Synod. Carthagin. can.* 4.

which

which we knowe ſhould be done ; let him be Anathema. *Thirdly*, under this grace he comprehended not only the externall revelation by the word, but alſo the [b] internall by the illumination of Gods Spirit. Whereupon he thus riſeth up againſt his adverſarie. [c] *Wee confeſſe that this grace is, not (as thou thinkeſt) in the law onely, but in the help of* GOD *alſo. For God doth help us by his doctrine and revelation, whilſt he openeth the eyes of our hearts ; whileſt hee ſheweth us things to come, that wee be not holden with things preſent ; whileſt hee diſcovereth the ſnares of the Devill ; whileſt hee enlightneth us with the manifold and unſpeakeable gift of his heavenly grace. Hee that ſaith theſe things, doth hee ſeeme unto thee to deny grace? or doth hee confeſſe, both the free-will of Man, and the grace of* GOD *too?* And yet in all this (as Saint *Auguſtine* rightly noteth) [d] he doth but *confeſſe that grace whereby God doth ſhew and reveale what we ought to doe ; not that, whereby hee doth grant and helpe that wee may doe.* And therefore [e] in other places of his writings hee plainely affirmeth, *that our very prayers are to bee uſed for nothing but this, that the doctrine may bee opened unto us by divine revelation ; not that the mind of man may be holpen, that he may alſo accompliſh by love and action that which hee hath learned ſhould be done. Fourthly*, to theſe he further added

b *Auguſtin. lib. 1. de grat. Chriſt. contr. Pelag. cap. 7. & 41.*

c Quam (*gratiam*) nos non, ut tu putas, in lege tantummodo, ſed & in Dei eſſe adjutorio confitemur. Adjuvat enim nos Deus per doctrinam & revelationem ſuam, dum cordis noſtri oculos aperit ; dum nobis, ne præſentibus occupemur, futura demonſtrat ; dum Diaboli pandit inſidias ; dum nos multiformi & ineffabili dono gratiæ cœleſtis illuminat. Qui hæc dicit, gratiam tibi videtur negare ? An & liberum hominis arbitrium, & Dei gratiam confitetur ? *Pelag. Ibid. cap. 7.*

d Hinc itaque apparet, hanc eum gratiam confiteri, quâ demonſtrat & revelat Deus quid agere debeamus ; non quâ donat atque adjuvat ut agamus : cùm ad hoc potiùs valeat legis agnitio, ſi gratiæ deſit opitulatio, ut fiat mandati prævaricatio. *Auguſt. ibid. cap. 8.*

e Ipſas quoque orationes (ut in ſcriptis ſuis apertiſſimè affirmat) ad nihil aliud adhibendas opinatur, niſi ut nobis doctrina etiam divinâ revelatione aperiatur ; non ut adiuvetur mens hominis, ut id, quod faciendum eſſe didicerit, etiam dilectione & actione perficiat. *Id. ibid. cap. 41.*

the grace of remiſſion of ſinnes. For the *Pelagians* ſaid, [f] *that mans nature which was made with free-wil, might be ſufficient to enable us, that we might not ſinne, and that we might fulfill righteouſneſſe: and that this is the grace of God, that we were ſo made that we might doe this by our will, and that he hath given us the helpe of his Law and Commandements, and that hee doth pardon the ſinnes paſt to thoſe that are converted unto him: that in theſe things onely the grace of God was to bee acknowledged, and not in the helpe given unto all our ſingular actions.* And ſo *they* [g] *ſaid, that that grace of God which is given by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, which is neither Law nor Nature, is effectuall onely to this, that ſinnes paſt may be remitted, not that ſinnes to come may bee avoyded, or when they make reſiſtance may bee vanquiſhed.* Whereupon Saint *Auguſtine* thus encountereth *Iulian* the *Pelagian* Hereticke. [h] *Thou (according to your cuſtome, which deſcendeth from your Error) doſt not acknowledge grace, but in the remiſſion of ſinnes; that now from henceforth a man himſelfe by his free-will may make himſelfe righteous. But ſo ſaith not the Church, which all cryeth that which it hath learned from a good Maſter: Lead us not into temptation.*

Laſtly, this was the common doctrine of the [i] *Pela-*

f Vt non peccemus, implea muſque juſtitiam, poſſe ſufficere naturam humanam quæ condita eſt cum libero arbitrio: eamq; eſſe Dei gratiam, quia ſic conditi ſumus, ut hoc voluntate poſſimus; & quòd adjutorium legis mandatorumque ſuorum dedit; & quòd ad ſe converſis peccata præterita ignoſcit: in his ſolis eſſe Dei gratiam deputandam, non in adjutorio noſtrorum actuum ſingulorum. *Id. de geſtis contra Pelagium, cap.* 35.

g Dicunt gratiam dei quæ data eſt per fidem Ieſu Chriſti; quæ neque lex eſt neque natura, ad hoc tantùm valere, ut peccata præterita dimittantur, non ut futura vitentur, vel repugnantia ſuperentur. *Id. de gratiâ & libero arbitrio, cap.* 13. *Vid. ejuſd. lib.* 1. *de grat. Chriſti contra Pelag. cap* 2. h Tu veſtro more, qui de veſtro deſcendit errore, non agnoſcis gratiam, niſi in dimiſſione peccatorum, ut jam de cætero per liberum arbitrium ipſe homo ſeipſum fabricet juſtum. Sed non hoc dicit Eccleſia, quæ clamat tota, quod didicit à Magiſtro bono: Ne nos inferas in tentationem. *Id. lib.* 2. *poſtremi operis contra Iulianum; à Claud. Menardo edit. non procul à fine.* i *Id. de dono perſeverant. cap.* 2. & 20. *De gratiâ & lib. arbitr. cap.* 5. *De hæreſib. cap.* 88. &c.

gians,

gians, and accounted to bee one of the principall [k] *blaſphemies*, of that Sect: that they held *the grace of God to be given according to mens merits*. Which was [l] *ſo abhorring from the Catholicke doctrine, and oppoſite to the grace of Chriſt*, that when it was objected to *Pelagius* in the *Dioſpolitan* Synod, held in *Paleſtina* by the Biſhops of the Eaſt, he durſt not avow it; but was forced to accurſe it, leſt otherwiſe hee ſhould have beene accurſed himſelfe. *But that he deceitfully curſed it, the bookes written by him afterwards doe ſhew; wherein he defendeth nothing elſe, but that the grace of God is given according to our merits*. which *Proſper* treading in Saint *Auguſtines* ſteps, doth thus expreſſe:

[m] *Objectum eſt aliud; ipſum dixiſſe magiſtrum*
Quòd meritis hominum tribuatur gratia Chriſti,
Quantum quiſq; Dei donis ſe fecerit aptum.
Sed nimis adverſum hoc fidei, nimiumq; repugnans
Eſſe videns, dixit ſe non ita credere, & illos
Damnari dignos quorum mens iſta teneret.
Quo cernis, cum Iudicibus damnantibus iſta
Conſenſiſſe reum: nec quenquam hæc poſſe tueri.
Quæ tamen ipſe ſuis rursùm excoluiſſe libellis
Detegitur, reprobum in ſenſum fallendo reverſus.

And in this alſo did the *Pelagians* betake themſelves unto their old coverts of the grace of nature, the grace of mercie in forgiving of ſinnes, the grace of inſtruction and revelation, and ſuch other ſhifts. For [n] *when it is demanded of them* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*)

k Ex his una eſt blaſphemia, nequiſſimum & ſubtiliſſimum germen aliarum, quâ dicunt, Gratiam Dei ſecundùm merita hominum dari. *Proſper. in epiſt. de grat. & lib. arbitr. ad Ruffinũ.*

l Quod ſic alienum eſt à Catholicâ doctrinâ, & inimicum gratiæ Chriſti; ut niſi hoc objectum ſibi anathematizâſſet, ipſe inde anathematizatus exiſſet. Sed fallaciter eum anathematizâſſe poſteriores ejus indicant libri; in quibus omninò nihil aliud defendit, quàm gratiam Dei ſecundùm merita noſtra dari. *Auguſt. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap. 5.*

m *Proſp. de Ingratis, cap. 9.*

n Cùm ab iſtis quæritur, quam gratiam Pelagius cogitaret ſine ullis præcedentibus meritis dari, quando anathematizabat eos, qui dicunt gratiam Dei ſecundùm merita noſtra dari: reſpondent, ſine ullis præcedentibus meritis gratiam, ipſam humanã eſſe naturã, in quâ conditi ſumus. Neq; enim antequàm eſſemus, mereri aliquid poteramus, ut eſſemus. *Aug. epiſt. 105. ad Sixtum.*

guſtine) what grace Pelagius did thinke was given without any precedent merits, when hee anathematized thoſe, who ſay that the grace of God is given according to our merits: they anſwer, that the grace which is without any precedent merits, is the humane nature it ſelfe wherein wee are created. foraſmuch as before wee were, we could not deſerve any thing, that we might bee. Then afterward perceiving what an idle thing it was to confound grace and nature thus together; [o] they ſaid, *that the onely grace, which was not according to our merits, was that whereby a man had his ſinnes forgiven him.* for they did not thinke, that a ſinner could rightly bee ſaid to merit any thing ſave Gods diſpleaſure.

But that at which they all aymed in generall was this, [p] *that Grace was onely a kinde of Miſtreſſe to Free-will; and that by exhortations, by the law, by doctrine, by the creatures, by contemplation, by miracles, and by terrors outwardly, it ſhewed it ſelfe to the judgement thereof: whereby every man according to the motion of his will, if hee did ſeeke, might finde, if hee did aske, might receive, if hee did knocke, might enter in.* And thus (ſaith *Pelagius*) doth God [q] *worke in us to will that which is good, to will that which is holy; whileſt finding vs given to earthly luſts, and like brute beaſts affecting onely preſent things, hee inflameth us*

o Dicunt Pelagiani, hanc eſſe ſolam non ſecundùm merita noſtra gratiam, quâ homini peccata dimittuntur. *Id. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap. 6.*

p Intellectum eſt enim, ſaluberrimeq; perſpectum, hoc tantùm eos de gratiâ confiteri, quòd quædam libero arbitrio ſit magiſtra; ſeque per cohortationes, per legem, per doctrinam, per creaturam, per contemplationem, per miracula, perque terrores extrinſecùs iudicio eius oſtendat: quo unuſquiſque ſecundùm voluntatis ſuæ motum, ſi quæſierit, inveniat; ſi petierit, recipiat; ſi pulſaverit introeat. *Proſper. in epiſt. ad Ruffin. de grat. & lib. arbitr.*

q Operatur in nobis velle quod bonum eſt, velle quod ſanctum eſt; dum nos terrenis cupiditatibus deditos, & murorum more animalium tantummodò præſentia diligentes, futuræ gloriæ magnitudine & præmiorum pollicitatione ſuccendit; dum revelatione ſapientiæ in deſiderium Dei ſtupentem ſuſcitat voluntatem; dum nobis ſuadet omne, quod bonum eſt. *Pelag. apud Auguſtin. lib. 1. de grat. Chriſti contra Pelag. cap. 10.*

with

with the greatneſſe of the glory to come, and with promiſe of rewards; whileſt by the revelation of his wiſedome hee raiſeth up our ſtupified will to the deſire of God; whileſt he perſwadeth us to all that good is. To this inſtructing and perſwading grace doth *Pelagius* attribute the exciting of the Will: but the converting of it unto God (which followeth afterward) hee aſcribeth wholly to the freedome of the will it ſelfe. [r] *Hee that runneth unto God* (ſaith he) *and deſireth to be ruled by God, hanging his will upon Gods will; hee who by adhering unto him continually, is made, according to the Apoſtle, one ſpirit with him, doth not this but out of the freedome of his will. Which freedome who ſo uſeth aright, doth ſo commit himſelfe wholly to God, & mortifieth all his owne will, that he may ſay with the Apoſtle; I live now, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: and doth put his heart into Gods hand, that God may incline it whither it ſhall pleaſe him.* Heere have you the full platforme layd downe of *Pelagius* his doctrine touching the converſion of a Sinner. *Firſt*, hee ſuppoſeth a poſſibilitie in nature; whereby a man *may* will and doe good. *Secondly*, a corruption in act; whereby a man *doth* will and doe the contrarie. *Thirdly*, an exciting grace from God; whereby the minde is inlightned, and the will perſwaded (upon conſideration of the promiſes and threats propounded) to forſake that lewd courſe of life, and to will and doe the things that are good and holy. *Fourthly*, an act of the free-will, thus prepared by Gods exciting grace: whereby a man (without any further helpe from God) doth voluntarily yeeld unto theſe good motions; and ſo *runneth unto God, deſireth to*

[r] Qui currit ad Deum, & à Deo ſe regi cupit, id eſt, voluntatem ſuam ex ejus voluntate ſuſpendit; qui ei adhærendo iuſtus, unus, ſecundùm Apoſtolum, cum eo fit ſpiritus; non hoc niſi de arbitrii efficit libertate. Quâ qui bene utitur, ita ſe totum tradit Deo, omnemque ſuam mortificat voluntatem, ut cum Apoſtolo poſſit dicere; Vivo autem iam non ego, vivit autem in me Chriſtus: ponitq; cor ſuum in manu Dei, ut illud quò voluerit Deus ipſe declinet. *Pelagius, apud Auguſtin. de gratiâ Chriſti, lib. 1. cap. 22. 23.*

be ruled by him, hangeth his will upon Gods will, and by adhering unto him is made one ſpirit with him. Fifthly, an aſſiſting grace; whereby God guideth the will thus converted, and inclineth the heart whither it pleaſeth him.

Wee ſee three kinds of Grace here commended unto us by *Pelagius*. the firſt, a naturall grace (as hee fondly tearmed it) bringing with it a bare poſſibility onely to will and doe good: which he ſayd was not given according to merits, becauſe hee held it to bee given at the very beginning of mans being, before which he could not poſſibly merit any thing. the ſecond, an exciting or perſwading grace, imparted unto ſuch as were *given to earthly luſts, and like bruit beaſts affected onely preſent things*; who being in that caſe, were farre from meriting any good thing at Gods hands: and in that regard hee affirmed, that this grace likewiſe was given without any reſpect to precedent merits. the third, an aſſiſting grace, by which God doth guide and incline the heart of the converted ſinner, to the doing of all good: and this hee maintained to bee given as a reward to that act of the free-will, whereby it yeelded to the perſwaſions of the former exciting grace, and ſo did actually convert it ſelfe to God. Now this is [f] *the preſumption* which Saint *Auguſtine* condemneth ſo much in theſe men; that they durſt ſay: *Wee worke to merit that God may worke with us*. that they [g] *would firſt give to God, that it might bee recompenſed to them againe: namely, they firſt give ſomewhat out of their*

f Nihil ſic evertit hominum præſumptionem dicentium; Nos facimus, ut mereamur cum quibus faciat Deus. *Auguſt. contra duas epiſt. Pelagian. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

g Priores volunt dare Deo, ut retribuatur eis: priores utique dare quodlibet ex libero arbitrio, ut ſit gratia retribuenda pro præmio, *Ibid.*

free-

free-will, that grace might be rendred to them againe for a reward. that they were of opinion; [u] *that our merit consisted in this, that wee were with God, and that his grace was given according to this merit, that hee should also be with us: that our merit should be in this, that wee doe seeke him; and according to this merit his grace was given that wee should finde him.* For they that followed *Pelagius* (refining herein a little the doctrine of their Master, and delivering it in some what a more plausible manner) declared that [x] the merits which they held to goe before grace and to procure grace, were, *asking, seeking*, and *knocking*: and that [y] *grace was given, not according to the merit of our good workes* (which they did acknowledge to be an effect, and not a cause of this grace) *but of our good will* onely, *because* (sayd they) *the good will of man praying went before, and the will of man beleeving went before that: that according to these merits the grace of God hearing might follow after.* And all this they did under colour of maintaining *free-will* against the *Manichees*: for which they urged much that testimonie of the Prophet, *Esa.* 1.19,20. *If yee be willing and hearken unto mee, yee shall eate the good things of the land: but if yee refuse and will not hearken unto mee, the sword shall consume them.* But [z] *what*

u Meritum nostrum in eo esse, quòd sumus cum Deo: ejus autem gratiam secundùm hoc meritum dari, ut sit & ipse nobiscum. Item meritum nostrum in eo esse, quòd quærimus: & secundùm hoc meritum dari ejus gratiam, ut inveniamus eum. *Id. de grat. & libero arbitr. cap.* 5.

x Ibi enim vos, ut video, ponere jam cœpistis merita gratiam præcedentia, quod est petere, quærere, pulsare; ut his meritis debita illa reddatur, ac sic gratia inaniter nuncupetur. *Id. contra Iulian. Pelagian. lib.* 4. *cap.* 8.

y Dicunt enim, etsi non datur gratia secundùm merita bonorum operum, quia per ipsam bene operamur, tamen secundùm meritum bonæ voluntatis datur. quia bona voluntas (inquiunt) præcedit orantis, quam præcessit voluntas credentis; ut secundùm hæc merita gratia sequatur exaudientis Dei. *Id. de grat. & lib. arbitr. cap.* 14. z Quid eis hoc prodest? quandoquidem non tam contra Manichæos defendunt, quàm contra Catholicos extollunt liberum arbitrium. Sic enim volunt intelligi quod dictum est; Si volueritis & audieritis me: tanquam in ipsâ præcedente voluntate sit consequentis meritum gratiæ; ac si gratia jam non sit gratia, quæ non est gratuita, cùm redditur debita. Si autem sic intelligerent quod dictum est, Si volueritis; ut etiam ipsam bonam voluntatem illum præparare confiterentur,

doth

doth this profit them? (saith Saint *Augustine*) *seeing they doe not so much defend free-will against the Manichees, as extoll it against the Catholickes. For so would they have that understood which is said; If yee bee willing and hearken unto mee: as if in that very precedent will there should bee the meriting of the subsequent grace; and so grace should be now no grace, which is no gratuitie, when it is rendred as due. But if they would so understand that which is sayd, If yee bee willing; that they would also confesse that he doth prepare that good will, of whom it is written, The will is prepared by the Lord: they should use this testimony like Catholickes; and not onely vanquish the old heresie of the Manichees, but also crush the new of the Pelagians.*

Beside the professed *Pelagians*, who directly did denie Originall sinne; there arose others in the Church in Saint *Augustines* dayes, that were tainted not a little with their errors in this point of Grace and Free-will; as namely, one *Vitalis* in *Carthage*, and the *Semi-pelagians* (as they are commonly called) in *France*. For the first held, that [a] *God did worke in us to will by his Scriptures either read or heard by us: but that to consent unto them or not consent is so in our power, that if we will it may be done, if wee will not, wee may make the operation of God to bee of no force in us. For God doth worke* (said hee) *as much as in him is that we may will, when his word is made knowne unto us: but if wee will not yeeld unto it, wee make that his operation shall have no profit in us.* Against him Saint *Augustine* disputeth largely in his 107. Epistle,

where

de quo scriptum est, Præparatur voluntas à Domino: tanquam Catholici uterentur hoc testimonio; & non solùm hæresim veterem Manichæorum vincerent, sed novam Pelagianorum conterererent. *Id. contr. duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

a Per legem suam, per Scripturas suas Deum operari ut velimus quas vel legimus vel audimus: sed eis consentire vel non consentire ita nostrum est, ut si velimus fiat; si autem nolimus, nihil in nobis operationem Dei valere faciamus. Operatur quippe ille, dicis, quantum in ipso est, ut velimus, cùm nobis nota fiunt eius eloquia: sed si eis acquiescere nolumus, nos ut operatio eius nihil in nobis profit efficimus. *Id. epist. 107. ad Vitalem.*

where hee maketh this to be the ſtate of the queſtion betwixt them; [b] *Whether Grace doth goe before or follow after the Will of man, that is to ſay,* (as hee further explaineth it) *whether it be therefore given us becauſe we will; or by it God doth worke even this alſo, that we doe will.* The worthy Doctor maintaineth that Grace goeth before, & worketh the will unto good: which hee ſtrongly proveth, both by the word of God and by the continuall practiſe of the Church in her prayers and thankeſgivings for the converſion of unbeleevers. [c] For *if thou doſt confeſſe* (ſaith hee) *that we are to pary for them, ſurely thou doſt pray that they may conſent to the doctrine of God, with their will freed from the power of darkeneſſe. And thus it will come to paſſe, that neither men ſhall bee made to be beleevers but by their free will; and yet ſhall bee made beleevers by his grace, who hath freed their will from the power of darkeneſſe. Thus both Gods grace is not denied, but is ſhewed to bee true without any humane merits going before it: and free-will is ſo defended, that it is made ſolide with humilitie, and not throwne downe headlong by beeing lifted up; that hee that rejoyceth, may not rejoyce in man, either any other or yet himſelfe, but in the Lord.* and againe: [d] *How doth God expect the wills of men that they ſhould prevent him, to whom hee might give grace: when wee doe give him thankes*

b Vtrum præcedat hæc gratia an ſubſequatur hominis voluntatem, hoc eſt, (ut planiùs id eloquar) utrum ideò nobis detur, quia volumus, an per ipſam Deus etiam hoc efficiat ut velimus. *Ibid.*

c Si fateris pro eis orandum, id utique orandum fateris, ut doctrinæ divinæ arbitrio liberato à tenebrarum poteſtate conſentiant. Ita fit ut neque fideles fiant niſi libero arbitrio; & tamen illius gratiâ fideles fiant, qui eorum à poteſtate tenebrarum liberavit arbitrium. Sic & Dei gratia non negatur, ſed ſine ullis humanis præcedentibus meritis vera monſtratur: & liberum ita defenditur, ut humilitate ſolidetur, non elatione præcipitetur arbitrium; & qui gloriatur, non in homine, vel quolibet alio vel ſeipſo, ſed in Domino glorietur. *Ibid.*

d Quomodo Deus expectat voluntates hominum, ut præveniant eum, quibus det gratiam: cùm gratias ei non immeritò agamus de iis quibus non ei credentibus, & ejus doctrinam voluntate impiâ perſequentibus miſericordiam prærogavit; eoſque ad ſeipſum omnipotentiſſimâ facilitate convertit, ac volentes ex nolentibus fecit? ut quid ei inde gratias agimus, ſi hoc ipſe non fecit? *Ibid.*

not

not undeſervedly in the behalfe of them, whom not beleeving, and perſecuting his doctrine with an ungodly will, he hath prevented with his mercy, & with a moſt omnipotent facility converted them unto himſelfe, and made them willing of unwilling? Why doe wee give him thankes for this, if he himſelfe did not this? [e] *Queſtionleſſe wee doe not pray to God, but faine that we doe pray, if wee beleeve that not hee, but our ſelves bee the doers of that which wee pray for. Queſtionleſſe wee doe not give thankes to God, but faine that we give thanks; if wee doe not thinke that hee doth the thing, for which wee give him thankes. If deceitfull lips bee found in any other ſpeeches of men, at leaſtwiſe let them not bee found in prayers. Far be it from us, that what we do beſeech God to doe with our mouthes and voyces, wee ſhould denie that he doth it in our hearts: and, which is more grievous, to the deceiving of others alſo, not conceale the ſame in our diſputations; and whileſt wee will needes defend Free-will before men, wee ſhould leeſe the helpe of prayer with God, and not have true giving of thankes, whileſt we doe not acknowledge true grace. If wee will truely defend Free-will, let us not oppugne that by which it is made free. For who ſo oppugneth Grace, whereby our will is made free to decline from evill and to doe good; he will have his will to bee ſtill captive.* Thus doth Saint *Auguſtine* deale with *Vitalis*: to whom he ſayth. [f] *I*

[e] Prorſus non oramus Deum, ſed orare nos fingimus; ſi nos ipſos non illum credimus facere quod oramus. Prorſus non gratias Deo agimus, ſed nos agere fingimus; ſi unde illi gratias agimus, ipſum facere non putamus. Labia doloſa ſi in hominum quibuſcunque ſermonibus ſunt, ſaltem in orationibus non ſint. Abſit, ut quod facere Deum rogamus oribus & vocibus noſtris, eum facere negemus cordibus noſtris: &, quod eſt gravius ad alios decipiendos, hoc non taceamus diſputationibus noſtris: & dum volumus apud homines defendere liberum arbitrium, apud Deum perdamus orationis auxilium, & gratiarum actionem non habeamus veram, dum veram non agnoſcimus gratiam. Si verè volumus defendere liberum arbitrium; non oppugnemus unde fit liberum. Nam qui oppugnat gratiam, quâ noſtrum ad declinandum à malo, & faciendum bonum liberatur arbitrium, ipſe arbitrium ſuum adhuc vult eſſe captivum. *Ibid.*

[f] Ego hæreticum quidem Pelagianum te eſſe non credo: ſed ità eſſe volo, ut nihil illius ad te tranſeat, vel in te relinquatur erroris. *Ibid.*

doe

doe not beleeve indeed that thou art a Pelagian *hereticke; but ſo I would have thee to be, that no part of that errour may paſſe unto thee, or be left in thee.*

The doctrine of the *Semi-Pelagians* in France is related by *Proſper Aquitanicus* and *Hilarius Arelatenſis*, in their ſeverall Epiſtles written to Saint *Auguſtine* of this argument. [g] *they doe agree* (ſaith *Hilarius*) *that all men were loſt in* Adam, *and that from thence no man by his proper will can bee freed: but this they ſay is agreeable to the truth, or anſwerable to the preaching* of the word; *That when the meanes of obtaining Salvation is declared to ſuch as are caſt downe and would never riſe againe by their owne ſtrength, they by that merit, whereby they doe will and beleeve that they can bee healed from their diſeaſe, may obtaine both the increaſe of that Faith, and the effecting of their whole health.* And [h] *that grace is not denied, when ſuch a will as this is ſaid to goe before it, which ſeeketh onely a Phyſitian, but is not of it ſelfe otherwiſe able to doe any thing. For as touching that place, As he hath diſtributed to every one the meaſure of Faith; and other like teſtimonies: they would have them make for this, that hee ſhould bee holpen that hath begun to will; but not that this alſo ſhould bee given unto him, that hee might will. Proſper* in his Poems doth thus deliver it.

[i] *Gratia quâ Chriſti populus ſumus, hoc cohibetur*
Limite vobiſcum, & formam hanc aſſcribitis illi:
Vt cunctos vocet illa quidem, invitetq; nec vllum

g Conſentiunt omnem hominem in Adam periſſe, nec inde quenquam poſſe proprio arbitrio liberari: ſed id conveniens aſſerunt veritati, vel congruum prædicationi, ut cùm proſtratis & numquam ſuis viribus ſurrecturis annunciatur obtinendæ ſalutis occaſio; eo merito, quo voluerint & crediderint à ſuo morbo ſe poſſe ſanari, & ipſius fidei augmentum, & totius ſanitatis ſuæ conſequantur effectum. *Hilar. epiſt. ad Auguſt.*

h Nec negari gratiam, ſi præcedere dicatur talis voluntas, quæ tantùm medicum quærat; non autem quicquam ipſa jam valeat. Nam illa teſtimonia, ut eſt illud, Sicut unicuique partitus eſt menſuram fidei, & ſimilia, ad id volunt valere, ut adjuvetur qui cœperit velle; non ut etiam donetur, ut velit. *Ibid.* i *Pposper. de Ingratis, cap.* 10.

Præteriens,

Præteriens, ſtudeat communem adferre ſalutem
Omnibus, & totum peccato abſolvere mundum.
Sed proprio quemq; arbitrio parere vocanti,
Iudicioq; ſuo, motâ ſe extendere mente
Ad lucem oblatam; quæ ſe non ſubtrahat vlli,
Sed cupidos recti jnvet, illuſtretq; volentes.
Hinc adjutoris Domini bonitate magiſtrâ
Creſcere virtutum ſtudia; vt quod quiſq; petendum
Mandatis didicit, jugi ſectetur amore.
Eſſe autem doctis iſtam communiter æquam
Libertatem animis, vt curſum explere beatum
Perſiſtendo queant: finem effectumq; petitum
Dante Deo, ingenijs qui nunquam deſit honeſtis.
Sed quia non idem eſt cunctis vigor, & variarum
Illecebris rerum trahitur diſperſa voluntas:
Sponte aliquos vitijs ſuccumbere, qui potuiſſent
A lapſu revocare pedem, ſtabileſq; manere.

Againſt theſe opinions, Saint *Auguſtine* wrote his two bookes, *of the Predeſtinatton of the Saints*, and *of the gift of Perſeverance*: in the former whereof he hath this memorable paſſage among divers others. [k] *Many heare the word of truth; but ſome doe beleeve, others do contradict. Therefore theſe have a will to beleeve, the others have not. Who is ignorant of this? who would denie it? but ſeeing the will is to ſome prepared by the Lord, to others not: wee are to diſcerne*

k Multi audiunt verbum veritatis; ſed alii credunt, alii contradicunt. Volunt ergo iſti credere, nolunt autem illi. Quis hoc ignoret? quis hoc neget? Sed cum aliis præparetur, aliis non præparetur voluntas à Domino: diſcernendum eſt utique quid veniat de miſericordiâ ejus, quid de judicio. Quod quærebat Iſraël, ait Apoſtolus, hoc non eſt conſecutus: electio autem conſecuta eſt, cæteri verò excæcati ſunt. &c. Ecce miſericordia & judicium; miſericordia in electione quæ conſecuta eſt juſtitiam Dei, judicium verò in cæteros qui excœcati ſunt: & tamen illi quia voluerunt, crediderunt; illi quia noluerunt, non crediderunt. Miſericordia igitur & judicium in ipſis voluntatibus facta ſunt. *Auguſtin. de Prædeſtinat. Sanctor. cap. 6.*

what

what doth proceed from his Mercy, and what from his Iudgement. That which Israel *did seeke (saith the Apostle) he obtained not: but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded.* (Rom. 11. 7.) *Behold mercy and judgement; mercy in the election which hath obtained the righteousnesse of God, but judgement upon the rest that were blinded: and yet the one because they would, did beleeve; the others because they would not, did not beleeve. Mercy therefore and Iudgement were executed even upon the wills themselves.* Against the same opinions divers treatises were published by *Prosper* also; who chargeth these men with [1] *nourishing the poyson* of the *Pelagian* pravity, by their positions: inasmuch as 1. *The beginning of salvation is naughtily placed in man* by them. 2. *The will of Man is impiously preferred before the will of* God: *as if therefore one should bee holpen because hee did will, and did not therefore will because hee was holpen.* 3. *A man originally evill is naughtily beleeved to begin his receiving of good, not from the highest good, but from himselfe.* 4. *It is thought that God may otherwise bee pleased, than out of that which he himselfe hath bestowed.* But hee maintaineth constantly, that both the beginning and ending of a mans conversion is wholly to be ascribed unto grace: and that God effecteth this grace in us, *not by way of counsell and perswasion onely, but by an inward change and reformation of the minde; making up a new vessell of a broken one, by a creating vertue.*

[m] *Non hoc consilio tantum hortaqt; benigno*
Suadens atq; docens, quasi normam legis haberet
Gratia:

1 In istis Pelagianæ pravitatis reliquiis non mediocris virulentiæ fibra nutritur, si principium salutis malè in homine collocatur; si divinæ voluntari impiè voluntas humana præfertur, ut ideò quis adjuvetur quia voluit, non ideò quia adjuvatur velit; si originaliter malus receptionem boni non à summo bono, sed à semetipso inchoare malè creditur; si aliunde Deo placetur, nisi ex eo quod ipse donaverit. *Prosp. in epist. ad Augustin.*

m *Id. de Ingratis, cap. 1.*

Gratia: ſed mutans intus mentem, atq; reformans,
Vaſq; novum exfracto fingens, virtute creandi.

The Writers of principall eſteeme on the other ſide, were [n] *Iohannes Caſſianus*, and *Fauſtus Regienſis* or *Reienſis*: the former of which was encountered by *Proſper* (in his booke *Contra Collatorem*) the latter by *Fulgentius*, *Petrus Diaconus*, *Ioh. Maxentius*, *Facundus*, *Cæſarius*, *Alcimus Avitus*, *Iohannes Antiochenus*: as alſo by *Gelaſius* and his *Romane* Synod of LXX. Biſhops, the writings of them both were rejected amongſt the bookes *Apocryphall*. And laſtly by the joynt authoritie both of the * See of *Rome*, and of the *French* Biſhops aſſembled in the *ſecond* Councell of *Orange*, in the yeare of our Lord DXXIX. ſentence was given againſt the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians* in generall, that their opinions touching *Grace* and *Free-will*, were not agreeable to *the rule of the Catholicke faith*; and theſe concluſions following, among ſundrie others, determined in particular.

• *If any doth ſay, that by mans prayer the grace of* GOD *may be conferred; and that it is not grace it ſelfe which maketh, that God is prayed unto by us: hee contradicteth the Prophet* Eſay, *or the Apoſtle ſaying the ſame thing; I was found of them that*

n Opuſcula Caſſiani, preſbyteri Galliarum, apocrypha. Opuſcula Fauſti Rhegienſis, Galliarum apocrypha. *Concil. Roman. I. ſub Gelaſio.*

* Vnde id nobis, ſecundùm admonitionem & auctoritatem Sedis Apoſtolicæ, iuſtum ac rationabile viſum eſt, ut pauca capitula ab Apoſtolicâ nobis ſede tranſmiſſa, quæ ab antiquis Patribus de ſanctarum Scripturarum voluminibus in hâc præcipué cauſâ collecta ſunt, ad docendos eos qui aliter quàm oportet ſentiunt, ab omnibus obſervanda proferre, & manibus noſtris ſubſcribere deberemus. *Præfat. Concil. Araufican. II.* Quot Arauſicani Canones, tot ſunt Catholicæ Eccleſiæ ſtabilitæ ſententiæ, á quibus abſq; prævaricationis piaculo haud liceat fideli recedere. *Barron. addit. ad tom. 7. ann. 529. in 10. tomi Appendice.* o Si quis invocatione humanâ gratiam Dei dicit poſſe conferri; non autem ipſam gratiam facere, ut invocetur à nobis: contradicit Eſaiæ Prophetæ, vel Apoſtolo idem dicenti; Inventus ſum à non quærentibus me, palàm apparui iis qui me non interrogabant. *Concil. Arauſican. II. Can. 3.*

ſought

ſought mee not, and have beene made manifeſt to them that asked not after mee. (Eſai. 65. 1. Rom. 10. 20.)

p *If any man defend, that God doth expect our will, that we may be purged from ſinne; and doth not confeſſe that this will of ours to be purged, is wrought in us by the infuſion and operation of the Holy Ghoſt: hee reſiſteth the Holy Ghoſt, ſaying by* Salomon; *The will is prepared by the Lord* (Prov. 8. 35. according to the LXX.) *and the Apoſtle preaching wholeſomely; It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to doe, of his good pleaſure.* (Phil. 2. 13.)

p Si quis ut à peccato purgemur, voluntatem noſtram Deum expectare contendit; non autem ut etiam purgari velimus per ſancti Spiritus infuſionem & operationem in nobis fieri confitetur: reſiſtit ipſi Spiritui ſancto, per Salomonem dicenti; Præparatur voluntas à Domino. & Apoſtolo ſalubriter prædicanti; Deus eſt qui operatur in nobis & velle & perficere pro bonâ voluntate. *Ibid. can.* 4.

q *If any man ſay, that to us, without grace, beleeving, willing, deſiring, endeavouring, labouring, watching, ſtudying, asking, ſeeking, knocking, mercie is conferred by God; and doth not confeſſe, that it is wrought in us by the infuſion and inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, that wee may beleeve, will, or doe all theſe things as wee ought; and doth make the helpe of grace to follow after mans either humilitie or obedience, neither doth yeeld that it is the gift of grace it ſelfe, that wee are obedient and humble: hee reſiſteth the Apoſtle, ſaying; What haſt thou, that thou haſt not received?* (1. Cor. 4. 7.) *and, By the grace of God I am that I am.* (1. Cor. 15. 10.)

q Si quis ſine gratiâ Dei, credentibus, volentibus, deſiderantibus, conantibus, laborantibus, vigilantibus, ſtudentibus, petentibus, quærentibus, pulſantibus nobis miſericordiam dicit conferri divinitùs; non autem ut credamus, velimus, vel hæc omnia ſicut oportet agere valeamus, per infuſionem & inſpirationem ſancti Spiritus in nobis fieri confitetur; & aut humilitatî aut obedientiæ humanæ ſubiungit gratiæ adjutorium, nec ut obedientes & humiles ſimus ipſius gratiæ donum eſſe conſentit: reſiſtit Apoſtolo dicenti; Quid habes, quod non accepiſti? &, Gratiâ Dei ſum id quod ſum. *Can.* 6.

r *It is Gods gift, both when we doe thinke aright, and*

r Divini eſt muneris, cùm & rectè cogitamus, & pedes noſtros à falſitate & iniuſtitiâ tenemus. Quoties enim bona agimus, Deus in nobis atq; nobiſcum, ut operemur, operatur. *Can.* 9.

when wee hold our feet from falſhood and unrighteouſneſſe. For as oft as we doe good things, God worketh in us, and with us, that we may worke.

f *There are many good things done in man, which man doeth not. But man doeth no good things, which God doth not make man to doe.*

t *This alſo doe wee wholſomely profeſſe and beleeve, that in every good worke wee doe not begin, and are holpen afterwards by the mercy of God; but hee firſt of all, no good merits of ours going before, inſpireth into us both Faith and the Love of him: that we may both faithfully ſeeke the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and after Baptiſme with his helpe wee may fulfill the things that are pleaſing unto him.*

f Multa in homine bona fiunt, quæ non facit homo. Nulla vero facit homo bona, quæ non Deus præſtet, ut faciat homo. *Can.* 20.

t Hoc etiam ſalubriter profitemur & credimus, quòd in omni opere bono non nos incipimus, & poſteà per Dei miſericordiam adjuvamur; ſed ipſe nobis, nullis præcedentibus bonis meritis, & fidem & amorem ſui priùs inſpirat, ut & baptiſmi ſacramenta fideliter requiramus, & poſt baptiſmum cum ipſius adjutorio ea quæ ſibi ſunt placita implere poſſimus. *Can. ult.*

Touching which laſt Canon we may note: *Firſt*, for the reading, that in the Tomes of the Councels ſet out by *Binius*, it is moſt notoriouſly corrupted. For where the Councell hath, *Nullis præcedentibus bonis meritis, No good merits going before*: there wee reade, u *Multis præcedentibus bonis meritis, Many good merits going before. Secondly*, for the meaning, that x *the Fathers underſtand grace to bee given according to merits; when any thing is done by our owne ſtrength, in reſpect whereof grace is given, although it be no merit of condignity*: as both *Bellarmine* himſelfe doth acknowledge in the explication of the determination of the *Paleſtine* Synod againſt *Pelagius*; and in the caſe of the *Semi-pelagians*, as it is de-

u *Concil. tom.* 2. *part.* 1. *pag.* 639. *edit. Colon. an.* 1618. x Gratiam ſecundùm merita noſtra dari intelligunt Patres, cùm aliquid fit propriis veribus, ratione cujus datur gratia, etiamſi non ſit illud meritum de condigno. *Bellarm. de Grat. & lib. Arbitr. lib.* 6. *cap.* 5.

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livered by *Cassianus*, is most evident. For [y] *the grace of* GOD (saith hee) *doth alwayes so cooperate to the good part with our Free-will, and in all things helpe, protect and defend it, that sometime it either requireth, or expecteth from it some endeavours of a good will; that it may not seeme to conferre its gifts upon one that is altogether sleeping, and given to sluggish idlenesse: seeking occasions after a sort, whereby the dulnesse of humaine sloathfulnesse being shaken off, the largenesse of its bountie may not seeme to be unreasonable, while it imparteth the same under the colour of a kinde of desire and labour. Yet so notwithstanding that grace may alwayes continue to be gracious and free; while to such kinde of small and little endevours, with an inestimable largesse it giveth so great glory of immortalitie, so great gifts of everlasting blisse.* [z] *Let humaine frailtie therefore endevour as much as it will, it can not bee equall to the retribution that is to come; neither by the labours thereof doth it so diminish Gods grace, that it doth not alwayes continue to be given freely.*

Where you may observe, from what fountaine the Schoole-men did derive their doctrine of works preparatorie, meriting grace by way of *Congruitie*, though not of *Condignitie*. For *Cassianus* (whom [a] *Prosper* chargeth, notwithstanding all this qualifying of the matter, to be a maintainer in very deed of that damned point of Pelagianisme; *that the grace of God was given according to our merits*) *Cassia-*

y Ita semper gratia Dei nostro in bonam partem cooperatur arbitrio, atq; in omnibus illud adiuvat, protegit ac defendit, ut non-nunquam etiam ab eo quosdam conatus bonæ voluntatis vel exigat, vel expectet; ne penitùs dormienti aut inerti otio dissoluto, sua dona conferre videatur: occasiones quodammodo quærens, quibus humanæ segnitiei torpore discusso, non irrationabilis munificentiæ suæ largitas videatur, dum eam sub colore cuiusdam desiderii ac laboris impartit. & nihilominus gratia Dei semper gratuita perseveret; dum exiguis quibusdam parvisque conatibus tantam immortalitatis gloriam, tanta perennis beatitudinis dona, inæstimabili tribuit largitate. *Io. Cassian. collat.* 13. *cap.* 13. z Quantumlibet ergo enisa fuerit humana fragilitas, futuræ retributioni par esse non poterit; nec ita laboribus suis divinam immunuit gratiam, ut non semper gratuita perseveret. *Ibid.* a *Prosp. contr. Collator. cap.* 3. & 17. *tomo* 7. *Oper. augustini.*

nus, I say, was a man that bare great sway in our Monasteries, where his writings were accounted as the Monkes generall Rules: and untill the other day, *Faustus* himselfe (who of all others most cunningly opposed the doctrine of Saint *Augustine* touching Grace and Free-will) was accepted in the Popish Schooles for a reverend Doctor and a Catholike Bishop. Yea the workes of *Pelagius* himselfe were had in such account, that some of them (as his Epistle *ad Demetriadem* for example; and the Exposition upon Saint *Pauls* Epistles, fraught with his heresicall opinions) have passed from hand to hand, as if they had beene written by Saint *Hierome*; and as such, have beene alledged against us by some of our Adversaries in this very question of *Free-will*. The lesse is it to bee wondred, that three hundred yeares agoe in the mid-night of Poperie, the *profound* Doctor *Thomas Bradwardin* (then Chancellour of *London*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterburie*) should begin his Disputations, *Of the Cause of God* against *Pelagius* with this lamentable complaint. [b] *Behold* (*I speake it with griefe of heart touched inwardly*) *as in old time against one Prophet of God, there were found eight hundred and fiftie Prophets of* Baal; *unto whom an innumerable company of people did adhere: so at this day, in this cause, how many* (*O Lord*) *doe now fight with* Pelagius *for Free-will against thy Free Grace, and against* Paul, *the spirituall Champion*

[b] Ecce enim (quod non nisi tactus dolore cordis intrinsecùs refero) sicut olim contra unicum Dei Prophetam octingenti & quinquaginta Prophetæ Baal, & similes sunt reperti, quibus & innumerabilis populus adhærebat: ita & hodie in hâc causâ; quot, Domine, hodie cum Pelagio pro libero Arbitrio contra gratuitam Gratiam tuam pugnant, & contra Paulum pugilem gratiæ spiritualem? *Thom. Bradwardin. Præfat. in libros de Causâ Dei contra Pelag.*

of

of Grace ? [c] *For the whole world almoſt is gon after* Pelagius *into errour. Ariſe therefore O Lord, Iudge thine owne cauſe : and him that defendeth thee, defend, protect, ſtrengthen, comfort.* To whoſe judgement I alſo now leave theſe [d] *Vaine defenders*, or (as Saint *Auguſtine* rightly cenſureth them) *deceivers*, and *puffers up*, and *preſumptuous* extollers *of Free-will.*

c Totus etenim penè mundus poſt Pelagium abiit in errorem. Exurge igitur Domine, iudica cauſſam tuam; & ſuſtinentem te ſuſtine, protege, robora, conſolare. *Ibid.*

d Liberi arbitrii defenſores, imò deceptores quia inflatores, & inflatores quia præſumptores. *Auguſtin. epiſt.* 105. *ad Sixtum.* Vani, non defenſores, ſed inflatores liberi arbitrii. *Id. in opere poſtremo contra Iulian. Pelagian. lib.* 2. Non defenſores, ſed inflatores & præcipitatores liberi arbitrii. *Id. de Grat. & lib. arbitr. cap.* 14.

OF MERITS.

IN the laſt place we are told, that the Fathers of the unſpotted Church of *Rome* did teach; that man *for his meritorious works receiveth, through the aſſiſtance of Gods grace, the bliſſe of everlaſting happineſſe.* But our Challenger, I ſuppoſe, will hardly find one Father either of the ſpotted or unſpotted Church of *Rome*, that ever ſpake ſo babiſhly herein, as hee maketh them all to doe. *That man by the aſſiſtance of Gods grace, may doe meritorious workes*, we have read in divers Authors, and in divers meanings. But after theſe workes done, that a man ſhould *receive through the aſſiſtance of Gods grace the bliſſe of everlaſting happineſſe*, is ſuch a peece of gibbriſh, as I doe not remember that before now I have ever met withall even in *Babell* it ſelfe. For with them that underſtand what they ſpeake, *aſſiſtance* hath reference to the doing of the worke, not to the receiving of the re-

ward: and ſimply to ſay, that a man *for his meritorious workes* (taking *merit* here as the Romaniſts in this queſtion would have it taken) *receiveth through Gods grace the bliſſe of everlaſting happineſſe*; is to ſpeake flat contrarieties, and to conjoyne thoſe things, that cannot poſſibly be coupled together. For that concluſion of *Bernard* is moſt certain: [a] *There is no place for Grace to enter, where merit hath taken poſſeſsion.* becauſe it is grounded upon the Apoſtles determination, Rom. 11. 6. *If it be of grace, it is no more of workes: or elſe were grace no more grace.*

a Non eſt in quo gratia intret, ubi jam meritum occupavit. *Bernard. in Cant. Ser. 67.*

Neither doe wee therefore take away the *reward*, becauſe we denie the *merit* of good workes. Wee know, that in the keeping of Gods Commandements there is *great reward*; Pſal. 19. 11. and that unto him who *ſoweth righteouſneſſe*, there ſhall bee *a ſure reward*; Prov. 11. 18. But the queſtion is, whence he that *ſoweth* in this manner, muſt expect to reape ſo *great* and ſo *ſure* a harveſt? Whether from Gods *Iuſtice*; which he muſt doe if hee ſtand, as the Ieſuites would have him doe, upon merit: or from his *Mercie*; as a recompence freely beſtowed out of Gods gracious bountie, and not in juſtice due for the worth of the worke performed. Which queſtiſtion, we thinke, the Prophet *Hoſea* hath ſufficiently reſolved; when hee biddeth us *ſow to our ſelves in righteouſneſſe, and reape in* MERCY; *Hoſea* 10. 12. Yea and God himſelfe in the very publication of the Decalogue; where he promiſeth to ſhew MERCY unto thouſands of them that love him, and keepe his Commandements, *Exod.* 20. 6. Neither do wee hereby any whit detract from the truth of that axi-

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ome, that *God will give every man according to his workes:* for ſtill the queſtion remaineth the very ſame; whether God may not judge a man according to his workes, when hee ſitteth upon the *throne of grace, as well as when hee ſitteth upon the throne of juſtice?* and wee thinke here, that the Prophet *David* hath fully cleared the caſe, in that one ſentence, *Pſalm* 62. 12. *With thee, O Lord, is* MERCY: *for thou rewardeſt every one according to his worke.*

Originally therefore, and in it ſelfe, we hold that this reward proceedeth meerely from Gods free bountie and *mercy:* but accidentally, in regard that God hath tyed himſelfe by his word and promiſe to conferre ſuch a reward, we grant that it now proveth in a ſort to be an act of *juſtice*, even as in *forgiving of our ſinnes* (which in it ſelfe all men know to bee an act of *mercy*) hee is ſayd to bee *faithfull and juſt*, 1. *Ioh.* 1. 9. namely, in regard of the faithfull performance of his promiſe. For promiſe, we ſee, amongſt honeſt men is counted a due debt. but the thing promiſed beeing free, and on our part altogether undeſerved, if the promiſer did not performe, and proved not to bee ſo good as his word; hee could not properly be ſayd to doe mee wrong, but rather to wrong himſelfe, by impairing his owne credit. And therefore *Aquinas* himſelfe confeſſeth, [b] *that God is not hereby ſimply made a debtor to us, but to himſelfe; in as much as it is requiſite that his own ordinance ſhould be fulfilled.* Thus was *Moſes* carefull to put the children of *Iſrael* in minde touching the Land of *Canaan* (which was a type of our eternall habitation in Heaven) that it was a Land of *promiſe*, and not of *merit:*

b Non ſequitur, quòd Deus efficiatur ſimpliciter debitor nobis, ſed ſibi ipſi; in quantum debitum eſt, ut ſua ordinatio implcatur. *Thom.* 1. 2. *queſt.* 114. *art.* 1. *ad* 3.

merit: which God did give them to poſſeſſe, *not for their righteouſnes, or for their upright heart*, but *that he might performe the word which he ſware unto their Fathers Abraham, Iſaac & Iacob*, (*Deut* 9.5.) Whereupon the Levites ſay in their prayer unto God, *Nehem.* 9.8. *Thou madeſt a covenant with Abraham, to give unto his ſeed the land of the Canaanites; and haſt performed thy word, becauſe thou art* IVST. Now becauſe the Lord had made a like *promiſe of the crowne of life to them that love him*: (*Iam.* 1.12.) therefore S. *Paul* doth not ſticke in like manner to attribute this alſo to Gods *juſtice*. *Henceforth* (ſaith hee 2. *Tim.* 4. 8.) *is laid up for me the crowne of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord, the righteous Iudge, ſhall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them alſo that love his appearing*. Vpon which place, *Bernard*, in his book of *Grace and Free-will*, ſaith moſt ſweetly. [c] *That therefore which Paul expecteth, is a crowne of righteouſneſſe, but of Gods righteouſneſſe, not his owne. For it is juſt that he ſhould give that which hee oweth, and he oweth what he hath promiſed: and this is the righteouſneſſe of God, of which the Apoſtle preſumeth, the promiſe of God.*

But this will not content our Ieſuites, unleſſe wee yeeld unto them; [d] *that wee doe as properly and truely merit rewards, when with the grace of God wee doe well, as we doe merit puniſhments, when without grace we doe evill*. ſo ſaith *Maldonat*. that is to ſay, unleſſe we maintaine, [e] *that the good workes of juſt perſons doe merit eternall life condignely, not only by reaſon of Gods*

c Eſt ergo quàm Paulus expectat, corona juſtitiæ, ſed iuſtitiæ Dei, non ſuæ. Iuſtum quippe eſt ut reddat quod debet; debet autem quod pollicitus eſt. Et hæc eſt iuſtitia Dei, de quâ præſumit Apoſtolus, promiſſio Dei. *Bern. lib. de Gratiâ & libero arbitrio.*

d Nos tam propriè ac verè cum gratiâ Dei bene agentes præmia mereri, quàm ſine illâ male agentes ſupplicia meremur. *Io. Maldonat. in Ezech.* 18. 20.

e Opera bona iuſtorum meritoria eſſe vitæ æternæ ex condigno, non ſolùm ratione pacti & acceptationis, ſed etiam ratione operis; ita ut in opere bono ex gratiâ procedente, ſit quædam proportio & æqualitas ad præmium vitæ æternæ. *Bellar. de Iuſt. lib.* 5. *cap.* 17.

covenant

covenant and acceptation, but alſo by reaſon of the worke it ſelfe: ſo that in a good worke proceeding from grace, there may bee a certaine proportion and equalitie unto the reward of eternall life. ſo ſaith Cardinall *Bellarmine.* For the further opening whereof, *Vaſquez* taketh upon him to prove in order theſe three diſtinct Propoſitions. Firſt, [f] *that the good workes of juſt perſons are of themſelves, without any covenant and acceptation, worthy of the reward of eternall life; and have an equall value of condignitie to the obtaining of eternall glorie.* Secondly, [g] *That no acceſsion of dignitie doth come to the workes of the juſt by the merits or perſon of Chriſt; which the ſame ſhould not have otherwiſe, if they had beene done by the ſame grace beſtowed liberally by God alone without Chriſt.* Thirdly, [h] *That Gods promiſe is annexed indeed to the workes of juſt men, yet it belongeth no way to the reaſon of the merit; but commeth rather to the workes, which are alreadie not worthy onely, but alſo meritorious.* Unto all which he addeth afterwards this Corollarie. [i] *Seeing the works of a juſt man doe condignely merit eternall life, as an e-*

f Opera bona iuſtorum ex ſeipſis, abſq; ullo pacto & acceptatione, digna eſſe remuneratione vitæ æternæ; & æqualem valorem condignitatis habere ad conſequendam æternam gloriam. *Gabr. Vaſquez. Commentar. in* 1 am 2æ. *quæ.* 114. *diſp.* 214. *cap.* 5. *init.*

g Operibus iuſtorum nullum dignitatis accrementum provenire ex meritis aut perſonâ Chriſti, quod aliâs eadem non haberent, ſi fierent ex eâdem gratiâ à ſolo Deo liberaliter ſine Chriſto collatâ. *Ibid. init. cap.* 7.

h Operibus iuſtorum acceſſiſſe quidem divinam promiſſionem: eam tamen nullo modo pertinere ad rationem meriti; ſed potiùs advenire operibus, non tantùm iam dignis, ſed etiam iam meritoriis. *Ibid. init. cap.* 8.

i Cum opera iuſti condignè mereantur vitam æternam, tanquam æqualem mercedem, & præmium: non opus eſt interventu alterius meriti condigni, quale eſt meritum Chriſti, ut eis reddatur vita æterna. quinimo aliquid habet peculiare meritum cuiuſcunque iuſti reſpectu ipſius hominis iuſti, quod non habet meritum Chriſti: nempe reddere ipſum hominem iuſtum, & dignum æternâ vitâ, ut eam dignè conſequatur. meritum autem Chriſti licèt digniſsimum ſit, quòd obtineat à Deo gloriam pro nobis; tamen non habet hanc efficaciam & virtutem, ut reddat nos formaliter iuſtos, & dignos æternâ vitâ: ſed per virtutem ab ipſo derivatam hunc conſequuntur effectum homines in ſeipſis. Et ita nunquam petimus à Deo per merita Chriſti, ut noſtris dignis operibus & meritoriis reddatur merces æternæ vitæ: ſed ut per Chriſtum detur nobis gratia, quâ poſſimus dignè hanc mercedem promereri. *Id. ibid. diſp.* 2 2æ. *cap.* 3. *num* 30, 31.

quall

quall recompence and reward: there is no neede that any other condigne merit, ſuch as is the merit of Chriſt, ſhould come betweene, that eternall life might be rendred unto them. Yea the merit of every juſt man hath ſomewhat peculiar in reſpect of the juſt man himſelfe, which the merit of Chriſt hath not: namely, to make the man himſelfe juſt and worthy of eternall life, that he may worthily obtaine the ſame. But the merit of Chriſt, although it bee moſt worthy to obtaine glory of God for us, yet it hath not this efficacie and vertue, to make us formally juſt, and worthy of eternall life: but men by vertue derived from him, attaine this effect in themſelves. And ſo we never requeſt of God by the merits of Chriſt, that the reward of eternall life may be given to our worthy and meritorious workes: but that by Chriſt grace may be given unto us, whereby wee may bee enabled worthily to merit this reward. In a word: [k] *Our merits* (ſayth hee) *have this force in us, that they make us formally worthy of eternall life: the merits of Chriſt doe not make us worthy formally, but Chriſt is worthy, in regard of them, to impetrate unto us whatſoever he requeſteth for us.*

[k] Merita noſtra in nobis hanc vim habent, ut reddant nos formaliter dignos vitâ æternâ: merita autem Chriſti non reddunt nos dignos formaliter; ſed Chriſtus dignus eſt, qui propter illa nobis impetret quicquid ipſe pro nobis petierit. *Ibid. num. 32.*

Thus doth *Vaſquez* the Ieſuite diſcover unto us to the full the myſtery of this iniquity: with whom (for the better information of the *Engliſh* Reader) wee joyne our *Rhemiſts*, who deliver this as their *Catholicke* doctrine. [l] *That all good workes done by Gods grace after the firſt juſtification, be truely and properly meritorious, and fully worthy of everlaſting life: and that thereupon heaven is the due and juſt ſtipend, crowne, or recompence, which God by his juſtice oweth to the perſons ſo working by his grace. (For he rendreth or repayeth*

[l] *Rhem. annotat. in 2. Tim. 4. 8.*

repayeth heaven, say they, *as a juſt Iudge, and not only as a mercifull giver: and the crowne which he payeth, is not onely of mercy, or favour, or grace, but alſo of juſtice.)* And againe. [m] *That mans workes done by Chriſts grace, doe condignely or worthily deſerve eternall joy:* ſo as [n] *workes can be none other but the value, deſert, price, worth, and merit of the ſame.* Whereupon they put us in minde, [o] that the *word* Reward, *which in our Engliſh tongue may ſignifie a voluntary or bountifull gift, doth not here ſo well expreſſe the nature of the Latin word*, Merces, *or the Greeke* Μισθὸς *: which are rather the very ſtipend that the hired workeman or journeyman, covenanteth to have of him whoſe worke hee doth; and is a thing equally and juſtly anſwering to the time and weight of his travels and works, rather than a free gift.*

m *Idem in Luc.* 20. 35.

n *Idem in* 1. *Cor.* 3. 8.

o *Ibid.*

This is that doctrine of *merits*, which from our very hearts we deteſt and abhorre, as utterly repugnant to the truth of God, and the common ſenſe of all true-hearted Chriſtians. The leſſon which our Saviour taught his diſciples, is farre different from this, *Luke* 17. 10. *When yee have done all thoſe things which are commanded you, ſay: We are unprofitable ſervants; wee have done that which was our duety to doe.* And [p] *if he be unprofitable* (ſaith S. *Hierome*) *who hath done all: what is to bee ſaid of him, who could not fulfill them?* So likewiſe the Romanes themſelves might remember, that they were taught by St. *Paul* at the beginning: that there is no proportion of condignity to bee found betwixt not the actions onely but the paſſions alſo of the Saints, and the reward that is reſerved for us in the world to come. *For I reckon, that the ſufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to*

p Si inutilis eſt, qui fecit omnia: quid de illo dicendum eſt, qui explere non potuit? *Hieron. ad Cteſiphont. contr. Pelag.*

be

be compared with the glory which ſhall bee revealed in us: ſaith hee, *Rom.*8.18. and *Bernard* thereupon: q *Concerning the life eternall we know, that the ſufferings of this time are not worthy to bee compared with the future glory; no, not if one man did ſuſtaine them all. For the merits of men are not ſuch, that for them eternall life ſhould be due of right; or God ſhould doe any injury, if he did not give it. For, to let paſſe that all merits are Gods gift, and in that reſpect a man is for them made a debtor to God, more than God to man: what are all merits in compariſon of ſo great a glory?* and St. *Ambroſe* long before him: s *All thoſe things which wee ſuffer, are too little and unworthy, for the paines whereof there ſhould be rendred unto us ſo great reward of good things to come, as ſhall be revealed in us, when being reformed according to the image of God we ſhall merit* (or obtain) *to ſee his glory face to face.*

Where for the better underſtanding of the meaning of the Fathers in this point, wee may further obſerve, that *merits* in their writings doe ordinarily ſignifie nothing but *workes* (as in the alleaged place of *Bernard:*) and t to *merit*, ſimply to *procure* or to *attaine*, without any relation at all to the dignity either of the perſon or the worke; as both in the laſt

q De æternâ vitâ ſcimus, quia non ſunt condignæ paſſiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam; nec, ſi unus omnes ſuſtineat. Neq; enim talia ſunt hominum merita, ut propter ea vita æterna deberetur ex iure; aut Deus injuriam aliquam faceret, niſi eam donaret. Nam, ut taceam quòd merita omnia dona Dei ſunt, & ita homo magis propter ipſa Deo debitor eſt, quàm Deus homini: quid ſunt merita omnia ad tantam gloriã? *Bern. ſerm.* 1 *in Annunt. B. Mariæ.*

r Omnia quæ patimur, minora ſunt & indigna quorum pro laboribus tanta rependatur futurorum merces bonorum, quæ revelabitur in nobis, cùm ad Dei imaginem reformati gloriam eius facie ad faciem aſpicere meruerimus. *Ambroſ. epiſt.* 22.

ſ Verum quidem eſt, neque id me fugit, uſurpari nonnunquam nomen meriti, ubi nulla eſt ratio meriti, neque ex congruo, neque de condigno. *Andr. Vega, defenſ. Concil. Trident. de Iuſtificat. lib.* 8. *cap.* 8. Si aliquis vocabulo promerendi uſus eſt; aliter non intellexit, quàm conſecutionem de facto. *Stapleton Promptuar. Catholic. fer.* 5. *poſt Dominic. Paſſion.* Vocabulum merendi apud veteres Eccleſiaſticos ſcriptores ferè idem valet quod conſequi, ſeu aptum idoneumque fieri ad conſequendum. *Georg. Caſſand. Schol. in Hymnos Eccleſiaſtic. pag.* 179. *Oper. Vid. Cochlæum in Diſcuſſ. Confeſſ. & Apolog. artic.* 20.

words

words of *Ambroſe* is plainly to be ſeene; and in that paſſage of *Bernard* concerning children promoted to the Prelacy, that they were * *more glad they had eſcaped the rod, than that they had merited* (that is, *obtained*) *the preferment*. And therefore as *Tacitus* writes of *Agricola*, that t *by his vertues hee merited* (that is to ſay, *incurred*) *the anger of Caius Cæſar*: ſo Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, that hee and his fellowes for their good doings at the hands of the *Donatiſts*, u *inſtead of thankes merited* (that is, *incurred*) *the flames of hatred*. On the other ſide the ſame Father affirmeth, that St. *Paul* x *for his perſecutions and blaſphemies merited* (that is, *found the grace*) *to be named a veſſell of election*; having reference to that in 1. *Tim.* 1. 13. *Who was before a blaſphemer, and a perſecuter, and injurious; but I obtained mercy*. where in ſtead of ἠλεήθην, which the vulgar Latine tranſlateth *Miſericordiam conſecutus ſum*; y Saint *Cyprian* readeth, *Miſericordiam merui*; *I merited mercy*. Wherunto wee may adde that ſaying which is found alſo among the works of Saint *Auguſtine*: z *That no ſinner ſhould deſpaire of himſelfe, ſeeing Paul hath merited pardon*. and that of *Gregory*: *Paul when hee went about to extinguiſh the name of our Redeemer upon earth, merited to heare his words from heaven*. as alſo that other ſtraine of his concerning the ſinne of *Adam*, which is ſung in the Church of *Rome* at the bleſſing of the Taper: b *O happy ſinne, that merited* (that is, *found the favour*) *to have ſuch and ſo great a Redeemer*. Howſoever therefore the an-

* Lætiores interim quòd virgas evaſerint, quàm quòd mæruerint principatum. *Bernard. epiſt.* 42.

t Iis virtutibus iram Caii Cæſaris meritus. *Tacit. in vit. Jul. Agricolæ.*

u Pro actione gratiarum flammas meruimus odiorum. *Aug. contr. liter. Petilian. lib.* 3. *ca.* 6.

x Pro perſecutionibus & blaſphemiis vas electionis meruit nominari. *Idem de Prædeſtinat. & gratiâ.*

y *Cyprian. epiſt.* 73. *ſect.* 11. *Auguſtin. de Baptiſm. contr. Donatiſt. lib.* 4. *ca.* 5.

z Vt omnis peccator propterea de ſe non deſperet, quia Paulus meruit indulgentiam. *Auguſt. ſerm.* 49. *de Tempore.*

a Quid quòd Paulus, cùm Redemptoris nomen in terrâ conaretur extinguere, ejus verba de cœlo meruit audire? *Greg. Moral. in Iob. lib.* 9. *c.* 17. b O felix culpa, quæ talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem. *Vid. Iodoc. Clicthovei lib. de duab. propoſitionib. Cerei Paſchalis.*

cient

cient Doctors may ſeem unto thoſe that are not well acquainted with their language, to ſpeake of *merits* as the Romaniſts doe: yet have they nothing common with them but the bare word; in the thing it ſelfe they differ as much from them every way, as our Church doth.

[c] *I can hardly be perſwaded,* ſaith *Origen*, *that there can be any worke, which may require the reward of God by way of debt: ſeeing this very thing it ſelfe, that wee can doe, or thinke, or ſpeake any thing, wee doe it by his gift and largeſſe.* So betwixt the *paniſhments* for evill and the *rewards* for good doings, *Didymus* maketh this difference: that * of the one, man himſelfe is the *cauſe*; the other, *man begetteth not, but God graciouſly beſtoweth.* according to that fore-cited place of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 8. 18. [d] *Wages indeed,* ſaith Saint *Hilary*, *there is none of gift, becauſe it is due by worke: but God hath given the ſame free to all men, by the juſtification of faith.* [e] *Whence ſhould I have ſo great merit, ſeeing mercy is my crowne?* ſaith Saint *Ambroſe.* And againe, [f] *Which of us can ſubſiſt, without the mercy of God?*

c Vix mihi ſuadeo quòd poſſit ullum opus eſſe, quod ex debito remunerationem Dei depoſcat: cùm etiam hoc ipſum, quòd agere aliquid poſſumus, vel cogitare, vel proloqui, ipſius dono & largitione faciamus. *Origen. lib. 4. in epiſt. ad Rom. cap. 4.*

* Τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι πατὴρ ἕσται πολλῶν γεννημάτων κακῶν, αὐτὸς γενόμενος καλέσεται. τὰς δὲ ἀμοιβὰς τὰς θείας οὐκ ἀνθρωπος γεννᾷ, ἀλλὰ θεὸς χαρίζεται. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τῆς νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. Didym. in Iob. 15. 35. in Catenâ MS. D. Auguſtini Lindſelli.

d Merces quidem ex dono nulla eſt, quia debetur ex opere: ſed gratuitam Deus omnibus ex fidei juſtificatione donavit. *Hilar. in Matth. Can. 20.*

e Vnde mihi tantum meriti, cui indulgentia pro coronâ eſt? *Ambroſ. in Exhortat. ad Virgines.*

f Quis noſtrûm ſine divinâ poteſt miſeratione ſubſiſtere? Quid poſſumus dignum præmiis facere cœleſtibus? Quis noſtrûm ita aſſurgit in hoc corpore, ut animum ſuum elever, quo jugiter adhæreat Chriſto? Quo tandem hominum merito defertur, ut hæc corruptibilis caro induat corruptionem, & mortale hoc induat immortalitatem? Quibus laboribus, quibus iniuriis poſſumus noſtra levare peccata? Indignæ ſunt paſſiones huius temporis ad ſuperventuram gloriam. Non ergo ſecundùm merita noſtra, ſed ſecundùm miſericordiam Dei, cœleſtium decretorum in homines forma procedit. *Id. in Pſal. 118. octonar. 20. Vide eund. de bono mortis, cap. 11.*

God? What can we doe worthy of the heavenly rewards? Which of us doth ſo riſe up in this body, that hee doth elevate his minde, in ſuch ſort as he may continually adhere unto Chriſt? By what merit of man is it granted, that this corruptible fleſh ſhould put on incorruption, and this mortall ſhould put on immortality? By what labours, or by what induring of injuries, can wee abate our ſinnes? The ſufferings of this time are unworthy for the glory that is to come. Therefore the forme of heavenly decrees doth proceed with men, not according to our merits, but according to Gods mercy. Saint *Baſil* expounding thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt; *Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that feare him, upon them that hope in his mercy,* (Pſal.33.18.) ſaith, that *hee doth hope in his mercy, & who not truſting in his owne good deedes, nor looking to be juſtified by workes, hath the hope of his ſalvation onely in the mercies of God.* and in his explication of thoſe other words, Pſal.116.7. *Returne unto thy reſt, O my ſoule; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* [h] *Everlaſting reſt* (ſaith hee) *is laid up for them that ſtrive lawfully in this life; not to bee rendred according to the debt of workes, but exhibited by the grace of the bountifull God to them that truſt in him.* [i] *If we conſider our own merits, we muſt deſpaire,* ſaith S. *Hierome.* and, [k] *When the day of Iudgment or Death ſhall come, all hands will faile; becauſe no worke ſhall bee found worthy of the juſtice of God.* *Macarius* the *Egyptian* Eremit in his 15. Homily writeth thus.

g Ὁ μὴ πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κατορθώμασι, μηδὲ προσδοκῶν ἐξ ἔργων δικαιωθήσεσθαι, μόνῳ ἔχει τῷ ἐλπίδι τῆς σωτηρίας ὅτι τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Baſil. in Pſal. 32.

h Πρόκειται τοῖς ἀναπαυσις αἰωνία τοῖς νικῶσι τὸν ἐνταῦθα διὰ πλήθους ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἀφειλήματα τῶν ἔργων ἀποδεδόμενα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χάριν τοῦ μεγαλοδώρου Θεοῦ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίσιν προσφερομένη. Id. in Pſal. 114. & apud Anton. Meliſſ. part. 2. ſerm. 93.

i Si noſtra conſideremus merita, deſperandum eſt. *Hieron. lib. 17. in Eſai. cap. 64.*

k Cùm dies judicii vel dormitionis advenerit, omnes manus diſſolventur, &c. quia nullum opus dignum Dei juſtitiâ reperietur. *Id. lib. 6. in Eſai. cap. 13.*

thus.

thus. [1] *Touching the gift which Christians shall inherit, this a man may rightly say, that if any one from the time wherein* Adam *was created unto the very end of the world, did fight against Sathan, and undergo afflictions, he should doe no great matter in respect of the glory that he shall inherit, for he shall reigne together with Christ world without end.* His 37. Homily is in ths *Paris* edition of the workes of [m] *Marcus* the Eremite set out as the Prooeme of his booke *of Paradise and the spirituall Law.* There *Macarius* exhorteth us, that [n] *beleeving in Almighty God, wee should with a simple heart and voide of scrupulosity come unto him who bestoweth the communion of the Spirit according to Faith, and not according to the proportion of the works of Faith.* Where *Ioannes Picus* the Popish interpreter of *Marcus*, giveth us warning in his margent, that *this clause is to bee understood of a lively Faith:* but concealeth his owne faithlesnesse in corrupting of the text, by turning *the workes of Faith* into *the workes of Nature.* For ὁ διὰ παρεισαμοῦ πίστεως ἔργων, is by his Latin translation (which is to be seen in [o] *Bibliothecâ Patrum*) as much to say as, *Non ex proportione operum naturæ.*

There is a Treatise extant of the said *Marcus*; περὶ τῶν δικαιοῦσθαι ἐξ ἔργων δοκούντων, *touching those who thinke to be justified by their workes:* where hee maketh two sorts of men, [p] that *misse both of them the kingdome* of heaven. the one, *such as doe not keepe the Commande-*

1 Πρὸς τὸ δόμα ὃν ὁ μέλλων κληρονομεῖν, τοῦτο ἄντις ὀρθῶς εἴποι, εἰ ἕκαστος ἀφ' ἧς ἐκτίσθη ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπολέμει πρὸς τὸν Σατανᾶν, καὶ ὑπέμεινε τὰς θλίψεις, οὐδὲν μέγα ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἣν μέλλει κληρονομεῖν. συμβασιλεύσει γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας μετὰ Χριστοῦ. Macar. hom. 15.

m *Marc. Eremit. edit. Paris. anno 1563. Nam in Micropresbytico Prœmium illud non habetur: quippe quod* Macarii *constet esse, non Marci.*

n Τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες, ἁπλῇ καὶ ἀπεριεργαστῳ καρδίᾳ προσέλθωμεν τῷ διὰ πίστεως τὴν μετοχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος χορηγοῦντι, καὶ οὐ διὰ παρεισαμοῦ πίστεως ἔργων. Macar. hom. 37.

o *Bibliothec. Patr. tom. 4. pag. 935. B. edit. Colon. & in ipsâ Græcolatinâ editione, quæ prodit Parisiis, an. 1624. tom. 1. pag. 874.*

p Τινὲς μὲν ποιοῦσι τὰς ἐντολὰς, πιστεύειν ὀρθῶς νομίζουσι· πρὸς δὲ ποιοῦντες, ὡς μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπαιτοῦσι· καὶ ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφέλονται. Marc. Eremit. de his qui putant ex operib. justificari, cap. 17. & ex eo Anastasius Sinaita, vel Nicænus, quæst. 1. pag. 16. edit. Ingolstad.

ments,

ments, and yet imagine that they beleeve aright: the other, *such as keeping the Commandements, doe expect the Kingdome as a wages due unto them.* For [q] *the Lord* (saith he) *willing to shew that all the Commandements are of duety to bee performed, and that the adoption of Children is freelly given to men by his bloud, saith; When you have done all things that are commanded you, then say; Wee are unprofitable servants, and wee have done that which was our duty to doe. Therefore the Kingdom of Heaven is not the hire of workes, but the grace of the Lord prepared for his faithfull servants.* This sentence is repeated in the very selfe same words, by [r] *Hesychius* in his booke of Sentences written to *Thalassius.* The like sayings also hath Saint *Chrysostome.* [s] *No man sheweth such a conversation of life, that he may bee worthy of the Kingdome; but this is wholly of the gift of God. Therfore he saith; When ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable servants; for what we ought to doe, we have done.* [t] *Although we did die a thousand deaths, although we did performe all vertuous actions; yet should we come short by farre of rendring any thing worthy of those honours which are conferred upon us by God.* [u] *Although wee should doe innumerable good deeds, it is of Gods pity and benignity that we are heard. although we should come unto the very top of vertue, it is of mercy that we are sa-*

q Ὅκ ὑεις πᾶσαν ἐντολὴν ὀφειλομένην δεῖξαι θέλων, τὴν δὲ υἱοθεσίαν ἰδίῳ αἵματι δεδωρημένων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φησὶν. ὅταν πάντα ποιήσητε τὰ προστεταγμένα ὑμῖν, τότε εἴπατε, δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοί ἐσμεν, ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι, πεποιήκαμεν. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι μισθὸς ἔργων ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλὰ χάρις δεσπότου τοῖς δούλοις ἡτοιμασμένη. Id. ibid. cap. 2.

r Hesych. Presb. in Ἀντιῤῥητικοῖς, Centur. 1. sect. 79.

s Οὐδεὶς τοιαύτην ἐπιδείκνυται πολιτείαν ἐν βίῳ, ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν. διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, ὅταν πάντα ποιήσητε, λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοι ἐσμεν. ἃ γὰρ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι, πεποιήκαμεν. Chrysost. epist. ad Colossi. hom. 2.

t Κἂν γὰρ μυρίακις ἀποθάνωμεν, κἂν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδειξώμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸ πολλοστὸν ἀποδεδώκαμεν τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπηργμένων παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Id. de Compunctione, ad Stelechium, tom. 6. edit. Savil. pag. 157.

u Κἂν γὰρ μυρία κατορθώσωμεν, ἀπὸ οἰκτιρμῶν ἀκουόμεθα καὶ φιλανθρωπίας. κἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέλθωμεν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν κορυφὸν, ἀπὸ ἐλέους σωζόμεθα. Id. in Psal. 4. ibidemq; ex eo, Nicetas Serronius.

ved. [x] For *although wee did innumerable* workes of mercy, yet would it be of *the benignity of grace, that for such small and meane matters should be given so great a Heaven and a Kingdome, and such an honour:* [y] wherunto nothing wee doe can have equall correspondence. [z] *Let the merit of men bee excellent, let him observe the rights of nature, let him bee obedient to the commandements of the Lawes; let him fulfill his faith, keepe justice, exercise vertues, condemne vice, repell sinnes, shew himselfe an example for others to imitate: if he have performed any thing, it is little; whatsoever hee hath done is small: for all merit is short. Number Gods benefits, if thou canst: and then consider what thou doest merit. Weigh thine owne deeds with the heavenly benefits, ponder thine owne acts with the divine gifts: and thou wilt not judge thy selfe worthy of that which thou art, if thou understandest what thou doest merit.* Whereunto wee may adde the exhortation made by Saint *Antony* to his Monkes in *Egypt*. [a] *The life of*

x Κἂν γὰρ μυρία ὦσι ποιοῦντες, χαρίτος ἐστὶν ἡ φιλοτιμία, τὸ αὐτὴ μικρῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐτελῶν ἀξιοῦν τοσοῦτον καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ τιμὴν τοιαύτην αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι παρὰ. Id. in Matth. hom. 79. edit. Græc. vel 80. Latin.

y Ἧς οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο ἴσον. Id. in Psal. 5.

z Sit licèt excellens hominum meritum, sit naturæ jura conservans, sit legum jussis obtemperans; impleat fidem, justitiam teneat, virtutes exerceat, damnet vitia, peccata repellat, semet exemplum imitantibus præbeat: si quid gesserit, parum est; quicquid fecerit, minus: omne enim meritum breve est. Numera beneficia, si potes; & tunc considera quid mereris. Cum beneficiis cœlestibus tua facta perpende, cum divinis muneribus actus proprios meditare: nec dignum te judicabis eo quod fueris, si intelligas quid mereris. *Serm. de primo homine prelato omni creaturæ; tom. 1. oper. Chrysost.*

a Ὅλως ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος βραχύτατός ὅστι, μετρέμενον πρὸς τὸς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ὥστε καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡμῶν εἰκὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν. καὶ πᾶν μὲν πρᾶγμα ὃ τῶν κόσμων τῷ ἀρχὴν παράσχεται, καὶ ἴσον ἴσῳ πίπτει καὶ ἀλλάσσει· ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ὀλίγοις πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐστὶ. &c. ὥστε τοίνυν. μὴ ὀκνήσωμεν, μηδὲ νομίσωμεν χρονίζειν, ἢ μέγα τι ποιεῖν. οὐδὲ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς δόξαν. μηδὲ εἰς τὸν κόσμον βλέποντες νομίζωμεν μεγάλοις πόνοις ἀποτετάχθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ βραχυτάτη πρὸς ὅλον τὸν οὐρανόν ὅστιν· εἰ τοίνυν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς περιοικοῦμεν, καὶ ἀποτασσόμενα τῇ γῇ πάσῃ, οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἂν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ὡς γὰρ εἴ τις καταφρονήσειε μιᾶς χαλκῆς δραγμῆς, ἵνα κερδήσῃ χρυσᾶς δραγμὰς ἑκατόν· ὕτως ὁ πάσης τῆς γῆς κύριος ὢν καὶ ἀποτασσόμενος αὐτῇ, ὀλίγον εὑρήσει, καὶ ὀπαδῶν πλησίον λαμβάνει. Athanas. Vit. Antonii, pag. 25.

man is moſt ſhort, being meaſured with the world to come: ſo that all our time is even nothing, in compariſon of everlaſting life. And every thing in this world is ſold for that which it is worth, and one giveth equall in exchange of equall: but the promiſe of everlaſting life is bought for a very little matter. Wherefore, my ſonnes, let us not waxe weary; nor thinke that wee ſtay long, or performe ſome great thing: for the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to bee compared with the glory which ſhall be revealed in us. Neither when we looke upon the world, let us thinke that wee have forſaken any great matters. For all this earth is but a very little thing, in compariſon of the whole Heaven. Therefore although wee had beene Lords of the whole earth, and did forſake the whole earth; that would bee nothing worthy to bee compared with the kingdome of Heaven. For as if one would neglect one peece of Braſſe, that hee might gaine a hundred peeces of Gold: ſo he who is Lord of the whole Earth and forſaketh it, ſhould but forgoe a little, and receive a hundred fold.

Such another exhortation doth S. *Auguſtine* alſo make unto his hearers. [b] *When thou doſt conſider* (ſaith hee) *what thou art to receive; all the things that thou ſuffereſt will bee vile unto thee, neither wilt thou eſteeme*

b Cùm attenderis quid ſis accepturus; omnia tibi erunt vilia quæ pateris, nec digna æſtimabis pro quibus illud accipias. Miraberis tantum dari pro tanto labore. Nam utiq; fratres, pro æternâ requie labor æternus ſubeundus erat. Æternam felicitatem accepturus, æternas paſſiones ſuſtinere deberes. Sed ſi æternum ſuſtineres laborem; quando venires ad æternam felicitatem? Ita fit, ut neceſſariò temporalis ſit tribulatio tua, quâ finitâ venias ad felicitatem infinitam. Sed planè, fratres, poſſet eſſe longa tribulatio pro æternâ felicitate. Verbi gratiâ, ut quoniam felicitas noſtra finem non habebit; miſeria noſtra, & labor noſter, & tribulationes noſtræ diuturnæ eſſent. Nam etſi mille annorum eſſent, appende mille annos contra æternitatem. Quid appendis cum infinito quantumcunque finitum? decem millia annorum, decies centena millia, ſi dicendum eſt, & millia millium, quæ finem habent, cum æternitate comparari non poſſunt. Huc accedit, quia non ſolùm temporalem voluit laborem tuum Deus, ſed etiam brevem. *Auguſtin. in Pſal.* 36. *Conc.* 2.

them worthy for which thou ſhouldſt receive it. Thou wilt wonder, that ſo much is given, for ſo ſmall a labour. For indeed, brethren, for everlaſting reſt everlaſting labour ſhould bee undergone: being to receive everlaſting felicitie, thou oughteſt to ſuſtaine everlaſting ſufferings. But if thou ſhouldeſt ſuſtaine everlaſting labour; when ſhouldeſt thou come to everlaſting felicitie? So it commeth to paſſe, that thy tribulation muſt of neceſſitie be temporall; that it being finiſhed, thou mayſt come to infinite felicitie. But yet, brethren, there might have beene long tribulation for eternall felicitie. that for example, becauſe our felicitie ſhall have no end; our miſerie, and our labour, and our tribulations ſhould bee of long continuance. For admit they ſhould continue a thouſand yeare: weigh a thouſand yeares with Eternity. Why doſt thou weigh that which is finite, bee it never ſo great, with that which is infinite? Ten thouſand yeares, ten hundred thouſand, if wee ſhould ſay, and a thouſand thouſand, which have an end, cannot bee compared with Eternitie. This then thou haſt, that God would have thy labour to be not onely temporall, but ſhort alſo. And therefore doth the ſame Father every where put us in minde, that God is become our debtor, not by our deſervings, but by his owne gracious promiſe. [c] *Man* (ſaith hee) *is faithfull, when he beleeveth God promiſing: God is faithfull, when hee performeth that which hee hath promiſed unto man. Let us hold him a moſt faithfull debtor, becauſe wee have him a moſt mercifull promiſer. For wee have not done him any pleaſure, or lent any thing to him, that we ſhould*

c Fidelis homo eſt credens promittenti Deo; fidelis Deus eſt exhibens quod promiſit homini. Teneamus fideliſſimum debitorem, quia tenemus miſericordiſſimum promiſſorem. Neq; enim aliquid ei commodavimus, aut mutuum commendavimus, ut teneamus cum debitorem: cùm ab illo habeamus quicquid illi offerimus, & ex illo ſit quicquid boni ſumus. *Id. in Pſal. 32. Concil. 1.*

hold

hold him a debtor; ſeeing wee have from himſelfe whatſoever wee doe offer unto him, and it is from him whatſoever good wee are. [d] *Wee have not given any thing therefore unto him, and yet we hold him a debtor. Whence a debtor? becauſe hee is a promiſer. We ſay not unto God; Lord, pay that which thou haſt received, but, pay that which thou haſt promiſed.* [e] *Be thou ſecure therefore. Hold him as a debtor, becauſe thou haſt beleeved in him as a promiſer.* [f] *God is faithfull, who hath made himſelfe our debtor, not by reciving any thing from us, but by promiſing ſo great things to us. For to men hath hee promiſed divinity, to thoſe that are mortall immortalitie, to ſinners juſtification, to abiects glorification. Whatſoever he promiſed, hee promiſed to them that were unworthy; that it might not bee promiſed as wages for workes, but being grace, might according to the name bee graciouſly and freely given: becauſe that even this very thing, that one doth live juſtly (ſo farre as a man can live juſtly) is not a matter of mans merit, but of the gift of God.* Therefore, [g] *In thoſe things which wee have already, let us praiſe God as the giver: in thoſe things which as yet we have not, let us hold him our debtor. For hee is become our debtor, not by receiving any thing from us, but by promiſing what it pleaſed him. For it is one thing to ſay*

d Ergo non ei aliquid dedimus: & tenemus debitorem. Vnde debitorem? Quia promiſſor eſt. Non dicimus Deo; Domine redde quod accepiſti, ſed redde quod promiſiſti. *Id. ibid. & in Pſal.* 83.

e Securus ergo eſto. Tene debitorem, quia credidiſti in promiſſorem. *Id. in Pſal.* 83. *circa finem.*

f Fidelis Deus qui ſe noſtrum debitorem fecit: non aliquid à nobis accipiendo, ſed tanta nobis promittendo. &c. Promiſit enim hominibus divinitatem, mortalibus immortalitatem, peccatoribus iuſtificationem, abiectis glorificationem. Quicquid promiſit, indignis promiſit; ut non quaſi operibus merces promitteretur, ſed gratia à nomine ſuo gratis daretur: quia & hoc ipſum quod iuſtè vivit, inquantum homo poteſt iuſtè vivere, non meriti humani, ſed beneficii eſt divini. *Id. in Pſal.* 109. *circa init.*

g In his quæ iam habemus, laudemus Deum largitorem: in his quæ nondum habemus, teneamus debitorem. Debitor enim factus eſt, non aliquid à nobis accipiendo, ſed quod ei placuit promittendo. Aliter enim dicimus homini, Debes mihi quia dedi tibi: & aliter dicimus, Debes mihi quia promiſiſti mihi. Quando dicis, Debes mihi quia dedi tibi; à te proceſſit beneficium, ſed mutuatum non donatum. Quando autem dicis, Debes mihi quia promiſiſti mihi; tu nihil dediſti, & tamen exigis. Bonitas enim eius qui promiſit dabit, &c. *Id. de Verbis Apoſt. Serm.* 16.

to a man, Thou art debtor to me, because I have given to thee: and another thing to say, Thou art debtor to me, because thou hast promised mee. When thou sayest, Thou art debtor to me, because I have given to thee: a benefit hath proceeded from thee, though lent, not given. But when thou sayest, thou art debtor to mee, because thou hast promised mee: thou gavest nothing to him, and yet requirest of him. For the goodnesse of him that hath promised, will give it, &c.

h Ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρία μόνης ἦν τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας. ἔστι γὰρ μισθὸν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς πονήσασιν· ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας ἐστὶν ἀγαθότητος δῶρον. Theodoret in Sophoni. cap. 3.

i Superant certamina coronæ, non comparantur cum laboribus remunerationes: labor enim parvus est, sed magnum lucrum speratur. Et propterea meam mercedem sed gloriam vocavit ea quæ expectantur. Idem in Roman. 8. 18.

k Hîc non dicit mercedem, sed gratiam. Etsi quis enim summam & absolutam justitiam præstiterit: temporalibus laboribus æterna in æquilibrio non respondent. *Id. in Roman. 6. ult.*

l Πολὺ τὸ στέφανον τῶν πόνων ὑπερβαίνον τὰς. Cyril. Alexandrin. homil. Paschal. 4.

m Non laboris pretium solvens, sed divitias bonitatis suæ in eos, quos sine operibus elegit, effundens: ut etiam hi qui in multo labore sudârunt, nec amplius quàm novissimi acceperunt, intelligant donum se gratiæ, non operum accepisse mercedem. *Prosp. de Vocat. Gent. lib. 1. cap. 17.*

h The salvation of men depends upon the sole mercie of God: saith Theodoret. for we do not obtaine it as the wages of our righteousnesse: but it is the gift of Gods goodnesse. i The Crownes do excell the fights, the rewards are not to bee compared with the labours: for the labour is small, but great is the gaine that is hoped for. And therefore the Apostle, Rom. 8. 18. called those things that are looked for, not wages, but glory. and Rom. 6. 23. k not wages but grace. For although a man should performe the greatest & most absolute righteousnesse: things eternall doe not answer temporall labours in equall poise. The same for this point is taught by S. *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*: that l *the Crowne* which wee are to receive, doth *much surpasse the paines* which wee take for it. And the author of the booke *of the calling of the Gentiles* (attributed unto *Prosper*) obserueth out of the Parable, *Matth.* 20. 9. that God bestoweth eternall life on those that are called at the end of their daies, as well as upon them that had laboured longer: m *not*

as

as paying a price to their labour, but powring out the riches of his goodneſſe upon them whom he had choſen without workes; that even they alſo who have ſweat with much labour, and have receiued no more than the laſt, might underſtand, that they did receive a gift of grace, and not a due wages for their workes.

This was the doctrine taught in the Church for the firſt five hundred yeares after *Chriſt*: which we finde maintained alſo in the next five hundred. [n] *If the King of Heaven ſhould regard my merit* (ſaith *Ennodius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*) *either I ſhould get little good, or great puniſhments; and judging of my ſelfe rightly, whither I could not come by merits, I would not tend in deſire. But thankes bee to him, who, that wee may not bee extolled, doth ſo cut off our offences, that hee bringeth our hope unto better things.* Our glorification, ſaith *Fulgentius*, [o] *is not unjuſtly called Grace: not onely becauſe God doth beſtow his owne gifts upon his owne gifts; but alſo becauſe the grace of Gods reward doth ſo much there abound, as that it exceedeth incomparably and unſpeakeably all the merit of the will & worke of man, though good, and given from God.* For [p] *although we did ſweat* (ſaith hee who beareth the name of *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, or *Gallicanus*) *with all the labours of our ſoule and body, al-*

n Meritum meum regnator cœleſtis ſi attenderet, aut exigua bona adipiſcerer, aut magna ſupplicia; & mei idoneus æſtimator, quo meritis pervenire non poteram, voto non tenderem. Sed gratias illi, qui delicta noſtra ſic ne extollamur reſecat, ut ſpem ad lætiora (*al.* latiora) perducat. *Ennod. Ticinenſ. lib. 2. epiſt. 10. ad Fauſt.*

o Gratia autem etiam ipſa idcò non injuſtè dicitur, quia non ſolùm donis ſuis Deus dona ſua reddit: ſed quia tantum etiam ibi graria divinæ retributionis exuberat, ut incomparabiliter atq; ineffabiliter omne meritum, quamvis bonæ & ex Deo datæ, humanæ voluntatis atque operationis excedat. *Fulgent. ad Monimum. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

p Totis licèt & animæ & corporis laboribus deſudemus, totis licèt obedientiæ viribus exerceamur: nihil tamen condignum merito pro cœleſtibus bonis compenſare & offerre valebimus. Non valent vitæ præſentis obſequia æternæ vitæ gaudiis comperari. Laſſeſcant licèt membra vigiliis; palleſcant licet ora ieiuniis: non erunt tamen condignæ paſſiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis. Pulſemus ergò, chariſſimi, in quantum poſſumus; quia non poſſumus quantum debemus: futura beatitudo acquiri poteſt, æſtimari non poteſt. *Euſeb. Emiſſ. vel Gallican. ad Monachos, ſerm. 3.*

though wee were exerciſed with all the ſtrength of obedience: yet ſhall not we be able to recompence and offer any thing worthy in merit for the heavenly good things. The offices of this preſent life cannot bee compared with the joyes of the life eternall. Although our members be wearied with watchings; although our faces waxe pale with faſtings: yet the ſufferings of this time will not bee worthy to be compared with the future glory which ſhall bee revealed in us. Let us knocke therefore, dearly beloved, as much as wee can, becauſe wee cannot as much as wee ought: the future bliſſe may be acquired, but eſtimated it cannot be.

q Ἰσάριθμα τοῖς ἀστροις ἂν ᾖ τὸν κατορθώματα, ὑπὲρ τὴν νικήσεις τὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαθότητα. ὅσα γὰρ ἄν τις προσενέγκῃ Θεῷ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ αὐτῷ προσφέρει αὐτῷ· ᾗ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπερβῆναι τὸν ἴδιον ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ σκιάν, οὕτως οὐδὲ λαμβάνεται ἀεὶ ᾗ τὸν ἰδίαν ὑπερέχομενον, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν ἀνυπέρβλητον τοῦ Θεοῦ χρηστότητα τοῖς ἐυποιίαις ὑπερβάσονται ἄνθρωποι. Agapet. Diacon. Paræneſ. ad Iuſtinian. ſect. 43.

q *Albeit thou hadſt good deedes equall in number to the ſtarres* (ſaith *Agapetus* the Deacon, to the Emperour Iuſtinian) *yet ſhalt thou never goe beyond the goodneſſe of God. For whatſoever any man ſhall bring unto God, he doth but offer unto him his owne things, out of his owne ſtore. and as one cannot out-ſtrip his owne ſhadow in the ſun (which preventeth him alwayes, although hee make never ſo much ſpeed:) ſo neither can men by their good doings, out-ſtrip the unmatchable bounty of God.* r *All the righteouſneſſe of man* (ſaith *Gregory*) *is convicted to be unrighteouſneſſe, if it be ſtrictly judged. It needeth therefore prayer after righteouſneſſe; that that which being ſifted might faile, by the meere pity of the Iudge might ſtand for good. Let him therefore ſay: Al-*

r Vt enim ſæpe diximus: Omnis humana juſtitia, injuſtitia eſſe convincitur, ſi diſtricte iudicetur. Prece ergo poſt juſtitiam indiget; ut quæ ſuccumbere diſcuſſa poterat, ex ſolâ Iudicis pietate convaleſcat, &c. Dicat ergo: Qui etiamſi habuero quippiam dicendi: Etſi ad opus reſpondebo, ſed meum Iudicem deprecabor. Velut, ſi apertiùs fateatur, piam juſtum, non virtutis excrevero, ad vitam non ex meritis, ſed ex veniâ convaleſco. *Gregor. Moral. in Iob lib. 9. cap. 14.*

though

though I had any righteous thing I would not answer, but I would make supplication to my Iudge. (Iob 9.15.) *as if he should more plainly confesse, and say: Albeit I did grow up unto the worke of vertue, I should be enabled unto life, not by merits, but by pardon.* But you will say, [s] *If this blisse of the Saints be mercy, and is not obtained by merits; how shall that stand which is written: And thou shalt render unto every one according to his workes? If it be rendred according to workes; how shall it be accounted mercy? but it is one thing to render according to workes; and another thing to render for the workes themselves. For when it is said, According to workes; the quality it selfe of the worke is understood: that whose workes appeare good, his reward may be glorious. For unto that blessed life, wherein wee are to live with God, and by God, no labour can bee equalled, no workes compared: seeing the Apostle saith, The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to bee compared with the glory which shall bee revealed in us.* [t] *By the righteousnesse of workes no man shall be saved, but onely by the righteousnesse of faith.* saith *Bede.* and therefore, [u] *no man should beleeve, that either his freedome of will, or his merits, are sufficient to bring him unto blisse; but understand, that he can be saved by the grace of God onely.* The same Author, writing upon those words of *David*, Psal.24.5. *He shall receive a blessing*

[s] Quod si illâ sanctorum felicitas misericordia est, & non meritis acquiritur: ubi erit quod scriptum est; Et tu reddes unicuique secundùm opera sua? si secundùm opera redditur; quomodo misericordia æstimabitur? Sed aliud est secundùm opera reddere, & aliud propter ipsa opera reddere. In eo enim quod secundùm opera dicitur, ipsa operum qualitas intelligitur; ut cujus apparuerint bona opera, ejus sit & retributio gloriosa. Illi namque beatæ vitæ

in quâ cum Deo, & de Deo vivitur, nullus potest æquari labor, nulla opera comparari: præsertim cùm Apostolus dicat; Non sunt condignæ passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. *Id. in Psal. Pœnitent. 7. ver. 9.* [t] Per iustitiam factorum nullus salvabitur, sed per solam iustitiam fidei. *Bede in Psal. 77.* [u] Instruit videlicèt, ut nemo vel libertatem arbitrii, vel merita sua sufficere sibi ad beatitudinem credat; sed solâ gratiâ Dei se salvari posse intelligat. *Id. in Psal. 31.*

from

from the Lord, and righteousnesse from the God of his salvation: expoundeth the blessing to be this; x *that for the present time hee shall merit* (or *worke*) *well, and for the future shall bee rewarded well; and that, not by merits, but by grace onely.*

To the same purpose *Elias Cretensis*, the interpreter of *Gregory Nazianzen*, writeth thus. * *By mercy we ought to understand that reward, which God doth repay unto us. For we as servants doe owe vertue, that the best things and such as are gratefull wee should pay and offer unto God as a certaine debt: considering that wee have nothing, which wee have not received from him. and God on the other side, as our Lord and Master, hath pity on us, and doth bestow rather, than repay unto us.* y *This therefore is true humility* (saith *Anastasius Sinaita* or *Nicænus*) *to doe good workes, but to account ones selfe uncleane & unworthy of Gods favour, thinking to be saved by his goodnesse alone. For whatsoever good things wee doe; wee answer not God for the very ayre alone which wee doe breathe. And when wee have offered unto him all the things that wee have, hee doth not owe us any reward; for all things are his: and none receiving the things that are his owne, is bound to give a reward unto them that bring the same unto him.* In the booke set out by the authority of *Charles* the *Great*

x Accipiet benedictionem, id est, multiplicationem à Domino; hanc scilicèt; ut in præsenti bene promereatur, & in futuro bene remuneretur. Et hoc non ex meritis, sed ex gratiâ solâ. *Id. in Psal.* 23.

* Debemus per misericordiam intelligere mercedem illam, quam nobis Deus rependit. Nos enim tanquam servi, virtutem debemus, ut optima quæq; Deo & grata tanquam debitum quoddam exsolvamus ac offeramus: quippe quum nihil habeamus, quod non ab ipso acceperimus. Deus autem velut Dominus & Herus noster misereatur, nobisq; potiùs donat, quàm rependit. *Elias in Nazianz. Orat. habit. in elect. Eulalii.*

y Ὄντως ταπεινοφροσύνη ἐλπὶς ὄζει, τὸ φρέατος τὰ ἀγαθὰ, λογίζεσθαι δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς Θεοῦ, διὰ μόνου τὸν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτοῦ σωθῆναι νομίζοντα. ὅσα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ἐσμὲν ποιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀποδίδομεν τῷ Θεῷ ὡσεὶ μισθὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀέρος τὸ ἀναπνεόμενον. ὅταν γὰρ πάντα, ὅσα ἔχομεν, προσενέγκωμεν αὐτῷ, οὐ χρεωστεῖ ἡμῖν μισθὸν. αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα. εἷς δὲ τὰ ἴδια λαμβάνων, χρεωστεῖ μισθὸν δοῦναι τοῖς προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ αὐτά. Anastas. quæst. 135.

against

againſt Images; [z] *the Arke of the Covenant is ſaid to ſignifie our Lord and Saviour, in whom alone wee have the Covenant of peace with the Father. Over which the Propitiatory is ſaid to be placed: becauſe above the Commandements either of the Law, or of the Goſpell, which are founded in him, the mercy of the ſaid Mediatour taketh place; by which, not by the works of the Law which we have done, neither willing, nor running, but by his having mercy upon us, wee are ſaved.* So *Ambroſius Ansbertus*, expounding that place, Revel. 19. 7. *Let us bee glad and rejoyce, and give glory to him; for the marriage of the Lambe is come, and his wife hath made her ſelfe ready.* [a] *In this,* ſaith hee, *doe we give glory to him; when wee doe confeſſe, that by no precedent merits of our good deedes, but by his mercy onely, wee have attained unto ſo great a dignity.* And *Rabanus* in his Commentaries upon the Lamentations of *Ieremy*: [b] *Leſt they ſhould ſay, Our fathers were accepted for their merit, and therefore they obtained ſuch great things at the hands of the Lord; hee adjoyneth, that this was not given to their merits, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed God, whoſe free gift is whatſoever he beſtoweth.* *Haymo* writing upon thoſe words, Pſal. 132. 10. *For thy ſervant Davids ſake refuſe not the face of thine Anointed*, ſaith that, [c] *For thy ſervant Davids ſake*, is as much to ſay as, *For the merit of Chriſt himſelfe*: and from thence col-

z Arca fœderis ſecundùm quoſdam Dominum & Salvatorem noſtrum, in quo ſolo fœdus pacis apud Patrem habemus, deſignat, &c. Cui propitiatorium ſuperponitur, quia ſcilicèt legalibus ſive evangelicis præceptis, quæ in eo fundata ſunt, ſupereminet miſericordia ejuſdem mediatoris; per quam non ex operibus legis quæ fecimus nos, neque volentes, neque currentes, ſed ejus miſeratione ſalvamur. *Opus Carolin. de Imaginib. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

a In eo autem damus illi gloriam, quo nullis præcedentibus bonorum actuum meritis, ſed ſolâ nos ejus miſericordiâ, ad tantam dignitatem perveniſſe fateamur. *Ambroſ. Ansbert. lib. 8. in Apocalyps. cap. 19.* b Ne dicerent, Patres noſtri ſuo merito placuerunt, ideò tanta ſunt à Domino conſecuti: intulit non meritis datum, ſed quia ita fuit Deo placitum, cujus eſt gratuitum omne quod præſtat. *Raban. in Ierem. lib. 18. cap. 2.* c Propter David ſervum tuum, id eſt, propter meritum ipſius Chriſti. & hîc datur planè intelligi, nullum de meritis ſuis debere præſumere; ſed omnem ſalvationem ex Chriſti meritis expectare. *Haymo in Pſal. 131.*

lecteth

lecteth this doctrine; *that none ought to presume of his owne merits, but expect all his salvation from the merits of Christ.* So in another place: [d] *When wee performe our repentance* (saith hee) *let us know that wee can give nothing that is worthy for the appeasing of God; but that only in the bloud of that immaculate and singular Lambe wee can be saved.* And againe, [e] *Eternall life is rendred to none by debt; but given by free mercy.* [f] *It is of necessity that beleevers should bee saved onely by the faith of Christ*: saith *Smaragdus* the Abbot. [g] *By grace, not by merits, are wee saved of God*: saith the Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Marke*, falsly attributed to St. *Hierome.*

That this doctrine was by Gods great mercie preserved in the Church the next 500. yeeres also, as well as in those middle times: appeareth most evidently by those Instructions and Consolations, which were prescribed to bee used unto such as were ready to depart out of this life. This [h] forme of preparing men for their death, was commonly to bee had in all Libraries, and particularly was found inserted among the Epistles of *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who was commonly accounted to be the Author of it. The substance thereof may bee seene (for the copies vary, some being shorter, and some larger than others) in a Tractate written by a *Cistercian* Monke, of the *Art of dying well* (which I have in written hand, and have seen also printed in the yeere 1488. and 1504.) in the Booke called, *Hortulus ani-*

d Sed & nos agentes pœnitentiam, sciamus nihil nos dignum dare posse ad placandum Deum; sed solummodo in sanguine immaculati & singularis Agni nos posse salvari. *Id. in Michæe, cap. 6.*

e Vita æterna nulli per debitum redditur; sed per gratuitam misericordiam datur. *Id. Homil. in Dominic. Septuagesimæ.*

f Necesse est solâ fide Christi salvari credentes. *Smaragd. in Galat. cap. 3.*

g Gratiâ, non meritis, salvati sumus à Deo. *Commentar. in Marc. cap. 14. inter Opera Hieronym.*

h Formula illa infirmos jam animam agentes interrogandi, in Bibliothecis passim obvia; quæ & separatim Anselmo Cantuariensi inscribitur, & operi Epistolarum inserta reperitur. *Georg. Cassand. in Appendic. ad Opusc. Io. Roffens. de fiduciâ & misericordiâ Dei.*

me;

mæ; in *Caſſanders* Appendix to the booke of *Iohn Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *de fiduciâ & miſericordiâ Dei*; (edit. Colon. An. 1556.) *Caſpar Vlenbergius* his Motives; (cauſ. 14. pag. 462, 463. edit. Colon. An. 1589.) in the *Romane Sacerdotall* (part. 1. tract. 5. cap. 13. fol. 116. edit. Venet. An. 1585.) in the Book intituled, *Sacra inſtitutio Baptizandi juxta ritum Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ex decreto Concilij Tridentini reſtituta, &c.* printed at *Paris*, in the yeere 1575. and in a like booke intituled *Ordo Baptizandi, cum modo Viſitandi*, printed at *Venice* the ſame yeere. out of which the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors, as well in their New, as in their Old *Expurgatory Index* (the one ſet out by Cardinall *Quiroga* in the yeere 1584. the other by the Cardinall of *Sandoval* and *Roxas*, in the yeer 1612.) command theſe interrogatories to bee blotted out. i *Doeſt thou beleeve to come to glory, not by thine owne merits, but by the vertue and merit of the paſſion of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt?* and, *Doeſt thou beleeve that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt did dye for our ſalvation: and that none can bee ſaved by his owne merits, or by any other meanes, but by the merit of his paſſion?* whereby wee may obſerve how late it is, ſince our Romaniſts in this maine and moſt ſubſtanſtiall point (which is the very foundation of all our comfort) have moſt ſhamefully departed from the faith of their forefathers.

In other copies of this ſame Inſtruction (which are followed by *Caſſander*, *Vlenbergius*, and Cardinall

i SACERDOS. Credis non propriis meritis, ſed paſſionis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti virtute & merito, ad gloriam pervenire? *Reſpondeat infirmus:* Credo. SACERDOS. Credis, quòd Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus pro noſtrâ ſalute mortuus ſit: & quòd ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo nullus poſſit ſalvari, niſi in merito paſſionis ejus? *Reſpondeat infirmus:* Credo. *Ordo Baptizandi, & viſitandi, edit. Venet. ann. 1575. fol. 34. & Inſtitut. Baptizandi, edit. Pariſ. ann. 1575. fol. 35. a. & Sacerdotal. Rom. edit. Venet. an. 1585. fol. 116. b.*

nall

nall *Hosius* himselfe) [k] the last question propounded to the sicke man is this; *Doest thou beleeve that thou canst not bee saved, but by the death of Christ?* Whereunto when hee hath made answer *affirmatively*: he is presently directed to make use thereof, in this manner. *Goe too therefore, as long as thy soule remaineth in thee, place thy whole confidence in this death onely; have confidence in no other thing: commit thy selfe wholly to this death, with this alone cover thy selfe wholly, intermingle thy selfe wholly in this death, fasten thy selfe wholly; wrap thy whole selfe in this death. And if the Lord God will judge thee, say: Lord, I oppose the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt mee and thy judgement: no otherwise doe I contend with thee. And if hee say unto thee, that thou art a sinner, say: Lord, I put the death of the Lord Iesus Christ betwixt thee and my sinnes. If he say unto thee, that thou hast deserved damnation, say: Lord, I set the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt me and my bad merits; and I offer his merit in stead of the merit which I ought to have, but yet have not. If he say, that hee is angry with thee, say: Lord, I interpose the death of our Lord Iesus Christ betwixt me and thine anger.*

Adde hereunto the following sentences of the Doctors of these latter ages. [l] *Wee cannot suffer or bring*

k *Sed & Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis interrogationes quasdam præscripsisse dicitur infirmis in extremis constitutis: inter quas extrema est.* Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi salvari? *Respondet infirmus:* Etiam. *Tum illi dicitur.* Age ergò, dum supereſt in te anima, in hâc solâ morte fiduciam tuam constitue; in nullâ aliâ re fiduciam habe: huic morti te totum cõmitte, hâc solâ te totum contege, totum immisce te in hâc morte, totum confige; in hâc morte te totum involve. Et si Dominus Deus voluerit te iudicare, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi objicio inter me & tuum iudicium: aliter tecum non contendo. Et si tibi dixerit, quia peccator es, dic: Domine, mortem Domini Iesu Christi pono inter te & peccata mea. Si dixerit tibi, quòd meruisti damnationem, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi obtendo inter me, & mala merita mea; ipsiusq; meritum offero pro merito, quod ego debuissem habere nec habeo. Si dixerit, quòd tibi est iratus, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi oppono inter me & iram tuam. *Hosius in Confessione Petricoviens. cap. 73.*

l Οὐκ ἐχόμεθα ἀξίους τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ ἐπιδόσεως παθεῖν ἢ συνεπιτυγχάνειν. Oecumen. in Roman. 8. pag. 312.

bring in any thing worthy of the reward that ſhall be: ſaith *Oecumenius*. So *Petrus Bleſenſis* Archdeacon of *Bathe*: [m] *No trouble can be endured in this vitall death, which is able equally to anſwer the joyes of Heaven.* and *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* more fully, before him: [n] *If a man ſhould ſerve God a thouſand yeeres, and that moſt fervently; hee ſhould not deſerve of condignity to be halfe a day in the Kingdome of Heaven.* *Radulphus Ardens*, expounding thoſe words of the Parable, *Matth.* 20. 13. *Didſt not thou agree with mee for a peny?* [o] *Let no man out of theſe words*, ſaith hee, *thinke that God is, as it were, tyed by agreement to pay that which he hath promiſed. For as God is free to promiſe, ſo is he free to pay, eſpecially ſeeing as well merits as rewards are his grace. For God doth crowne nothing elſe in us but his owne grace: who if hee would deale ſtrictly with us, no man living ſhould bee juſtified in his ſight. Whereupon the Apoſtle, who laboured more than all, ſaith: I reckon that the ſufferings of this time are not worthy to bee compared with the glory which ſhall bee revealed in us. Therefore this agreement is nothing elſe, but Gods voluntary promiſe.* And [p] *I doe not wonder* (ſaith hee, in another Sermon) *if I call the merits of the juſt graces. For as the Apoſtle witneſſeth,*

m Nihil moleſtè poteſt ſuſtineri in hâc morte vitali, quod cœleſtibus gaudiis ex æquo reſpondere ſufficiat. *Petr. Bleſenſ. in Iob, cap. ult.*

n Si homo mille annis ſerviret Deo, etiam ferventiſſimè; non meretur ex condigno, dimidiam diem eſſe in regno cœlorum. *Anſelm. in lib. de Menſuratione Crucis.*

o Nemo, fratres, ex his verbis putet Deum quaſi ex conventione aſtrictum eſſe ad reddendum promiſſum. Sicut enim Deus eſt liber ad promittendum, ita eſt liber ad reddendum: præſertim cùm tam merita quàm præmia ſint gratia ſua. Nihil enim aliud quàm gratiam ſuam coronat in nobis Deus: qui ſi vellet in nobis agere diſtrictè, non juſtificaretur in conſpectu eius omnis vivens. Vnde Apoſtolus qui plus omnibus laboravit, dicit: Exiſtimo quòd non ſunt condignæ paſſiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. Ergo hæc conventio nihil aliud eſt, quàm voluntaria Dei promiſſio. *Rad. Ardens, Dominic. in Septuageſima, Homil.* 2.

p Ne miremini, fratres, ſi merita juſtorum gratias voco: teſte enim Apoſtolo, nihil habemus quod non à Deo & gratis accepimus. Sed quoniam per unam gratiam pervenimus ad aliam, merita dicuntur & impropriè. Teſte enim Auguſtino, ſolam gratiam ſuam coronat in nobis Deus. *Id. Dominic. 18. poſt Trinitat. Homil.* 1.

wee have nothing which wee have not received from God, and that freely. But because by one grace wee come unto another; they are called merits, but improperly. For as Augustine witnesseth: God crowneth onely his owne grace in us. So Rupertus Tuitiensis: q The greatnesse or the eternity of the heavenly glory, is not a matter of merit, but of grace. The same doth r Bernardus Morlanensis expresse in these rhythmicall Verses of his:

*Vrbs Sion inclyta, *patria condita littore tuto;*
Te peto, te colo, te flagro, te volo, canto, saluto.
Nec meritis peto, nam meritis meto morte perire:
Nec reticens tego, quod meritis ego filius iræ
Vita quidem mea, vita nimis rea, mortua vitu
Quippe reatibus exitialibus obruta, trita.
Spe tamen ambulo, præmia postulo speq; fideq;:
Illa perennia postulo præmia nocte dieq;.

But Bernard of Clarævalle above others delivereth this doctrine most sweetly. s It is necessary (saith hee) that first of all thou shouldest beleeve, that thou canst not have remission of sinnes, but by the mercy of God: then, that thou canst not at all have any whit of a good worke, unlesse he likewise give it thee: lastly, that by no workes thou canst merit eternall life, unlesse that also bee freely given unto thee. t Otherwise, if we will properly name those which we call our merits: they be certaine seminaries of hope, incitements of love, signes of secret predestination, fore-tokens of future happinesse, the way to the

q Res est non meriti, sed gratiæ magnitudo vel æternitas cœlestis gloriæ. *Rupert. Tuit. in Iohan. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

r *Bernard. Cluniacens. de Contemptu mundi, lib. 1.*

* *Al.* turris & edita.

s Necesse est primò omnium credere, quòd remissionem peccatorum habere non possis, nisi per indulgentiam Dei: deinde quòd nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni, nisi & hoc dederit ipse: postremò quòd æternam vitam nullis poßes operibus promereri, nisi gratis detur & illa. *Bernard. Serm. 1. in Annuntiat. B. Marie.*

t Alioquin si propriè appellentur ea quæ dicimus nostra merita: spei quædam sunt seminaria, charitatis incentiva, occultæ prædestinationis indicia, futuræ felicitatis præsagia, via regni, non causa regnandi. *Id. in fine libri de Grat. & lib. Arbitr.*

kingdome,

kingdome, not the cauſe of reigning. [u] *Dangerous is the dwelling of them that truſt in their merits: dangerous, becauſe ruinous.* [x] *For this is the whole merit of man, if he put all his truſt in him who ſaveth the whole man.* [y] *Therefore my merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not poore in merit, ſo long as hee is not poore in mercy: and if the mercies of the Lord bee many, my merits alſo are many.* With which that paſſage of the *Manuall*, falſely fathered upon S. *Auguſtine*, doth accord ſo juſtly; that the one appeareth to be plainly borrowed from the other. [z] *All my hope is in the death of my Lord. His death is my merit, my refuge, my ſalvation, life and reſurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not poore in merit, ſo long as the Lord of mercies ſhall not fayle: and as long as his mercies are much, much am I in merits.*

Neither are the teſtimonies of the *Schoolemen* wanting in this cauſe. For where [a] *God* is affirmed to *give the Kingdome of Heaven for good merits* or good workes: ſome made here a difference betwixt *pro bonis meritis* and *propter bona merita*. The former, they ſaid, did note *aſigne, or a way, or ſome occaſion*: and in that ſenſe they admitted the propoſition. But according to the latter expreſſion, they would not receive it; becauſe *propter* did note *an efficient cauſe*. And

u Periculoſa habitatio eorum qui in meritis ſuis ſperant; periculoſa, quia ruinoſa. *Id. in Pſal. Qui habitat. Serm.* 1.

x Hoc enim totum hominis meritum, ſi totam ſpem ſuam ponat in eo qui totum hominem ſalvum facit. *Ibid. Ser.* 15.

y Meum proinde meritum, miſeratio Domini. Non planè ſum meriti inops, quandiu ille miſerationum non fuerit. Quòd ſi miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multis nihilo minus ego in meritis ſum. *Id in Cant. Serm.* 61.

z Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini mei. Meritum meum Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus, vita & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus non defuerit: & miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego ſum in meritis. *Manual. cap.* 22. *tom.* 9. *Operum Auguſtini.*

a Nota quòd cùm dicitur, Deus pro bonis meritis dabit vitam æternam; *Pro*, primò notat ſignum, vel viam, vel occaſionem aliquam: ſed ſi dicatur, Propter boda merita dabit vitam æternam; *Propter*, notat cauſam efficientem. Ideò non recipitur à quibuſdam: ſed hanc recipiunt, *Pro bonis meritis*, & conſimiles earum; aſſignantes differentiam inter *Pro*, & *Prrpter*. *Georg. Caſſand. epiſt.* 19. *ad Io. Molinæum* (*Oper. pag.* 1109.) *ex libro Ms. vetuſti cuiuſdam Scholaſtici.*

yet for the ſalving of that alſo, the Cardinall of *Cambraye*, *Petrus de Alliaco* delivereth us this diſtinction. [b] *This word* Propter *is ſometimes taken by way of Conſequence, and then it noteth the order of the following of one thing upon another: as when it is ſaid, The reward is given for the merit. For nothing elſe is ſignified thereby, but that the reward is given after the merit, and not but after the merit. Sometimes againe it is taken cauſally.* And [c] *foraſmuch as a cauſe* alſo is accounted *that, upon the being whereof another thing doth follow: a thing may bee ſaid to bee a cauſe two manner of wayes. One way properly; when upon the preſence of the being of the one, by the vertue thereof and out of the nature of the thing there followeth the being of the other: and thus is fire the cauſe of heate. Another way improperly; when upon the preſence of the being of the one there followeth the being of the other, yet not by the vertue thereof nor out of the nature of the thing, but onely out of the will of another: and ſo a meritorious act is ſaid to bee a cauſe in reſpect of the reward*; as *Cauſa ſine quâ non* alſo is ſaid to *be a cauſe*, though it be none *properly*.

Among thoſe famous Clerkes that lived in the familie of *Richard Angervill* Biſhop of *Durham* in the dayes of *Edward* the *third*; *Thomas Bradwardin* who was afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Fitzraufe* afterward Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and *Robert Holcot* the *Dominican*, were of ſpeciall note. The

[a] Hæc dictio *propter* quandóq; capitur conſecutivè; & tunc denotat ordinem conſecutionis unius rei ad aliam: ut cùm dicitur, Præmium datur propter meritum. Nihil enim aliud ſignificatur, niſi quòd poſt meritum datur præmium, & non niſi poſt meritum: ſicut aliâs patebit in materiâ de merito. Quandóq; vero capitur cauſaliter. *Pet. Cameracenſ. in 1. Sent. diſt. 1. queſt. 2. DD.*

[c] Quia enim cauſa eſt illud ad cujus eſſe ſequitur aliud; dupliciter poteſt aliquid dici Cauſa. Vno modo propriè; quando ad præſentiam eſſe unius, virtute ejus & ex naturâ rei ſequitur eſſe alterius: & ſic ignis eſt cauſa caloris. Alio modo impropriè; quando ad præſentiam eſſe unius ſequitur eſſe alterius, non tamen virtute ejus nec ex naturâ rei, ſed ex ſolâ voluntate alterius: & ſic actus meritorius dicitur cauſa reſpectu præmij. Sic etiam cauſa ſine quâ non dicitur cauſa. Ex quo ſequitur, quòd cauſa ſine quâ non, non debet abſolutè & ſimpliciter dici cauſa: quia propriè non eſt cauſa. *Id. in 4. Sentent. queſt. 1. artic. 1. D.*

firſt

first of these, in his Defence of the cause of God against the *Pelagians* of his time, disputeth this point at large: shewing, [d] that *Merit is not the cause of everlasting reward*; and that when the Scriptures and Doctors doe affirme, that God will reward the good for their good merits (or workes) *Propter* did not signifie *the cause* properly; but improperly, either *the cause of knowing* it, or *the order*, or *the disposition of the subject* thereunto. *Richard* of *Armagh* (whom my Countrey-men commonly doe call S. *Richard* of *Dundalke*, because hee was there borne and buried) intimateth this to bee his minde; that the reward is here rendred, [e] *not for the condignitie of the worke, but for the promise and so for the justice of the rewarder*: as heretofore wee have heard out of *Bernard. Holcot*, though in words hee maintaine the *merit of condignitie*; yet hee confesseth with the Master of the Sentences, that God is hereby made our debtor, *ex naturâ sui promissi, non ex naturâ nostri commissi*, out of the nature of his owne promise, not out of the nature of our doing: and that our workes have this value in them, not *naturally*, as if there were so great goodnesse in the nature or substance of the merit that everlasting life should be due unto it, but *legally*, in regard of Gods ordinance and appointment. even [f] *as a little peece of copper of it owne nature or naturall value, is not worth so much as a loafe of bread; but by the institution of the Prince is worth so much.* And in this

d Is in laudatissimâ illâ Summâ contra Pelagianos copiosè & eruditè disputat, Meritum non esse causam æterni præmii; cúmq; Scriptura & Doctores confirment, Deum præmiaturum bonos propter merita sua bona; *propter*, non significare causam propriè, sed impropriè, vel causam cognoscendi, vel ordinem, vel denique dispositionem subjecti. *Georg. Cassand. epist.* 19 *ut suprà. Vid. ipsum Bradwardini opus, edit. Lond. an.* 1618. *à pag.* 350. *ad* 353.

e Non propter condignitatem operis, sed propter promissionem & sic propter justitiam præmiantis *Armachan. in Quæst. Armenorum, lib.* 11. *cap.* 21.

f Sicut parva pecunia cupri, ex naturâ suâ sive naturali vigore, non valet tantum, sicut unus panis; sed ex institutione principis tantum valet. *Rob. Holcot. in lib. Sapient. cap.* 3. *lect.* 36.

manner [g] *wee may say* (saith hee) *that our workes are worthy of life everlasting by Grace, and not by the substance of the act. For God hath ordained, that hee that worketh well in grace should have life everlasting: and therefore by the law and grace of Christ our Prince wee merit condignely everlasting life.* Whereby wee may see, how rightly it hath beene observed by *Vasquez*; [h] that divers of those whom hee accounteth Catholickes, doe *differ* from us *onely in words*, but *agree in deed.* Of which number hee nameth [i] *Willielmus Parisiensis*, [k] *Scotus*, [l] *Ockam*, [m] *Gregorius Ariminensis*, [n] *Gabriel Biel*, with his [o] *Supplement*, the Chanons of *Culleyn* in their [p] *Antididagma* and [q] *Enchiridion*, [r] *Ioh. Bunderius*, [s] *Alphonsus de Castro*, and [t] *Andreas Vega* who was present at the handling of these matters in the last *Tridentine* Councell.

All these, and sundry others beside them, hold that the dignity of the good workes done by Gods children doth not proceed from the value of the workes themselves, but only from the gracious pro-

g Possumus dicere, quòd opera nostra sunt condigna vitæ æternæ ex gratiâ, non ex substantiâ actus. Statuit enim Deus quòd bene operans in gratiâ habebit vitam æternam. Et ergo per legem & gratiam principis nostri Christi meremur de condigno vitam æternam. *Ibid.*

h Contingere enim potest, ut si veram causam & rationem meriti non assignemus; verbis solùm ab hæreticis dissidentes reipsâ cum eis conveniamus, atq; in eorum sententiam, velimus nolimus, consentire cogamur: quod sanè aliquibus Catholicis in hâc controversiâ accidisse, non obscurè inferiùs patebit. *Gabr. Vasquez, in primam 2æ. quæst. 114. disput. 214. cap. 1.* i *Guilielm. Parisiens. tract. de Meritis.* k *Scotus in 1. Sent. dist. 17. quæst. 3. sect.* Hic potest dici. *Id. in 4. distinct. 49. quæst. 6.* Loquendo de strictâ justitiâ, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ, tam intensè; propter immoderatum excessum alterius perfectionis ultra illa merita. l *Guilielm. Ockam, in 1. Sent, distinct. 17. quæst. 2. sect.* Ideò dico aliter. m *Gregor. in 1. Sent. distinct. 17. quæst. 1. artic. 2. in confirmationibus secundæ conclusionis, & solutione quarti argumenti contra eandem.* n *Gabriel. in 1. Sent. dist. 17. quæst. 3. artic. 3. dub. 2. & in 2. dist. 27. quæst. 3. artic. 3. dub. 2.* o *Supplement. Gabriel. in 4. dist. 49. qu. 4. artic. 2. conclus. 3.* p. *Antididagm. Colonien. cap. 12. de præmio & retribut. bonorum operum.* q *Enchirid. addit. Concilio Colonien. tit. de Iustific. sect.* Et ut semel hunc articulum. r *Io. Bunder. Compend. Concertationis, tit. 6. artic. 5.* s *Alphons. contr. hæres. lib. 10. tit.* Meritum; & *lib. 7. tit.* Gratia. t *Vega in Opusc. de Iustif. quæst. 5. ad 1. & 3.*

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misse and acceptation of God. Yea *Gregorius Ariminensis*, [u] that most able and carefull defender of S. *Augustine* (as *Vega* stileth him) concludeth peremptorily, [x] *that no act of man, though issuing from never so great charitie, meriteth of condignitie from God, either eternall life, or yet any other reward whether eternall or temporall.* The same conclusion is by *Durand* the *most resolute* Doctor (as [y] *Gerson* termeth him) thus confirmed: [z] *That which is conferred rather out of the liberalitie of the giver than out of the due of the worke, doth not fall within the compasse of the merit of Condignitie, strictly and properly taken. But whatsoever wee receive of God, whether it bee grace or whether it be glory, whether temporall or spirituall good, whatsoever good worke we have before done for it, yet we receive the same rather and more principally out of Gods liberalitie, than out of the due of the worke. Therefore nothing at all falleth within the compasse of the merit of condignitie, so taken.* And [a] *the cause hereof is,* (saith hee) *because both that which wee are and that which we have, whether they bee good acts or good habits, or the use of them, is wholly in us by Gods liberalitie freely giving and preserving the same. Now because none is bound by his owne free gift*

u Valens ille Gregorius Ariminensis, maximus & studiosissimus Divi Augustini propugnator. *Id. ibid. quæst. 6.*

x Ex hoc ulteriùs infero; quòd nedum vitæ æternæ, sed nec alicujus alterius præmii æterni vel temporalis, aliquis actus hominis ex quacunq; charitate elicitus, est de condigno meritorius apud Deum. *Greg. in 1. Sent. dist. 17. quæst. 1. artic. 2.*

y Durandus utiq; resolutissimus. *Io. Gerson. epist. ad studentes Collegii Navarræ.*

z Quod redditur potiùs ex liberalitate dantis quàm ex debito operis; non cadit sub merito de condigno strictè & propriè accepto, ut expositum est. Sed quicquid à Deo accipimus, sive sit gratia sive sit gloria, sive bonum temporale vel spirituale, præcedente in nobis propter hoc quocunq; bono opere; potiùs & principaliùs accipimus ex liberalitate Dei, quàm reddatur ex debito operis. Ergo nihil penitùs cadit sub merito de condigno sic accepto. *Durand. in 2. Sent. dist. 27. quæst. 2. sect. 12.* a Causa autem hujus est, quia & illud quod sumus, & quod habemus, sive sunt boni actus, sive boni habitus seu usus; totum est in nobis ex liberalitate divinâ gratis dante & conservante. Et quia ex dono gratuito nullus obligatur ad dandum amplius, sed potiùs recipiens magis obligatur danti: ideò ex bonis habitibus, & ex bonis actibus sive usibus nobis à Deo datis, Deus non obligatur nobis ex aliquo debito iustitiæ ad aliquid amplius dandum, ita quòd si non dederit sit iniustus; sed potiùs nos sumus Deo obligati. Ita sentire, seu dicere oppositum, est temerarium seu blasphemum. *Ibid. sect. 13. 14.*

to give more, but the receiver rather is more bound to him that giveth: therefore by the good habits, and by the good acts or uses which God hath given us, God is not bound to us by any debt of Iustice to give any thing more, so as if he did not give it he should be unjust; but we are rather bound to God. And to thinke or say the contrary, is rashnesse or blasphemy.

Of the same judgement with *Durand*, was *Iacobus de Everbaco*, as *Marsilius* witnesseth, who deliver eth his owne opinion touching this matter in these three conclusions. I. [b] *If wee consider our workes in themselves, or as they proceed also from cooperating grace, they are not such workes as deserve eternall life of condignity.* For proofe whereof he bringeth in many reasons; and that of *Durands* for one. [c] *If for the workes wrought by grace and free-will although never so great, eternall life should be due unto any by condignitie: then God should doe him injury, if he did not give eternall life unto him. and so God by those great good things which he had given, should be constrained in way of justice to adde more great thereunto: which reason doth not comprehend.* II. [d] *Such workes as these may be said to merit eternall life of condignity, by divine acceptation, originally proceeding from the merit of the Passion of Christ.* III. [e] *Workes done by grace doe merit eternall life by way of congruity; in respect of Gods liberall disposition, who hath so purposed to reward them.* Afterwards hee proveth out of the Apostle, Rom.

b Considerando opera nostra secundùm se, vel etiam prout sunt ex gratiâ cooperante; non sunt opera meritoria vitæ æternæ de condigno. *Marsil. de Inghen. in 2. Sent. quæst. 18. art. 4.*

c Si de condigno ex operibus gratiâ & libero arbitrio etiam quantumlibet magnis operatis deberetur vita æterna: tunc Deus illàinjuriam faceret, si sibi vitam æternam non tribueret. & sic Deus ex magnis datis bonis cogeretur sub justitiâ addere ampliora: quod ratio non capit. *Ibid.*

d Hujusmodi opera possunt dici vitæ æternæ meritoria de condigno, ex acceptatione divinâ originaliter procedente ex merito passionis Christi. *Ibid.*

e Opera facta ex gratia merentur vitam æternam de congruo ex liberali Dei dispositione, quâ disposuit ea sic præmiare. *Ibid.*

6.23.

6.23. that [f] *eternall life is given out of Gods grace, not out of our righteousnesse:* and that God in thus rewarding us, doth neither exercise *commutative* justice, [g] *because in our good workes wee give nothing unto God, for which by way of commutation the reward should bee due unto us*; nor yet *distributive*, [h] because *no man by working well, in regard of himselfe and in regard of the state wherein hee is, doth merit any thing of condignity, but is bound to God rather by a greater obligation, because hee hath received greater good things* from him. And [i] thereupon at last concludeth, that God *is just in rewarding, because by his just disposition hee hath ordained by the grace of acceptation to crowne the lesser merit with the greater reward; not by the justice of debt, but by the grace and disposition of the divine good pleasure.*

But the sentence of the Chancellour and the Theologicall faculty of *Paris* in the yeere 1354. against one *Guido* an *Austin* Frier, that then defended *the merit of condignity*, is not to bee overpassed. For by their order, this forme of Recantation was prescribed unto him. [k] *I said against a Batchelour of the Order of the Friers Preachers in conference with him, that a man doth merit everlasting life of condignitie, that is to say, that in case it were not given, there should injury bee done unto him. I wrote likewise, that God should doe him injury: and approved it. This I revoke as* FALSE, HERETICALL, *and* BLASPHE-

f Non ex nostrâ justitiâ, sed ex Dei gratiâ datur vita æterna: juxta illud ad Rom. 6. Gratia Dei vita æterna. *Ibid.*

g Cùm in operibus nostris bonis nihil Deo demus, pro quo per commutationem debeatur nobis præmium. *Ibid.*

h Cùm nullus bene operando secundùm se & secundùm statum aliquid de condigno mereatur, sed potiùs Deo majori obligatione astringitur, quia majora bona recepit. *Ibid.*

i Ex quibus concluditur, quòd justus sit in remunerando: quia justâ dispositione suâ disposuit ex gratiâ acceptationis minus meritum majori præmio coronare; non iustitiâ debiti, sed gratiâ & dispositione beneplaciti divini. *Ibid.*

k Dixi contra Bacchalarium Prædicatorum conferendo cum ipso, quòd homo meretur vitam æternam de condigno; id est, quòd si non daretur, ei fieret injuria. Et scripsi quòd Deus faceret sibi injuriam: & hanc probavi. Istam revoco tanquam falsam, hæreticam, & blasphemam. *Guid. Revocat. errorum facti Paris. an. 1354. tom. 14. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Colon. pag. 347.*

MOVS. Yet now the times are so changed, and men in them, that our new Divines of *Rhemes* sticke not to tell us, that it [l] *is most cleere to all not blinded in pride and contention, that good workes be meritorious, and the very cause of salvation, so farre that God should be unjust, if he rendred not Heaven for the same.* Where to the judgement of the indifferent Reader I referre it, whether side in this case is more likely to have beene *blinded in pride*: (we who abase our selves before Gods footstoole, and utterly disclaime all our owne merits; or they who have so high a conceit of them, that they dare in this presumptuous manner to challenge God of *Injustice*, if hee should judge them to deserve a lesser reward than *Heaven* it selfe:) and whether that sentence of our Saviour *Christ* bee not fulfilled in them, as well as in the proud and blinde *Pharisees* their predecessors. [m] *For judgement I am come into this world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blinde.* And so leaving these blinde leaders of the blinde, who say they [n] *see* (by that meanes making their *sinne to remaine*) and say they [o] *are rich and increased with goods (not knowing that they are wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blinde, and naked:)* I procced, and out of the *fifteenth* Century or Hundred of yeeres after *Christ* produce other two witnesses of this truth. The one is *Paulus Burgensis*, who expounding those words of *David*, Psal. 36.5. *Thy mercy, O Lord, is in Heaven*, (or, reacheth unto the Heavens) writeth thus: [p] *No man according to the common law can merit by condignity the glory of Heaven. Whence the Apostle saith in the 8. to the* Romanes, *that the sufferings of this time*

l *Rhem. annotat. in Hebr. 6. 10.*

m *Iohn 9. 39.*
n *Iohn 9. 41.*
o *Revel. 3. 17.*
p Gloriam cœlestem nullus de condigno secundùm legem communem meretur. Vnde Apostolus ad Rom. 8. Non sunt condignæ passiones huius seculi ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis. & sic manifestum est, quòd in cœlo maximè relucet misericordia Dei in beatis. *Paul. Burgens. addit. ad Lyran. in Psal.* 35.

time are not worthy to be compared with the future glory which shall bee revealed in us. And so it is manifest that in Heaven most of all the mercy of God shineth forth in the blessed. The other is *Thomas Walden*, who living in *England* the same time that the other did in *Spain*, professeth plainly his dislike of that saying; q *that a man by his merits is worthy of the kingdome of heaven, or this grace or that glory: howsoever certaine Schoolemen, that they might so speake, had invented the termes of Condignity and Congruity.* But r *I repute him* (saith he) *the sounder Divine, the more faithfull Catholike, and more consonant with the holy Scriptures, who doth simply deny such merit, and with the qualification of the Apostle and of the Scriptures, confesseth, that simply no man meriteth the kingdome of heaven, but by the grace of God or will of the giver.* s *as all the former Saints, untill the late Schoolemen, and the universall Church hath written.*

Out of which words of his you may further observe both the time when, and the persons by whom this innovation was made in these latter daies of the Church: namely, that the late *Schoolemen* were they, that corrupted the ancient doctrine of the Church, and to that end devised their new termes of the merit of *congruity* and *condignity*. I say, in these latter dayes: because if wee looke unto higher times, *Walden* himselfe in that same place doth affirme, that it was a branch of the t *Pelagian* heresie to hold, *that according to the measure of meritorious workes God will reward a man so meriting.* Neither in-

q Quòd homo ex meritis est dignus regno cœlorum, aut hâc gratiâ vel illâ gloriâ. quamvis quidem Scholastici invenerunt ad hoc dicendum terminos de condigno & congruo. *Waldens. tom. 3. de Sacramentalib. tit. 1. cap. 7.*

r Reputo igitur saniorem Theologum, fideliorem Catholicum, & Scripturis sanctis magis concordem; qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat, & cum modificatione Apostoli & Scripturarum concedit quia simpliciter quis non meretur regnum cœlorum, sed ex gratiâ Dei aut voluntate largitoris. *Ibid.*

s Sicut omnes sancti priores vsq; ad recentes Scholasticos & communis scripsit Ecclesia. *Ibid.*

t Pelagiana est hæresis; quòd Deus secundùm mensuram operum meritoriorum præmiabit hominem sic merentem. *Ibid.*

deed

deed can this proud generation of *Merit-mongers* be derived from a more proper ſtocke, than from the old either *Pelagians* or *Catharists*. For as theſe doe now adaies maintaine, that they doe [a] *worke by their owne free-will, and thereby deſerve their ſalvation*: ſo was this wont to be a part of *Pelagius* his ſong: [x] *No man ſhall take away from mee the power of free-will: leſt if God be my helper in my workes, the reward be not due to me, but to him that did worke in mee.* And to [y] *glory of their merits*, was a ſpeciall property noted in the *Catharists* or ancient *Puritans*: who ſtanding thus upon their owne *purity*, [z] doe thereby declare (as *Caſsiodorus* noteth) *that they have no portion with the holy Church*, which profeſſeth that her ſins are many. Nay, [a] *while theſe men call themſelves Puritans*, (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *by this very ground they prove themſelves to be impure. for whoſoever pronounceth himſelfe to bee pure, doth therein abſolutely condemne himſelfe to be impure.* For, as S. *Hierome* in this caſe diſputeth againſt the *Pelagians* (and ſo againſt the Puritan & Pelagian Romaniſts) [b] *then are wee righteous when wee confeſſe our ſelves to be ſinners; and our righteouſneſſe conſiſteth not in our owne merits, but in Gods mercy.* with whoſe reſolution againſt them wee will now conclude this point againſt their new off-ſpring; that [c] *the righteous are ſaved, not by their owne merit, but by Gods clemencie.*

a Rhemiſts annot. in Rom. 9. 14

x Mihi nullus auferre poterit liberi arbitrii poteſtatem: ne ſi in operibus meis Deus adiutor extiterit, non mihi debeatur merces, ſed ei qui in me operatus. *Pelag. apud Hieronym. in Dialog. ad verſ. Pelag. lib. 1.*

y Gloriantes de ſuis meritis. *Iſidor. lib. 8. Origen. cap. 5.* de Catharis.

z Et memoriâ reconde, quòd Eccleſia dicit pro parte membrorum, copioſa ſua eſſe peccata: ut qui ſe prædicant eſſe mundos (ſicut Catharistæ) intelligant ſe portionem cum ſanctâ Eccleſiâ non habere. *Caſsiador. in Pſal. 24.*

a Οὗτοι ἑαυτὸς φήσαντες καθαρὸς, ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς καθάρσεως ἀκαθάρτους ἑαυτὸς ἀποφαίνουσι· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἀποφήνας καθαρὸν, ἀκάθαρτον ἑαυτὸν τελείως κατέχρινε. Epiphan. hæreſ. 59. pag. 216, 217. b Tunc ergo iuſti ſumus, quando nos peccatores fatemur: & iuſtitia noſtra non ex proprio merito, ſed ex Dei conſiſtit miſericordiâ. *Hieron. Dialog. adverſ. Pelag. lib. 1.* c Pro nihilo (inquis) ſalvos faciet eos: haud dubium quin iuſtos, qui non proprio merito, ſed Dei ſalvantis clemeniâ. *Id. ibid. libro.*

And

And thus have I gone over all the particular Articles propounded by our Challenger: and performed therein more a great deale, than hee required at my hands. That which he desired in the name of his fellowes, was; that wee would alleage but *any one Text of Scripture, which condemneth any of the above written points.* He hath now presented unto him not Texts of *Scripture* onely, but testimonies of the *Fathers* also, justifying our dissent from them not in one but in all those points, wherein he was so confident, that *they of our side that had read the Fathers could well testifie,* that all antiquity did in judgement concurre with the now Church of Rome. And if he looke into every one of them more neerely; he may perhaps finde, that we are not such strangers to the originall and first breedings of these Romish errors, as hee did imagine. It now remaineth on his part, that he make good what he hath undertaken: namely, that *for the confirmation of all the above mentioned points of his Religion,* hee produce both *good and certaine grounds out of the sacred Scriptures,* and the generall consent likewise of *the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church.* Wherein, as I advise him to spare his paines in labouring to prove those things, which he seeth me before hand readily to have yeelded unto: so I wish him also not to forget his owne motion, made in the percloſe of his Challenge; that all *may be done with Christian charity and sincerity, to the glory of God, and instruction of them that are astray.*

FINIS.

A CATALOGVE OF THE AVTHORS HERE alleaged; diſpoſed according to the order of the Times, wherein *they are accounted to have* LIVED.

ANNO DOMINI.

40 NIcodemus. *The author of the counterfeit Goſpell, attributed unto him, lived within the firſt 600. yeeres: being cited by Gregorius Turonenſis.*

43 Thaddæus; *vouched by Euſebius.*

60 Hermes.

70 Clemens I. Romanus Epiſc. *counted the author of the Apoſtolicall Conſtitutions.*

70 Dionyſius Areopagita. *The books that beare his name, ſeeme to bee written in the fourth or fifth Age after Chriſt.*

105 Ignatius Antiochenus.

150 Iuſtinus Martyr.

169 Smyrnenſis Eccleſia, de martyrio Polycarpi.

180 Theophilus Antiochenus.

180 Irenæus Lugdunenſis.

180 Tatianus.

190 Maximus. *out of whom the Dialogues againſt the Marcioniſts, attributed to Origen, are collected: as appeareth by the large fragment cited out of him by Euſebius in the end of the ſeventh Book* de Præparatione Evangelicâ.

200 Clemens Alexandrinus.

200 Tertullianus.

210 Caius.

220 Hippolytus Martyr.

230 Origenes.

230 Ammonius.
230 Minutius Felix.
240 Novatianus.
250 Gregorius Neocæsareensis.
250 Cyprianus.
260 Zeno Veronensis.
270 Victorinus Pictaviensis.
290 Pamphylus Martyr.
300 Arnobius.
300 Lactantius.
303 Concilium Sinuessanum, suppositititium.
310 Concilium Eliberinum, seu Illiberitanum.
325 Concilium Romanum sub Silvestro, suppositititium.
325 Concilium Nicænum, universale I.
325 Macarius Hierosolymitanus.
330 Eusebius Cæsareensis.
330 Iuvencus.
340 Eusebius Emesenus.
340 Athanasius Alexandrinus.
350 Eustathius Antiochenus.
350 Iulius Firmicus Maternus.
350 Acacius Cæsareensis.
359 Conciliabula Arrianorum, Nicæn. Constanstinop. Sirmiens. & Ariminens.
360 Didymus.
360 Hilarius Pictaviensis.
360 Titus Bostrensis.
364 Concilium Laodicenum.
370 Macarius Ægyptius.
370 Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus.
370 Asterius Amaseæ Episc.
370 Optatus.
370 Ambrosius Mediolanensis Episc.
370 Basilius Cæsareensis.
370 Gregorius Nazianzenus.
370 Aërius hæreticus.
380 Cæsarius.
380 Gregorius Nyssenus.
380 Nectarius.
380 Pacianus.
380 Prudentius.
380 Philastrius.
380 Evagrius Ponticus.
380 Amphilochius.
381 Concilium Constantinopolitanum, universale II.
390 Hieronymus.
390 Paula & Eustochium, apud eund.
390 Epiphanius.
390 Ruffinus.
390 Cœlius Sedulius.
390 Paulinus Mediolanensis.
400 Io. Chrysostomus. cujus epistolam ad Cæsarium monachum (quam in quæstionem vocant Pontificii) citatam invenio in Collectaneis contra Severianos, quæ ex Fr. Turriani versione habentur in 4 tomo Antiquæ lectionis Henr. Canisii, pag. 138. & in fine libri Io. Damasceni contra Acephalos; ibid. pag. 211 ubi postrema verba testimonii à nobis citati (pag. 66.) Turrianus ita transtulit: *Sic etiam hîc, divinâ naturâ in ipso insidente, unum Filium, unam Personam utrumq; constituit.*

conſtituit.

400 Marcus Eremita.

400 Polychronius, Apameæ Epiſcopus.

400 Heſychius Presbyter.

410 Palladius, Lauſiacæ hiſtoriæ author.

410 Pelagius hæreticus.

410 Auguſtinus.

410 Philo Carpathius.

410 Syneſius.

414 Theodorus Daphnopatus. *by* Hen. Oræus, *referred to this yeere: I know not by what warrant.*

418 Concilium Africanum Carthagine habitum contra Pelagium.

420 Maximus Taurinenſis.

424 Hilarius Arelatenſis.

430 Io. Caſſianus.

430 Vincentius Lirinenſis.

430 Author Operis imperfecti in Matthæum.

430 Cyrillus Alexandrinus.

430 Synodus Alexandrina, contra Neſtorium.

430 Theodoretus.

430 Proclus Cyzicenus.

431 Concilium Epheſinum, univerſale III.

440 Proſper Aquitanicus.

440 Socrates hiſtoricus.

440 Sozomenus.

440 Eucherius Lugdunenſis.

440 Petrus Chryſologus.

450 Leo. I.

450 Primaſius.

451 Concilium Chalcedonenſe, univerſale IIII.

460 Baſilius Seleucienſis.

460 Victor Antiochenus.

460 Salvianus Maſſilienſis.

475 Fauſtus Repenſis, ſeu Reienſis.

476 Gelaſius Cyzicenus.

490 Gennadius Maſſilienſis.

490 Gelaſius Papa I.

494 Concilium Romanum I. ſub Gelaſio.

500 Paſchaſius Romanæ eccleſiæ diaconus.

500 Olympiodorus.

500 Andreas Cæſareenſis.
Stephanus Gobarus hæreticus.

507 Laurentius Novarienſis.

510 Ennodius Ticinenſis.

520 Aurelius Caſſiodorus.

520 Euſebius Gallicanus.

320 Cæſarius Arelatenſis.

520 Fulgentius Ruſpenſis Epiſc.

520 Iohannes Maxentius.

527 Ephræm Antiochenus.

527 Agapetus diaconus.

529 Concilium Arauſican. II.

530 Bonifacius II.

530 Fulgentius Ferrandus.

530 Dionyſius Exiguus.

530 Benedictus Monachus.

530 Procopius Gazæus.

540 Arator.

553 Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum, univerſale. V.

560 Andreas Hieroſolymitanus, Cretenſis archiepiſc.

560 Dracontius.

570 Crescon ius.
580 Venantius Fortunatus.
580 Iohannes Climacus.
589 Concil. Toletan. III.
600 Gregorius. I.
600 Iohan. Nesteutâ.
Agapius Manichæus.
610 Eustratius Constantinopolitanus.
630 Isidorus Hispalensis.
633 Concilium Toletanum. IIII.
640 Maximus Monachus.
640 Ionas.
640 Anastasius Sinaita.
660 Eligius Noviomensis.
680 Iulianus Toletanus.
690 Theodorus Cantuar. archiepis.
700 Liber Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ; Ms. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.
Nico.
710 Isidorus Mercator.
720 Beda.
720 Germanus Constantinopol.
730 Bonifacius Moguntinus.
740 Gregorius III.
740 Io. Damascenus.
740 Antonius author Melissæ.
745 Synodus Romana sub Zachariâ.
754 Constantinopolitanum Concilium contra Imagines.
760 Ambrosius Ansbertus.
780 Iohannes Hierosolymitanus.
785 Etherius & Beatus.
787 Hadrianus I.
787 Concilium Nicænum II.
787 Epiphanius Diaconus.
790 Elias Cretensis.
790 Alcuinus.
794 Concilium Francofurtense.
800 Carolus Magnus.
813 Concilium Arelatense IIII. al. VI.
813 Concil. Cabilonense II.
816 Concil. Aquisgranense sub Ludovico Pio.
824 Synodus Parisiensis, de Imaginib.
830 Christianus Druthmarus.
830 Agobardus Lugdunensis.
830 Amalarius Lugdunensis.
837 Synodus Carisiaca contra Amalarium.
840 Paschasius Radbertus.
840 Rabanus Maurus.
840 Haymo Halberstattensis.
840 Walafridus Strabus.
842 Concilium Aquisgranense sub Pipino.
850 Iohannes Scotus Erigena:
850 Ecclesia Lugdunensis contra eund.
850 Grimoldus.
850 Hincmarus Remensis.
860 Photius.
860 Iohannes Diaconus.
870 Otfridus Wissenburgensis.
870 Egolismensis Monachus, qui Caroli magni vitam descripsit.
876 Ratrannus, vulgò Bertramus.
890 Leo Imperator.
890 Michael Syncellus.
890 Ado Viennensis.

890 Nicetas

890. Nicetas Serronius.
Gregorius Cerameus.
920. Regino Prumienſis.
950. Smaragdus.
975. Ælfrick.
1000. Fulbertus Carnotenſis.
1020. Burchardus.
1030. Simeon Metaphraſtes.
1050 Petrus Damiani.
1050. Oecumenius.
1050. Berengarius.
1058. Hermannus Contractus.
1060. Radulphus Ardens.
1060. Lanfrancus Cantuar. archiepiſc.
1060. Algerus
1070. Osbernus.
1070. Theophylactus.
1080. Euthymius Zigabenus.
1080. Anſelmus Cantuar. archiepiſc.
1090. Waltramus Naumbergenſis.
1100. Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
1100. Conradus Bruwilerenſis.
1100. Zacharias Chyſopolitanus.
1100. Ivo Carnotenſis.
1110 Anſelmus Laudunenſis.
1120. Eadmerus.
1112. Berengoſius Abbas
1120. Michaël Glycas
1120. Iohannes Zonaras.
1120. Rupertus Tuitienſis.
1130. Hugo de S. Victore.
1130. Guilielmus Malmesburienſis
1130. Innocentius II.
1130. Author vitæ Godefridi Comitis Cappenbergenſis
1130. Bernardus Claræ vallenſis
1140. Petrus Lombardus.
1140. Gilbertus Porretanus.
1146 Otto Friſingenſis.
1150 Petrus Cluniacenſis.
1150 Conſtantinus Harmenopulus.
1150 Bernardus Morlanenſis.
1154 Leo Thuſcus.
1160 Arnaldus Carnotenſis, abbas Bonævallis. *Opus de Cardinalibus Chriſti operibus Cypriano perperàm adſcriptum, huic authori in exemplaribus Mss. tribuitur: quorum duo Oxonij ipſi vidimus; in Bodleianâ Bibliothecâ unum, in Collegij Omnium Animarum Biblioth. alterum.*
1160 Petrus Bleſenſis.
1160 Iohannes Tzetzes.
1170 Hugo Etherianus.
1170 Gratianus.
1180 Theodorus Balſamon.
1180 Simeon Dunelmenſis.
1200 Cyrus Theodorus Prodromus
1200 Innocentius III.
1204 Rogerus Hoveden.
1206 Guillermus Altiſſiodorenſis
1210 Nicetas Choniates.
1215 Concilium Lateranenſe.
1220 Iacobus de Vitriaco.
1230 Guilielmus Alvernus, Pariſienſis epiſc.
1235 Rogerus de Wendover.
1240 Alexander de Hales
1240 Albertus magnus.
1250 Matthæus Pariſienſis.
1250 Bernardus Gloſſator Decretalium.
1250 Hugo Cardinalis.
1252 Dominicani contra Græcos
1260 Thomas Aquinas

1260 Bonaventura.
1270 Io. Semeca.
1280 Richardus de Media villa.
1280 Ægidius Romanus, *à Trithemio author fuisse dicitur Compendij Theologicæ veritatis, quod pag. 190. Alberti Magni nomine citavimus. Idem opus Bonaventuræ nomine legitur in Appendice septimi tomi operum ejus Romæ edit.*
1283 Io. Peckam Cantuar. archiepisc.
1300 Iohannes Duns Scotus.
1300 Georgius Pachymeres.
1300 Athanasius Constantinopolit.
1300 Nicolaus Cabasilas.
Matthæus Quæstor.
1310 Hugo de Prato.
1310 Guilielmus Nangiacus.
1320 Guilielmus Ockam.
1320 Durandus de S. Porciano.
1320 Petrus Paludanus.
1320 Theodorus Metochita.
1320 Nicolaus Lyranus.
1327 Andronicus.
1330 Alvarus Pelagius.
1340 Thomas Bradwardin.
1340 Nicephorus Gregoras.
1348 Iohannes Andreas, author Glossarum in VI. Decretaiium.
1350 Richardus Armachanus.
1350 Robertus Holcot.
1350 Thomas de Argentina.
1354 Guido Augustinianus.
Germanus Patriarcha Constantinopolit.
1370 Matthæus Westmonasterienſis.
1370 Henricus de Iota vel Huecta
1386 Gregorius Ariminensis.
1390 Michael Angrianus de Bononia.
Iohannes Scharpe.
1400 Petrus de Alliaco, Cameracensis.
Iohannes Herolt, author Sermonum Discipuli.
Iacobus de Everbaco.
1410 Iohannes Gerson.
1414 Constantiense Concilium.
1415 Iohannes Capreolus.
1420 Theodoricus de Niem.
1430 Paulus Burgensis.
1430 Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis epiſc.
1430 Thomas Walden.
1430 Bernardinus Senensis.
1438 Græcorum Apologia ad Basileense Concil. de igne Purgatorio.
1438 Concilium Ferrariense.
1439 Concilium Florentinum.
1439 Eugenij IIII. Bulla Vnionis.
1440 Nicholaus Tudeschius, Abbas Panormitanus.
1440 Marcus Eugenicus, Ephesius.
1450 Gennadius Scholarius.
1460 Æneas Sylvius.
1460 Iohannes de Turrecremata.
1460 Dionysius Carthusianus.
1470 Alanus de Rupe.
1479 Congregatio Complutensis.
1479 Michaël ab Insulis.
1480 Bernardinus de Busti.
1480 Iohannes Capgravius.
1480 Gabriel Biel.
1490 Marsilius de Inghen.
1490 Iacobus Perez de Valentia.
1500 Iohannes Major.
1500 Raphaël Volaterranus.

1500 Io-

1500 Iohannes de Selua.

Eraſmus, Adrian *the ſixth, Cardinall* Cajetan, *and the other Writers of this laſt Age, I paſſe over; as alſo the* Hebrewes *and Heathen writers, cited in the queſtion of the Deſcent into Hell: becauſe the deſigning of the preciſe time wherein they lived, ſerveth to little uſe. Onely I thinke it not amiſſe to adde here a liſt of the Liturgies and Rituall Bookes, which I have had occaſion to make uſe of.*

Liturgiæ Græcæ, nomen præferentes:
- Iacobi.
- Petri.
- Marci.
- Clementis.
- Baſilij.
- Chryſoſtomi.
- Gregorij Romani; à Codino Græcè reddita.

Liturgia Eccleſiæ Conſtantinopolit. Latinè à Leone Thuſco edita.

Græcorum:
- Euchologium.
- Menæa.
- Octoëchum Anaſtaſimum.
- Pentecoſtarium.

Novum Anthologium Græcè editum Romæ ann. 1598.

Baſilij Anaphora Syriaca, ab Andr. Maſio converſa.

Miſſa Angamallenſis, Chriſtianorum S. Thomæ, ex Syriaco converſa. in Itinerario Alexij Meneſij.

Armenorum Liturgia, ab Andrea Lubelczyck Latine converſa.

Liturgiæ Ægyptiacæ.
- Baſilij
- Gregorij Nazianzeni
- Cyrilli Alexdrini

à Victorino Scialach ex Arabico converſæ.

Miſſa Ambroſiana.

Gregorij I. Antiphonarium & Sacramentarium.

Officium Muzarabum in Hiſpania.

Miſſale Gotthicum; tomo 6. Bibliothec. Patr. edit. Pariſ. ann. 1589. & 15. edit. Colon. ann. 1622.

Ordo Romanus antiquus.

Miſſa Latina antiqua, edit. Argentinæ ann. 1557.

Baptizatorum & Confitentium Ceremoniæ antiquæ: unâ cum præfationibus vetuſtis, edit. Colon. ann. 1530.

Alcuini Sacramentorum liber; & Officium per ferias.

Grimoldi Sacramentorum liber.

Preces Eccleſiaſticæ veteres, à Georgio Caſſandro editæ.

Pontificale Romanum vetus, edit. Venet. ann. 1572. & reformatum, Clementis VIII. juſſu Romæ edit. ann 1595.

Miſſale Romanum vetus, edit. Pariſ. ann. 1529. & juſſu Pij V. & Clementis VIII. reformatum, edit. Romæ ann. 1604.

Breviarium Romanum.

Sacerdotale Romanum, edit. Venet ann. 1585.

Cæremoniale Romanum, edit. Colon. ann. 1574.

Ordo Baptizandi, cum modo viſitandi

di infirmos. Venet. 1575.

Sacra inſtitutio Baptizandi juxta ritum S. Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ex decreto Concilij Tridentini reſtitut. Pariſ. 1575.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis, ſecundùm conſuetudinem Romanæ Curiæ; Græcè ab Aldo editæ.

Breviarium ſecundùm uſum Eccleſiæ Sarum.

Preces Syrorum, ab Alb. Widmanſtadio, edit. Viennæ, ann. 1455.

FINIS.

A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE COMMONS HOVSE OF PARLIAMENT in St. MARGARETS Church at Westminster, the 18. of *February*, 1620.

By IAMES VSSHER, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE Vniuersitie of DVBLIN, in IRELAND.

The second Edition corrected and amended by the Author.

Imprinted at London by *I. L.* for *Iohn Bartlet*: and are to be sold at the signe of the gilded Cup, in the Goldsmiths Rowe in Chcapside. 1631.

1 Cor. 10. Vers. 17.

Wee being many, are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.

OTher entrance I neede not make vnto my ſpeech at this time, then that which the Apoſtle himſelfe preſenteth vnto mee in the verſe next but one going before my Text: *I ſpeake to wiſe men.* The more *vnwiſe* might I deeme my ſelfe to be, who being ſo conſcious vnto my ſelfe of my great weakeneſſe, durſt aduenture to diſcouer the ſame before ſo graue and iudicious an Auditory; but that this conſideration doth ſomewhat ſupport mee, that no great blame can light herein vpon mee, but ſome aſperſion thereof muſt reflect vpon your ſelues, who happened to make ſo euill a choyce; the more facile I expect you to bee in a cauſe, wherein you your ſelues are ſome wayes intereſted.

The ſpeciall cauſe of your aſſembling at this time, is, firſt, that you who profeſſe the ſame truth, may ioyne in one body, and partake together of the ſame bleſſed Communion: and then, that ſuch as adhere vnto falſe worſhip, may bee diſcouered and auoyded: You in your wiſedome diſcerning this holy Sacrament to be, as it were, *ignis probationis*, which would both *congregare homogenea*, and *ſegregare heterogenea*, (as in Philoſophie we vſe to ſpeake) both conioyne thoſe that be of the ſame, and diſ-ioyne ſuch as be of a differing kinde and diſpoſition. And to this purpoſe haue I made choyce of this preſent Text: wherein the Apoſtle maketh our partaking of the Lords Table to be a teſtimony, not onely of the vnion and communion which wee haue betwixt our ſelues, and with our Head, (which he doth in the expreſſe words, which I haue read) but alſo of our diſ-vnion and ſeparation from all idolatrous worſhip: as appeareth by the application hereof vnto his maine drift and intendment, laid downe in the 14. and 21. verſes.

The effect therefore of that which Saint *Paul* in expreſſe termes heere deliuereth, is the *Communion of Saints*: which conſiſteth of two parts, the fellowſhip which they haue with the *Body*, laid downe in the beginning; and the fellowſhip which they haue with the *Head*, laid downe in the end of the verſe: both which are thus explained by Saint *Iohn*. *That which wee haue ſeene and heard, declare wee vnto you, that yee alſo may haue fellowſhip with vs; and truly our fellowſhip is with*

with the Father, and with his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, 1 Ioh. 1. 3. Let them therefore that walke in darkeneſſe, brag as much as they liſt of their good-fellowſhip: this bleſſed Apoſtle aſſureth vs, that ſuch onely as doe walke in the light, *haue fellowſhip one with another*; euen as they haue fellowſhip with God, and Ieſus Chriſt his Sonne, whoſe blood ſhall cleanſe them from all ſinne. And to what better company can a man come, than *to the generall Aſſembly, and Church of the firſt borne which are inrolled in heauen, and to God the Iudge of all, and to the ſpirits of iuſt men made perfect, and to Ieſus the Mediator of the new Couenant, and to the blood of ſprinkling, which ſpeaketh better things then that of Abel?* No fellowſhip (doubtleſſe) is comparable to this *Communion of Saints.*

1 Ioh. 1. 6, 7.

Heb. 12. 23, 24.

To begin therefore with the firſt part thereof; as the Apoſtle in the third to the Galatians maketh our being *baptized into Chriſt*, to bee a teſtimony that wee *are all one in Chriſt*: ſo doth hee heere make our *partaking of that one bread*, to be an euidence that we alſo are all *one bread, and one body* in him. And to the ſame purpoſe, in the twelfth Chapter following, hee propoundeth both our Baptiſme and our drinking of the Lords Cup, as ſeales of the ſpirituall coniunction of vs all into one myſticall body. *For as the body is one,* (ſaith he) *and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: ſo alſo is Chriſt. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Iewes or Gentiles,*

Gal. 3. 27, 28.

1 Cor. 12. 12, 13.

whether we be bond or free: and haue beene all made to drinke into one Spirit. Afterwards hee addeth, that we *are the body of Christ, and members in particular:* and in another place also, that *We being many, are one body in Christ, and euery one members one of another.*

Ibid. vers. 27.
Rom. 12. 5.

Now the vse which hee teacheth vs to make of this wonderfull coniunction (whereby wee are made members of Christ, and members one of another) is two-fold: 1. *That there should be no schisme in the body.* 2. *That the members should haue the same care one for another,* 1 Cor. 12. 25. For preuenting of Schisme, hee exhorteth vs in the fourth to the Ephesians, *to keepe the vnitie of the Spirit in the bond of peace*: and to make this bond the firmer, hee putteth vs in minde of *one Body, one Spirit, one Hope, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme, one God and Father of all, who is aboue all, and through all, and in vs all*: by this multiplication of vnities declaring vnto vs, that the knots whereby we are tyed together, are both in number more, and of farre greater moment, then that matters of smaller consequence should disseuer vs: and therefore that wee should *stand fast in one spirit, with one minde, striuing together for the faith of the Gospell, and in nothing terrified by our aduersaries,* Phil. 1. 27, 28.

Ephes. 4. 3—6.

But howsoeuer God hath thus marshalled his Church in a goodly order, *terrible as an army with banners*: yet, such is the disorder of our nature, that many for all this breake ranke, and the enemy laboureth to breed diuision in Gods House, that

Cant. 6. 4.

that ſo his Kingdome might not ſtand. Nay, oftentimes it commeth to paſſe, that the *Watchmen* themſelues, who were appointed for the ſafegarding of the Church, prooue in this kinde to be the ſmiters and wounders of her: and from among them who were purpoſely ordained in the Church, for the bringing of men * *into the vnity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God*, * euen from among thoſe, ſome doe ariſe, that *ſpeake peruerſe things, to draw away diſciples after them.* Cant. 5. 7.

Veteres ſcripturas ſcrutans, inuenire non poſſum, ſcidiſſe Eccleſiam & de domo Dei populos ſeduxiſſe, præter illos qui Sacerdotes à Deo poſiti fuerant & Prophetæ. Hieron.

* Epheſ. 4. 13.

* Act. 20. 30.

Thus wee finde in the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, that after the death of *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, [a] *queſtions and diſputes concerning matters of doctrine were freſhly ſet afoot by thoſe who were ſet ouer the Churches.* Wherupon *Sozomen* maketh this graue obſeruation: that [b] *the diſpoſition of men is ſuch, that when they are wronged by others, they are at agreement among themſelues; but when they are freed of euils from abroad, then they make inſurrections one againſt another.* Which as we finde to be too true by the late experience of our neighbour Churches in the Low-Countries: ſo are wee to conſider with the Wiſe man, [c] that *What hath beene, is now, and that which is to bee, hath already beene*: and be not ſo inquiſitiue, [d] why *the former dayes were better then theſe? for wee doe not enquire wiſely concerning this.* When like troubles were in the Church heretofore, *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, an ancient Father, mooueth the queſtion, [e] *What a man ſhould doe* in this caſe? and maketh anſwere, that *If it be poſſible, wee ſhould mend it,*

[a] αἱ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων ζητήσεις τε καὶ διαλέξεις πάλιν ἀνεκαινοῦντο τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Sozomen. lib. 6. hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 4.

[b] ὅτω πη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φίλον, παρ' ἑτέρων μὴ ἀδικεμένοις πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον ὁμονοεῖν, ἀπηλλαγμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν, πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτὰς στασιάζειν. Ibid.

[c] Eccleſ. 3. 15.

[d] Eccleſ. 6. 10.

[e] Τί ἂν ποιητέον; φής. Εἰ μὲν δυνατὸν, διορθωτέον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡσυχαστέον. Iſidor. Peluſ. lib. 4. epiſt. 133.

but if that may not bee, wee ſhould hold our peace.

The Apoſtles reſolution, I thinke, may giue ſufficient ſatisfaction in this point, to all that haue moderate and peaceable mindes. [f] *If in any thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reueale euen this vnto you: neuertheleſſe, whereto we haue already attained, let vs walke by the ſame rule, let vs minde the ſame thing.* It is not to be looked for, that all good men ſhould agree in all things: neither is it fit that wee ſhould (as our Aduerſaries doe) put the truth vnto compromiſe, and to the ſaying of an *Achitophel*, whoſe counſell muſt bee accepted, *as if a man had inquired at the Oracle of God.* Wee all agree that the Scriptures of God are the perfect rule of our faith: wee all conſent in the maine grounds of Religion drawne from thence: wee all ſubſcribe to the articles of doctrine agreed vpon in the Synode of the yeere 1562. *for the auoyding of diuerſities of opinions, and the eſtabliſhing of conſent touching true Religion.* Hitherto, by Gods mercy, haue wee already attained; thus farre therefore let vs minde the ſame thing: let not euery wanton wit bee permitted to bring what fancies he liſt, into the Pulpit, and to diſturbe things that haue beene well ordered. *I beſeech you, brethren* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *marke them which cauſe diuiſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which yee haue learned, and auoid them.*

[f] Phil. 3. 15, 16.

Rom. 16. 17.

If in ſome other things wee bee otherwiſe minded, than others of our brethren are; let vs beare one with another, vntill God ſhall reueale the

the ſame thing vnto vs: and howſoeuer we may ſee cauſe why we ſhould diſſent from others in matter of opinion; yet let vs remember, that that is no cauſe why wee ſhould breake the Kings peace, and make a rent in the Church of God. A thing deepely to be thought of by the *Iſmaels* of our time, whoſe *hand is againſt euery man, and euery mans hand againſt them*; who *bite & deuoure one another*, vntill they *bee conſumed one of another*; who forſake the fellowſhip of the Saints, and * by a ſacrilegious *ſeparation* breake this bond of peace. Little doe theſe men conſider, how precious the peace of the Church ought to bee in our eyes (to be redeemed with a thouſand of our liues) and of what dangerous conſequence the matter of ſchiſme is vnto their owne ſoules. For howſoeuer the ſchiſmaticke *ſecundùm affectum* (as the Schoolemen ſpeake) in his intention and wicked purpoſe, taketh away vnitie from the Church; euen as hee that hateth God, doth take away goodneſſe from him, as much as in him lyeth: yet *ſecundùm effectum*, in truth and in very deed, hee taketh away the vnitie of the Church onely from himſelfe: that is, he cutteth himſelfe off from being vnited with the reſt of the body; and being diſſeuered from the body, how is it poſſible that he ſhould retaine communion with the Head?

Gen. 16. 12.

Gal. 5. 15.

* *Vos ergo quare ſeparatione ſacrilegâ pacis vinculum diruptiſtis?* Auguſt. lib. 2. de Baptiſmo contra Donat.

λέγω καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι, ὅτι τὸ εἰς αἵρεσιν ἐμπεσεῖν, τὸ τῆδε ἐκκλησίαν, φύσαι ἐκ ἐλαττὸν ἔχει κακὸν. *I ſay and proteſt, that to make ſchiſme in the Church, is no leſſe euill, than to fall into hereſie.* Chryſoſt. in Epheſ. Hom. 11.

To conclude therefore this firſt vſe which we are to make of our communion with the *Body*: let vs call to minde the exhortation of the Apoſtle: *Aboue all things* put on *loue, which is the bond* Col. 3. 14, 15.

of perfectneſſe, and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which alſo yee are called in one Body.

Pſal.133.1. Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in vnity: what a goodly thing it is to behold ſuch an honourable Aſ-

Pſal.122.3. ſembly as this is, to be as a houſe that is *compact together* in it ſelfe; holding fit correſpondence with the other part of this great body, and due ſubordination vnto their and our Head! Such as wiſh not well to the publike good, and would reioyce at the ruine of our State, long for nothing more, then that diſſenſions ſhould ariſe here, betwixt the members mutually, and betwixt them and the Head.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atridæ.

Matth.12.25. They know full well, that *euery Kingdome diuided againſt it ſelfe, is brought to deſolation; and euery houſe diuided againſt it ſelfe, ſhall not ſtand:* nor doe they forget the Politicians old rule, *Diuide & impera*, Make a diuiſion, and get the dominion. The more neede haue wee to looke herein vnto our ſelues; who cannot be ignorant how dolorous *Solutio continui*, and how dangerous *Ruptures* prooue to be vnto our bodies. If therefore there be any comfort of loue, if any fellowſhip

Phil.2.1,2,3. of the Spirit, fulfill our ioy: *that ye be like minded, hauing the ſame loue, being of one accord, of one minde*; and doing *nothing through ſtrife or vaineglory.* Remember that as oft as we come vnto the Lords Table, ſo oft doe we enter into new bonds of peace, and tye our ſelues with firmer knots of loue together: this bleſſed Communion being a

ſacred

ſacred ſeale not onely of the vnion which wee haue with our Head by *faith*, but alſo of our coniunction with the other members of the body by *loue*.

Whereby as we are admoniſhed to maintaine vnity among our ſelues, *that there be no ſchiſme or diuiſion in the body:* ſo are we alſo further put in minde, *that the members ſhould haue the ſame care one for another*. For that is the ſecond vſe which Saint *Paul* teacheth vs to make hereof, in 1 *Cor.* 12. 26. which hee further amplifieth in the verſe next following, by the mutuall ſympathy and fellow-feeling which the members of the ſame body haue one with another. For *whether one member ſuffer, all the members ſuffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members reioyce with it*. And then he addeth: *Now ye are the body of Chriſt, and members in particular:* ſhewing vnto vs thereby, that as wee are all * σύσσωμοι καὶ συμμέτοχοι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, concorporated (as it were) and made copartners of the promiſe in Chriſt: ſo wee ſhould haue one another in our hearts, * εἰς τὸ συναποθανεῖν καὶ συζῆν, to die and liue together. And hereupon is that exhortation in the 13. to the Hebrewes grounded: *Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them which ſuffer aduerſitie, as being your ſelues alſo in the Body*: it being a perillous ſigne that we be no liuely members of that body, if we be not ſenſible of the calamities that lye vpon our afflicted brethren. We know the *Woe* that is pronounced againſt ſuch as are at eaſe in Sion, and *are not grieued for the affliction of Ioſeph*: with the

* Epheſ 3.6.

* 2 Cor. 7. 3.

Heb. 13. 3.

Amos 6. 1, 6, 7.

iudgement following. *Therefore now ſhall they goe captiue, with the firſt that goe captiue.* We know the Angels bitter curſe againſt the inhabitants of
Iudg. 5. 23. Meroz. *Curſe yee Meroz (ſaid the Angell of the Lord) curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof: becauſe they came not to helpe the Lord, to helpe the Lord againſt the mighty.* Not as if the Lord did ſtand in need of our helpe, or were not able, without our aſſiſtance, to maintaine his own cauſe; but that hereby hee would make triall of our readineſſe to doe him ſeruice, and prooue the ſincerity of our loue. If we hold our peace and ſit ſtill at
Eſter 4. 14. this time, deliuerance ſhall ariſe to Gods Church from another place: but let vs looke that the deſtruction doe not light vpon vs and ours.

I neede not make any application of that which I haue ſpoken: the face of Chriſtendome, ſo miſerably rent and torne, as it is at this day, cannot but preſent it ſelfe as a rufull ſpectacle vnto all our eyes, and (if there be any bowels in vs) ſtirre vp compaſſion in our hearts. Neither need I to be earneſt in exciting you to put your helping hands to the making vp of theſe breaches: your forwardneſſe herein hath preuented mee, and in ſtead of petitioning (for which I had prepared my ſelfe) hath miniſtred vnto mee matter of thankeſgiuing. A good worke is at all times commendable: but the doing of it in fit time, addeth much to the luſter thereof, and maketh it yet more goodly. The ſeaſon of the yeere is ap-
2 Sam. 11. 1. proching, wherein *Kings goe forth* to battell: the preſent ſupply and offer of your Subſidie was done

done in a time moſt ſeaſonable: being ſo much alſo the more acceptable, as it was granted *not grudgingly, or of neceſſitie,* but freely, and with a willing minde. *God loueth a cheerefull giuer*: and he *is able to make all grace abound towards you, that yee alwayes hauing all ſufficiency in all things, may abound to euery good worke.* 2 Cor. 9. 7, 8.

And thus being by your goodneſſe ſo happily abridged of that which I intended further to haue vrged from the coniunction which we haue with the *Body*: I paſſe now vnto the ſecond part of the Communion of Saints, which conſiſteth in the vnion which wee all haue with one *Head*. For Chriſt our Head is the maine foundation of this heauenly vnion. Out of him there is nothing but confuſion; without him we are nothing but diſordered heapes of rubbiſh: but *in him all the building fitly framed together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord*; and *in him are we builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit*, Epheſ. 2. 21, 22. Of our ſelues wee are but loſt ſheepe, ſcattered & wandring vpon euery Mountaine. From him it is, that there is *one fold, and one ſhepheard*, (Ioh. 10. 16.) God hauing purpoſed in himſelfe to *gather together in one all things in Chriſt, both which are in heauen, and which are on earth, euen in him*, Epheſ. 1. 10. This is the effect of our Sauiours prayer, Ioh. 17. 21. *That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in vs, &c. I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.* And this is it which we find ſo oft repeated by Saint *Paul*:

We

We being many, are one body in Christ, Rom. 12. 5. *Ye are all one in Christ Iesus,* Gal. 3. 28. And in the Text wee haue in hand: *Wee being many, are one bread, and one body.* Why? becauſe *wee are all partakers of that one bread:* namely, of that bread, whereof hee had ſaid in the words immediately
1 Cor. 10. 16. going before: *The bread which wee breake, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*

Vnder the name of *Bread* therefore heere is comprehended both *Panis Domini*, and *Panis Dominus*; not onely the bread of the Lord, but alſo the Lord himſelfe, who is that *liuing Bread which came downe from heauen,* Ioh. 6. 51. For as Saint
1 Pet. 3. 21. *Peter*, ſaying, that *Baptiſme doth ſaue vs*, vnderſtandeth thereby both the outward part of that Sacrament, (for he expreſſely calleth it a *figure*) and more then that too (as appeareth by the explication preſently adioyned: *not the putting away of the filth of the fleſh*) euen the inward purging of our conſciences by vertue of the death and reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt: ſo Saint *Paul* heere making the reaſon of our vnion to bee our *partaking of all this one bread*, hath not ſo much reſpect vnto the externall bread in the Sacrament (though he exclude not that neither) as vnto the true and heauenly Bread figured thereby; whereof the Lord himſelfe pronounceth in the ſixth of *Iohn*:
Ioh. 6. 32, 51. *The bread that I will giue, is my fleſh, which I will giue for the life of the world:* and (to ſhew that by partaking of this bread, that wonderfull vnion we
Ioh. 6. 56. ſpeake of, is effected:) *He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

It

It is a lamentable thing to behold, how this holy Sacrament, which was ordained by Christ to be a bond whereby wee should be knit together in vnity, is by Satans malice, and the corruption of mans disposition, so strangely peruerted the contrary way; that it is made the principall occasion of that wofull distraction which we see amongst Christians at this day, and the very fuell of endlesse strifes, and implacable contentions. And for as much as these mischiefes haue proceeded from the inconsiderate confounding of those things which in their owne nature are as different as may be: for the cleerer distinguishing of matters, wee are in the first place to consider, that a Sacrament taken in his full extent, comprehendeth two things in it: that which is outward and visible, which the Schooles * call properly *Sacramentum*, (in a more strict acception of the word:) and that which is inward and inuisible, which they tearme *rem Sacramenti*, the principall thing exhibited in the Sacrament. Thus in the Lords Supper, the outward thing which we see with our eyes, is *bread and wine*, the inward thing which wee apprehend by faith is, *the body and blood of Christ*: in the outward part of this mysticall action, which reacheth to that which is *Sacramentum* onely, we receiue this body and blood but sacramentally; in the inward, which containeth *rem*, the thing it selfe in it, wee receiue them really: and consequently the presence of these in the one is *relatiue and symbolicall*; in the other, *reall and substantiall*.

* P. Lombard. l. 4. Sentent. dist. 10. B. & Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. 48. *Hoc est quod dicimus.* ex Augustino.

To begin then with that which is ſymbolicall and relatiue: we may obſerue out of the Scripture, which ſaith, that *Abraham receiued the ſigne of Circumciſion, a ſeale of the righteouſneſſe of the faith which hee had being vncircumciſed*; that Sacraments haue a two-fold relation to the things whereof they be Sacraments: the one of a *ſigne*, the other of a *ſeale*. Signes, we know, are relatiuely vnited vnto the things which they doe ſignifie; and in this reſpect are ſo neerely conioyned together, that the name of the one is vſually communicated vnto the other. *This cup is the new Teſtament*, or, the new Couenant, ſaith our Sauiour in the inſtitution of the holy Supper, *Luke* 22. 20. *This is my Couenant*, ſaith God in the inſtitution of Circumciſion in the old Teſtament, *Gen.* 17. 10. but how it was his Couenant, hee explaineth in the verſe immediatly following: *Ye ſhall circumciſe the fleſh of your foreskinne; and it ſhall be a* SIGNE *of the Couenant betwixt me and you*. So words being the ſignes of things, no ſooner is the ſound of the word conueyed to our eares, but the notion of the thing ſignified thereby is preſented vnto our minde: and thereupon in the ſpeech of the Scripture nothing is more ordinary, then by the terme of * *Word* to note a *thing*. We reade in the fourth of the firſt of *Samuel*, that the Philiſtims were afraid and ſaid, *God is come into the Campe*, verſ. 7. when the Iſraelites brought thither *the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord of hoſts, which dwelleth betweene the Cherubims*, verſ. 4. and yet was that no other but this relatiue

Rom. 4. 11.

* So the ten Commandements are called *ten words*, Exod. 34. 28. *With God no word ſhall be vnpoſſible*, that is, no thing. Luk. 1. 37, &c.

relatiue kinde of preſence wherof now we ſpeak: in reſpect whereof alſo the *ſhewbread* is in the Hebrew named לחם הפנים *the bread of faces*, or, *the preſence bread*. We ſee with vs, the roome wherein the Kings chaire, and other enſignes of State are placed, is called *the Chamber of preſence*, although the King himſelfe bee not there perſonally preſent. And as the rude and vndutifull behauiour of any in that place, or the offering of any diſ-reſpect to the Kings pourtraicture, or to the Armes Royall, or to any other thing that hath relation to his Maieſty, is taken as a diſhonour done vnto the King himſelfe: ſo heere, hee that eateth the bread, and drinketh the cup of the Lord vnworthily, is accounted guilty of offering indignity to the *body and blood of the Lord*. 1 Cor. 11. 27.

In this ſort wee acknowledge Sacraments to be *ſignes*; but bare ſignes wee denie them to bee: *ſeales* they are, as well as ſignes of the Couenant of grace. As it was therefore ſaid of *Iohn* the *Baptiſt*, that he was *a Prophet, and more then a Prophet*: ſo muſt we ſay of Sacraments, that they be ſignes, and more then ſignes; euen pledges and aſſurances of the intereſt which wee haue in the heauenly things that are repreſented by them. He that hath in his chāber the picture of the French King, hath but a bare ſigne; which poſſibly may make him thinke of that King when hee looketh on it, but ſheweth not that hee hath any manner of intereſt in him. It is otherwiſe with him that hath the Kings great Seale for the confirmation of the title that hee hath vnto all the Matth. 11. 9.

lands and liuelihood which he doth inioy. And as heere, the waxe that is affixed to thoſe letters Patents, howſoeuer for ſubſtance it bee the very ſame with that which is to be found euery where, yet being applyed to this vſe, is of more worth to the Patentee, then all the waxe in the countrey beſide: ſo ſtandeth it with the outward elements in the matter of the Sacrament. The bread and wine are not changed in ſubſtance from being the ſame with that which is ſerued at ordinary tables: but in reſpect of the ſacred vſe whereunto they are conſecrated, ſuch a change is made, that now they differ as much from common bread and wine, as heauen from earth. Neither are they to be accounted barely *ſignificatiue*, but truly *exhibitiue* alſo of thoſe heauenly things whereto they haue relation: as being appointed by God to bee a meanes of conueying the ſame vnto vs, and putting vs in actuall poſſeſſion thereof. So that in the vſe of this holy ordinance, as verily as a man with his bodily hand and mouth receiueth the earthly creatures; ſo verily doth he with his ſpirituall hand and mouth (if any ſuch he haue) receiue the body and blood of Chriſt.

And this is that *reall and ſubſtantiall* preſence, which wee affirmed to be in the inward part of this ſacred action. For the better conceiuing of which myſtery, we are to inquire, firſt, what the thing is which we doe heere receiue; ſecondly, how and in what manner we are made partakers of it. Touching the firſt, the truth which muſt be held, is this: that we doe not here receiue onely

the

the benefits that flow from Chriſt; but the very *body and blood of Chriſt*, that is, Chriſt himſelfe crucified. For as none can be made partaker of the vertue of the bread and wine to his bodily ſuſtenance, vnleſſe he firſt doe receiue the ſubſtance of thoſe creatures: ſo neither can any participate in the benefits ariſing from Chriſt to his ſpirituall reliefe, except he firſt haue communion with Chriſt himſelfe. We muſt [a] *haue the Sonne*, before we *haue life*: and therefore [b] *eate* him wee muſt, (as himſelfe ſpeaketh) that is, as truly bee made partakers of him, as we are of our ordinary food, if we will *liue* by him. As there is a giuing of him on Gods part (for [c] *vnto vs a Sonne is giuen*;) ſo there muſt bee a receiuing of him on our part: for [d] *as many as receiued him, to them gaue he power to become the ſonnes of God*. And as we are [e] *called by God vnto the communion of his Son Ieſus Chriſt our Lord*: ſo if we doe heare his voyce, and not harden our hearts by vnbeliefe, wee are indeed made [f] *partakers of Chriſt*. This is that *great myſtery* (for ſo the Apoſtle termeth it) of our vnion with Chriſt, whereby we are made *members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones*: and this is that *eating of the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinking of his blood*, which our Sauiour inſiſteth ſo much vpon, in the ſixth of *Iohn*.

[a] 1 Ioh. 5. 12.
[b] Ioh. 6. 57.
[c] Eſa. 9. 6.
[d] Ioh. 1. 12.
[e] 1 Cor. 1. 9.
[f] Heb. 3. 14.
Epheſ. 5. 30, 32.

Where if any man ſhall demand, (that I may now come vnto the ſecond point of our inquiry,) *How can this man giue vs his fleſh to eate?* he muſt beware that he come not pre-occupied with ſuch dull conceits as they were poſſeſſed withall, who

Ioh. 6. 52.

moued that queſtion there; hee muſt not thinke that we cannot truly feed on Chriſt, vnleſſe we receiue him within our iawes: (for that is as groſſe an imagination as that of *Nicodemus*, who could not conceiue how a man could bee *borne againe*, vnleſſe he ſhould *enter the ſecond time into his mothers wombe:*) but muſt conſider that the *eating & drinking* which our Sauiour ſpeaketh of, muſt be anſwerable to the *hungring and thirſting*, for the quenching whereof this heauenly Banquet is prouided. Marke well the words which he vſeth, toward the beginning of his diſcourſe concerning this argument. *I am the bread of life, he that commeth to me, ſhall neuer hunger; and hee that beleeueth on me, ſhall neuer thirſt. But I ſaid vnto you, that ye alſo haue ſeene me, & beleeue not.* And compare them with thoſe in the end: *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing: the words that I ſpeake vnto you, they are ſpirit, and they are life. But there are ſome of you that beleeue not.* Now obſerue, that ſuch as our hungring is, ſuch is our eating. But euery one will confeſſe, that the hunger heere ſpoken of, is not corporall, but ſpirituall: Why then ſhould any man dreame heere of a corporall eating? Againe, the corporall eating, if a man might haue it, would not auaile any thing to the ſlaking of this hunger; nay, we are expreſſely told, that *the fleſh* thus taken (for ſo we muſt vnderſtand it) *profiteth nothing*, a man ſhould neuer be the better, nor one iot the holier, nor any whit further from the ſecond death, if he had filled his belly with it. But that manner

Ioh. 3. 4.

Ioh. 6. 35, 36.

Ioh. 6. 63, 64.

manner of feeding on this fleſh, which Chriſt himſelfe commendeth vnto vs, is of ſuch profit, that it preſerueth the eater from death, and maketh him to liue for euer. It is not therefore ſuch an eating, that euery man who bringeth a bodily mouth with him may attaine vnto: but it is of a farre higher nature; namely, a ſpirituall vniting of vs vnto Chriſt, whereby he dwelleth in vs, and we liue by him. Ioh. 6. 50, 51, 54, 58.

If any doe further inquire, how it is poſſible that any ſuch vnion ſhould be, ſeeing the body of Chriſt is in heauen, and we are vpon earth? I anſwer, that if the manner of this coniunction were carnall and corporall, it would bee indeed neceſſary that the things conioyned ſhould bee admitted to bee in the ſame place: but it being altogether ſpirituall and ſupernaturall, no locall preſence, no phyſicall nor mathematicall continuity or contiguity is any way requiſite thereunto. It is ſufficient for the making of a reall vnion in this kinde, that Chriſt and we (though neuer ſo farre diſtant in place each from other) bee knit together by thoſe ſpirituall ligatures, which are intimated vnto vs in the words alledged out of the ſixth of *Iohn*: to wit, the *quickening Spirit* deſcending downeward from the Head, to be in vs a fountaine of ſupernaturall life; and a *liuely faith* (wrought by the ſame Spirit) aſcending from vs vpward, to lay faſt hold vpon him, who *hauing by himſelfe purged our ſinnes, ſitteth on the right hand of the Maieſtie on high.* Heb. 1. 3.

Firſt therefore, for the communion of the *Spirit*,

Spirit, which is the ground and foundation of this ſpirituall vnion; let vs call to minde what we haue read in Gods Booke: that Chriſt, the ſecond *Adam*, was made [a] *a quickening ſpirit:* and that he [b] *quickeneth whom he will:* that vnto him [c] *God hath giuen the Spirit without meaſure:* and [d] *of his fulneſſe haue all we receiued:* that [e] *he that is ioyned vnto the Lord, is one Spirit:* and that [f] *heereby wee know that we dwell in him, and he in vs, becauſe hee hath giuen vs his Spirit.* By all which it doth appeare, that the myſtery of our vnion with Chriſt conſiſteth mainly in this: that the ſelfe-ſame Spirit which is in him, as in the Head, is ſo deriued from him into euery one of his true members, that thereby they are animated and quickened to a ſpirituall life. We reade in the firſt of *Ezekiel*, of foure liuing creatures, and of foure wheeles ſtanding by them. *when thoſe went*, (ſaith the Text) *theſe went; and when thoſe ſtood, theſe ſtood: and when thoſe were lifted vp from the earth, the wheeles were lifted vp ouer againſt them.* Hee that ſhould behold ſuch a viſion as this, would eaſily conclude by that which he ſaw, that ſome inuiſible bands there were by which theſe wheeles and liuing creatures were ioyned together, howſoeuer none did outwardly appeare vnto the eye: and the holy Ghoſt, to giue vs ſatisfaction heerein, diſcouereth the ſecret, by yeelding this for the reaſon of this ſtrange connexion; that *the ſpirit of the liuing creature was in the wheeles*, Ezek. 1. 21. From whence we may inferre, that things may truly bee conioyned together, though the manner

[a] 1 Cor. 15. 45.
[b] Ioh. 5. 21.
[c] Ioh. 3. 34.
[d] Ioh. 1. 16.
[e] 1 Cor. 6. 17.
[f] 1 Ioh. 3. 24. 4. 13.

manner of the coniunction be not corporall: and that things diſtant in place may bee vnited together, by hauing the ſpirit of the one communicated vnto the other.

Nay, if we marke it well, we ſhall finde it to be thus in euery of our owne bodies: that the formall reaſon of the vnion of the members conſiſteth not in the continuity of the parts (though that alſo be requiſite to the vnity of a naturall body:) but in the animation thereof by one and the ſame ſpirit. If we ſhould ſuppoſe a body to be as high as the heauens, that the head thereof ſhould be where Chriſt our Head is, and the feet where we his members are: no ſooner could that head thinke of moouing one of the toes, but inſtantly the thing would be done, without any impediment giuen by that huge diſtance of the one from the other. And why? becauſe the ſame ſoule that is in the head, as in the fountaine of ſence and motion, is preſent likewiſe in the loweſt member of the body. But if it ſhould ſo fall out, that this, or any other member proued to be mortified, it preſently would ceaſe to bee a member of that body; the corporall coniunction and continuity with the other parts notwithſtanding. And euen thus is it in Chriſt; although in regard of his corporall preſence, *the heauen muſt receiue him, vntill the times of the reſtitution of all things*; Act. 3. 21. yet is he here *with vs alway, euen vnto the end of the world*, in reſpect of the preſence of his Spirit; Matth. 28. 20. by the vitall influence whereof from him, as from the Head, *the whole body is fitly ioyned together*, Epheſ. 4. 16.

and compacted by that which euery ioynt ſupplieth, according to the effectuall working in the meaſure of euery part. Which quickening Spirit if it bee wanting in any, no externall communion with Chriſt or his Church, can make him a true member of this myſticall body: this being a moſt ſure principle, that *Hee which hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, is none of his*, Rom.8.9.

Now among all the graces that are wrought in vs by the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſoule (as it were) of all the reſt, and that whereby [a] *the iuſt doth liue*, is Faith. [b] *For we through the Spirit waite for the hope of righteouſnes by faith*, ſaith S. *Paul* to the Galatians. And againe: [c] *I liue, yet not I, but Chriſt liueth in me; and the life which I now liue in the fleſh, I liue by the faith of the Sonne of God, who loued me, and gaue himſelfe for me.* By faith it is, that wee doe [d] *receiue* Chriſt: and ſo likewiſe [e] Chriſt *dwelleth in our hearts by faith.* Faith therfore is that ſpirituall mouth in vs, whereby wee *eate the fleſh of the Son of man, and drinke his blood*, that is, (as the Apoſtle expreſſeth it without the trope) [f] *are made partakers of Chriſt:* he being by this meanes as truly, and euery wayes as effectually made ours, as the meate and drinke which we receiue into our naturall bodies.

[a] Habak.2.4. Rom.1.17. Gal.3.11. Heb.10.38.
[b] Gal.5.5.
[c] Gal.2.20.
[d] Iohn 1.12.
[e] Epheſ.3.17.
[f] Heb.3.14.

But you will ſay, If this be all the matter, what doe we get by comming to the Sacrament? ſeeing we haue faith, and the quickening Spirit of Chriſt before wee come thither. To this I anſwer: that the Spirit is receiued * in diuers meaſures, and faith beſtowed vpon vs in different degrees;

* *Aliud eſt naſci de Spiritu, aliud paſci de Spiritu:* ſaith S. *Auguſtine (de verbis Domini Serm.* 11.) By the one we haue *life*; by the other wee *haue it more abundantly*, Ioh.10.10.

grees; by reaſon whereof our coniunction with Chriſt may euery day bee made ſtraiter, and the hold which we take of him firmer. To receiue the Spirit [g] *not by meaſure*, is the priuiledge of our Head: we that [h] *receiue out of his fulneſſe*, haue not our portion of grace deliuered vnto vs all at once, but muſt daily looke for [i] *ſupply of the Spirit of Ieſus Chriſt*. So alſo, while we are in this world, [k] *the righteouſneſſe of God is reuealed* vnto vs *from faith to faith*, that is, from one degree and meaſure of it to another: and conſequently, wee muſt ſtill labour to [l] *perfect that which is lacking in our faith*, and euermore pray with the Apoſtles, [m] *Lord increaſe our faith*. [n] As we haue therefore *receiued Chriſt Ieſus the Lord*, ſo muſt we *walke in him; rooted and built vp in him, and ſtabliſhed in the faith*: that we [o] *may grow vp into him in all things, which is the Head*. And to this end God hath ordained publike officers in his Church, [p] *for the perfecting of the Saints for the worke of the miniſtery, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt, till wee all come in the vnity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, vnto a perfect man, vnto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*: and hath accordingly [q] *made them able Miniſters of the Spirit that quickneth*, & [r] *Miniſters by whom we ſhould beleeue, euen as the Lord ſhall giue to euery man*. When wee haue therefore receiued [ſ] the Spirit and [t] Faith (and ſo ſpirituall life) by their miniſtery, we are not there to reſt; but [u] *as new borne babes we muſt deſire the ſincere milke of the Word, that we may grow thereby*: and as growne

[g] Iohn 3. 34.
[h] Iohn 1.16.
[i] Phil. 1.19.
[k] Rom.1.17.
[l] 1 Theſ.3.10.
[m] Luke 17.5.
[n] Coloſ.2.6,7.
[o] Epheſ.4.15.
[p] Eph.4.12,13.
[q] 2 Cor.3.6.
[r] 1 Cor.3.5.
[ſ] Gal.3.2.
[t] Iohn 17.20.
[u] 1 Pet.2.2.

men too, we must desire to be fed at the Lords Table, that by the strength of that spirituall repast we may be inabled to doe the Lords worke, and may continually be nourished vp thereby in the life of grace, vnto the life of glory.

Neither must we heere with a fleshly eye looke vpon the meanenesse of the outward elements, and haue this faithlesse thought in our hearts, that there is no likelihood, a bit of bread, and a draught of wine should be able to produce such heauenly effects as these. For so we should procure our selues to be no wiser than *Naaman* the Syrian was, who hauing receiued direction from the man of God, that he should wash in Iordan seuen times, to bee cleansed of his Leprosie; replied with indignation, *Are not Abana and Pharpar, riuers of Damascus, better then all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them, and be cleane?* But as his seruants did soberly aduise him then, *If the Prophet had bid thee doe some great thing, wouldest thou not haue done it? How much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash and be cleane?* So giue mee leaue to say vnto you now: If the Lord had commanded vs to doe some great thing, for the attaining of so high a good; should not we willingly haue done it? How much rather then, when he biddeth vs to eate the bread, and drinke the wine that he hath prouided for vs at his owne Table, that by his blessing thereupon wee may grow in grace, and bee preserued both in body and soule vnto euerlasting life?

2 King. 5. 12, 13.

True it is indeed, these outward creatures haue no

no naturall power in them to effect ſo great a worke as this is, no more then the water of Iordan had to recouer the Leper: but the worke wrought by theſe meanes, is ſupernaturall; and God hath beene pleaſed in the diſpenſation both of the Word and of the Sacraments ſo to ordaine it, that theſe heauenly treaſures ſhould bee preſented vnto vs *in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of the power might be of God.* As therefore in the preaching of the Goſpell, the Miniſter doth not *dare verba*, and beate the aire with a fruitleſſe ſound, but the words that hee ſpeaketh vnto vs are Spirit and life; *God being pleaſed by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching, to ſaue them that beleeue:* ſo likewiſe in the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, he doth not feed vs with bare bread and wine, but if we haue the life of faith in vs, (for ſtill we muſt remember that this Table is prouided not for the dead, but for the liuing) and come worthily, *the Cup of bleſſing which he bleſſeth*, will be vnto vs *the communion of the blood of Chriſt*, and *the bread which hee breaketh, the communion of the body of Chriſt*: of which precious body and blood wee being really made partakers, (that is, in truth and indeed, and not in imagination onely) although in a ſpirituall and not a corporall manner, the Lord doth *grant vs, according to the riches of his glory, to be ſtrengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man*, that we may *bee filled with all the fulneſſe of God.* For the Sacraments (as well as the Word) be a part of that *miniſtration of the Spirit*, which is committed to the *Miniſters of the*

2 Cor. 4. 7.

1 Cor. 1. 21.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

Ephes. 3. 16, 19.

2 Cor. 3. 6, 8.

New Teſtament: for as much as *by one Spirit,* (as
1 Cor.12.13. before we haue heard from the Apoſtle) *wee haue beene all baptized into one body, and haue beene all made to drinke into one Spirit.*

And thus haue I finiſhed the firſt part of my taske, my *Congregatio homogeneorum,* (as I call it) the knitting together of thoſe that appertaine to the ſame body, both with their fellow-members, and with their Head: which is the thing laid downe in the expreſſe words of my Text. It remaineth now that I proceed to the Apoſtles application hereof vnto the argument hee hath in hand, which is *Segregatio heterogeneorum*, a diſſeuering of thoſe that bee not of the ſame communion; that the faithfull may not partake with Idolaters, by countenancing, or any way ioyning with them in their vngodly courſes. For that this is the maine ſcope at which S. *Paul* aimeth in his treating here of the Sacrament, is euident both by that which goeth before in the 19. verſ. *Wherefore my dearely beloued, flee from Idolatry:* and that which followeth in the 21. *Yee cannot drinke the Cup of the Lord, and the cup of diuels; yee cannot be partakers of the Lords Table, and of the table of diuels.*

Whereby wee may collect thus much, that as the Lords Supper is a ſeale of our coniunction one with another, and with Chriſt our Head; ſo is it an euidence of our diſ-iunction from Idolaters, binding vs to diſ-auow all communion with them in their falſe worſhip. And indeed, the one muſt neceſſarily follow vpon the other: conſi-

conſidering the nature of this hainous ſinne of Idolatry is ſuch, that it can no wayes ſtand with the fellowſhip which a Chriſtian man ought to haue, both with the Head, and with the body of the Church. To this purpoſe, in the ſixth of the ſecond to the Corinthians we reade thus: *What agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? for yee are the Temple of the liuing God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and walke in them, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the vncleane thing; and I will receiue you.* And in the 2. Chap. of the Epiſtle to the Coloſſians: *Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humilitie, and worſhipping of Angels, intruding into thoſe things which he hath not ſeene, vainely puft vp by his fleſhly minde: and not holding the head, from which all the body by ioynts and bands hauing nouriſhment miniſtred, and knit together, increaſeth with the increaſe of God.* In which words the Apoſtle ſheweth vnto vs, that ſuch as vnder pretence of humility were drawne to the worſhipping of Angels, did *not hold the Head*, and conſequently could not retaine communion with the *body*, which receiueth his whole growth from thence. Anſwerably whereunto the Fathers aſſembled out of diuers Prouinces of Aſia in the Synod held at Laodicea, (not farre from the Coloſſians) did ſolemnely conclude, that [a] *Chriſtians ought not to forſake the Church of God, and goe and inuocate Angels*, and pronounced an *anathema* againſt any that ſhould be found to doe

2 Cor. 6. 16, 17.

Col. 2. 18, 19.

[a] *Concil. Laodicen. Can* 35. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλιπόντας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπελθόντας, καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν, that is, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι, or, ἐυχεσθαι ἀγγέλοις, *as Theodoret expoundeth theſe words of the Canon, in* 2. & 3. *cap. epiſt. ad Coloſſ.*

b ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸ κυριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσῆλθον.

doe ſo, b *becauſe* (ſay they) *he hath forſaken our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God, and giuen himſelfe to Idolatry:* declaring plainly, that by this Idolatrous inuocation of Angels, a diſceſſion was made both from the *Church* of God, as they note in the beginning, and from *Chriſt* the Head of the Church, as they obſerue in the end of their Canon.

For the further vnderſtanding of this particular, it will not be amiſſe to conſider what *Theodoret*, a famous Biſhop of the ancient Church, hath written of this matter in his Commentary vpō the 2d. to the Coloſſ. that is, *They that defended the Law* (ſaith he) *induced them alſo to worſhip the Angels, ſaying that the Law was giuen by them. And this vice continued in Phrygia, and Piſidia for a long time: for which cauſe alſo the Synod aſſembled in Laodicea the chiefe City of Phrygia, forbad them by a Law, to pray vnto Angels. And euen to this day among them and their borderers, there are Oratories of Saint* Michael *to be ſeene. This therefore did they counſell ſhould be done, vſing humility, and ſaying, that the God of all was inuiſible, and inacceſsible, and incomprehenſible; and that it was fit men ſhould get Gods fauour by the meanes of Angels. And this is it which* the Apoſtle ſaith; *In humility, and worſhipping of Angels.* Thus farre *Theodoret*; whom Cardinall *Baronius* diſcerning to come ſomewhat cloſe vnto him, and to touch the Idolatry of the Popiſh crue a little to the quicke, leaueth the poore ſhifts wherewith his companions labour to obſcure the light of this teſtimony, and telleth

vs plainly, that [c] *Theodoret, by his leaue, did not well vnderstand the meaning of Pauls words*: and [d] that those Oratories of Saint *Michael* were erected *anciently by Catholicks*, and not by those *Hereticks* which were condemned in the Councell of Laodicea, as he mistooke the matter. As if any wise man would bee perswaded vpon his bare word, that the memory of things done in Asia so long since, should be more fresh in Rome at this day, then in the time of *Theodoret*, who liued twelue hundred yeeres agoe.

Yet must I needs confesse, that hee sheweth a little more modesty heerein then *Bellarmine* his fellow-Cardinall doth; who would make vs beleeue, that the place in the nineteenth of the Reuelation, where the Angell saith to Saint *Iohn* that would haue worshipped him, *See thou doe it not, I am thy fellow-seruant, Worship God*; maketh for them; and demandeth very soberly, [e] *Why they should be reprehended, who doe the same thing that Iohn did?* and, *whether the Caluinists knew better then Iohn, whether Angels were to be adored or no?* And as for inuocation of them, he telleth vs, that [f] Saint *Iacob* plainely prayed vnto an Angell, in the 48. of Genesis, when in blessing the sonnes of *Ioseph*, hee said, *The Angell which deliuered me from all euill, blesse those children.* Whom for answer we remit to Saint *Cyril*, (in the first Chapter of the third booke of his *Thesaurus*) and intreate him to tell vs, how neere of kinne hee is here to those Hereticks of whom S. *Cyril* there speaketh. His words bee these: *That hee doth not*

[c] *Ex his videas (quod necessariò dicendum est) Theodoretum haud satis feliciter (eius pace sit dictum) assecutum esse Pauli verborum sensum.* Baron. Annal. tom. 1. ann. 60. sect. 20.

[d] *Incautè nimis, quæ à Catholicis essent antiquitùs instituta, hæreticis, quorum nulla esset memoria, tribuens.* Id. ibid.

[e] *Cur nos reprehendimur, qui facimus quod Ioannes fecit? num meliùs Ioanne nôrunt Caluinistæ, sintne Angeli adorãdi?* Bellar. de Sanctor. Beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 14.

[f] *Hic apertè S. Iacob Angelum inuocauit* Id. ibid. cap. 19.

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Yet muſt I needs confeſſe, that hee ſheweth a little more modeſty heerein then *Bellarmine* his fellow-Cardinall doth; who would make vs beleeue, that the place in the nineteenth of the Reuelation, where the Angell ſaith to Saint *Iohn* that would haue worſhipped him, *See thou doe it not, I am thy fellow-ſeruant, Worſhip God*; maketh for them; and demandeth very ſoberly, [e] *Why they ſhould be reprehended, who doe the ſame thing that Iohn did?* and, *whether the Caluiniſts knew better then Iohn, whether Angels were to be adored or no?* And as for inuocation of them, he telleth vs, that [f] Saint *Iacob* plainely prayed vnto an Angell, in the 48. of Geneſis, when in bleſſing the ſonnes of *Ioſeph*, hee ſaid, *The Angell which deliuered me from all euill, bleſſe thoſe children.* Whom for anſwer we remit to Saint *Cyril*, (in the firſt Chapter of the third booke of his *Theſaurus*) and intreate him to tell vs, how neere of kinne hee is here to thoſe Hereticks of whom S. *Cyril* there ſpeaketh. His words bee theſe: *That hee doth not*

[c] *Ex his videas (quod neceſſariò dicendum eſt) Theodoretum haud ſatis feliciter (eius pace ſit dictum) aſſecutum eſſe Pauli verborum ſenſum.* Baron. Annal. tom. 1. ann. 60. ſect. 20.

[d] *Incautè nimis, quæ à Catholicis eſſent antiquitùs inſtituta, hæreticis, quorum nulla eſſet memoria, tribuens.* Id. ibid.

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[f] *Hic apertè S. Iacob Angelum inuocauit* Id. ibid. cap. 19.

meane (in that place, Geneſ. 48. 16.) *an Angell, as the* HERETICKES *vnderſtand it, but the Sonne of God, is manifeſt by this: that when he had ſaid,* [*The Angel,*] *he preſently addeth,* [*who deliuered mee from all euils.*] Which S. *Cyril* preſuppoſeth, no good Chriſtian will aſcribe to any but to God alone.

But to come more neere yet vnto that which is Idolatry moſt properly: An *Idoll* (we muſt vnderſtand) in the exact proprietie of the terme, doth ſignifie any Image; but according to the Eccleſiaſticall vſe of the word, it noteth ſuch an Image as is ſet vp for religious adoration. And in this later ſence we charge the adherents of the Church of Rome with groſſe Idolatry: becauſe that contrary to Gods expreſſe Commandement they are found to bee worſhippers of Images. Neither will it auaile them heere to ſay, that the Idolatry forbidden in the Scripture, is that onely which was vſed by Iewes and Pagans. The Apoſtle indeed in this place dehorting Chriſtians from Idolatry, propoundeth the fall of the Iewes in this kinde before their eyes: *Neither be yee Idolaters,* ſaith he, *as ſome of them* were. And ſo doth hee alſo adde concerning another ſinne, in the verſe following: *Neither let vs commit fornication, as ſome of them committed.* As well then might one pleade, that Iewiſh or Heatheniſh fornication were here onely reprehended, as Iewiſh or Heatheniſh Idolatry. But as the one is a foule ſinne, whether it be committed by Iew, Pagan, or Chriſtian: ſo if ſuch as profeſſe the Name of Chriſt,

See for this, the excellent Homily of the Perill of Idolatry.

1. Cor. 10. 7, 8.

Chriſt, ſhall practiſe that which the Word of God condemneth in Iewes and Pagans, for Idolatry, their profeſſion is ſo farre from diminiſhing, that it augmenteth rather the hainouſneſſe of the crime. *The Idols of the Heathen are ſiluer and gold, the worke of mens hands*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt: and ſo the *Idols* (of Chriſtians, in all likelihood) mentioned in the Reuelation, are ſaid to be *of gold, and ſiluer, and braſſe, and ſtone, and of wood; which neither can ſee, nor heare, nor walke.* The deſcription of theſe Idols (we ſee) agreeth in all points with Popiſh Images: where is any difference?

Pſal.135.15.

Reuel.9.20.

The Heathen, ſay they, held the Images themſelues to be gods, which is far from our thought. Admit, ſome of the ſimpler ſort of the Heathen did ſo: what ſhall we ſay of the Iewiſh Idolaters, (of whom the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh) who erected the golden Calfe in the wilderneſſe? Can we think that they were all ſo ſenſeleſſe, as to imagine that the Calfe, which they knew was not at all *in rerum naturâ*, and had no being at that time when they came out of Egypt, ſhould yet be that *God which brought them vp out of the land of Egypt:* And for the Heathen: did the Romanes and Grecians, when they dedicated in ſeuerall places an hundred Images (for example) to the honour of *Iupiter*, the king of all their gods, think that thereby they had made an hundred *Iupiters*? or when their blocks were ſo old, that they had need to haue new placed in their ſtead; did they thinke by this change of their Images, that they made

Exod.32.4.

change alſo of their gods? without queſtion they muſt ſo haue thought, if they did take the very Images themſelues to be their gods: and yet the Prophet bids vs conſider diligently; and we ſhall find that the Heathen nations *did not change their gods*, (Ierem. 2. 10, 11.) Nay, what doe we meet with, more vſually in the writings of the Fathers, then theſe anſwers of the Heathens for themſelues? [a] *Wee worſhip the gods by the Images.* [b] *Wee feare not them, but thoſe to whoſe images they are made, and to whoſe names they are conſecrated.* [c] *I doe not worſhip that ſtone, nor that Image which is without ſenſe.* [d] *I neither worſhip the Image nor a ſpirit in it: but by the bodily pourtrature I doe behold the ſigne of that thing which I ought to worſhip.*

But admit they did not account the Image it ſelfe to be God, (will the Papiſt further ſay;) yet were thoſe images ſet vp to repreſent either things that had no being, or diuels, or falſe gods; and in that reſpect were Idols: whereas we erect Images onely to the honour of the true God, and of his ſeruants the Saints and Angels. To this I might oppoſe that anſwere of the Heathen to the Chriſtians: [e] *We doe not worſhip euill ſpirits: ſuch as you call Angels, thoſe doe we alſo worſhip, the powers of the great God, and the Miniſters of the great God:* and put them in minde of S. *Auguſtines* reply: [f] *I would you did worſhip thē; you ſhould eaſily learne of them not to worſhip them.* But I will grant vnto them, that many of the Idolatrous Iewes & Heathens images were ſuch as they ſay they were: yet I deny that all of them were ſuch, and confidently doe

[a] *Deos per ſimulacra veneramur.* Arnob. lib. 6. aduerſ. Gētes.

[b] *Non ipſa, inquiunt, timemus; ſed eos, ad quorum imaginem ficta, & quorum nominibus conſecrata ſunt.* Lact. lib. 2. diuin. inſtitut. cap. 2.

[c] *Non ego illum lapidem colo, nec illud ſimulacrum quod eſt ſine ſenſu.* Auguſtin in Pſal. 96.

[d] *Nec ſimulacrum nec dæmonium colo; ſed per effigiem corporalem eius rei ſignum intueor, quam colere debeo.* Idē in Pſal. 113. conc. 2.

[e] *Non colimus mala dæmonia: Angelos quos dicitis, ipſos & nos colimus, virtutes Dei magni, & miniſteria Dei magni.* Idem in Pſal. 96.

[f] *Vtinam ipſos colere velletis; facilè ab ipſis diſceretis non illos colere.* Id. ibid.

doe auouch, that Idolatry is committed by yeelding adoration to an Image of the true God himſelfe. For proofe whereof (omitting the Idoles of g *Micah*, and h *Ieroboam*, which were erected to the memory of *Iehouah* the God of Iſrael; as alſo the Athenians ſuperſtitious worſhip of the * *Vnknowne God*, Act. 17. 23. if, as the common vſe of Idolaters was, they added an Image to their Altar:) I will content my ſelfe with theſe two places of Scripture; the one whereof concerneth the Iewes, the other the Heathen. That which toucheth the Heathen, is in the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romanes: where the Apoſtle hauing ſaid, that God had ſhewed vnto them that which might be knowne of him; and that *the inuiſible things of him*, that is, *his eternall power and God-head*, was manifeſted vnto them by the creation of the world, and the contemplation of the creatures: hee addeth preſently, that God was forely diſpleaſed with them, and therefore gaue them vp vnto vile affections, becauſe *they changed the glory of that vncorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible men, and to birds, and foure-footed beaſts, and creeping things.* Whereby it is euident, that the Idolatry condemned in the wiſeſt of the Heathen, was the adoring of the inuiſible God, whom they acknowledged to be the Creator of all things, in viſible Images faſhioned to the ſimilitude of men and beaſts.

The other place of Scripture, is the 4. of Deuteronomy: where *Moſes* vſeth this ſpeech vnto the children of Iſrael.

g Iudg. 17. 3, 13.
h 2 King. 10. 16, 29, 31.
* *Trebellius Pollio*, in the life of Claudius, calleth the God of Moſes, *incertum numen*. ſo doth Lucan the God of the Iewes, (Pharſal. lib. 2. *& dedita ſacris Incerti Iudæa Dei.*) As therefore the Iewes (by the relation of Tacitus, lib. 2. Hiſt.) worſhipped their God in mount Carmel, *non ſimulacro aut templo, ſed arâ tantùm*: ſo it might be that the Athenians alſo did the like. eſpecially if we conſider that their *Ara miſericordiæ* (which poſſibly might be the ſame with this) is thus deſcribed by Statius. lib. 12. Thebaidos: *Nulla autem effigies, nulli commiſſa metallo Forma Dei; mentes habitare & pectora gaudet.*

The Lord ſpake vnto you out of the midſt of the fire: yee heard the voyce of the Words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, onely yee heard a voyce, verſe 12. And what doth he inferre vpon this? *Take ye therefore good heed vnto your ſelues,* (ſaith he in the 15. verſ.) *for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude on the day that the Lord ſpake vnto you in Horeb, out of the midſt of the fire. Leſt ye corrupt your ſelues, and make you a grauen image, the ſimilitude of any figure, the likeneſſe of male or female, the likeneſſe of any beaſt that is on the earth, the likeneſſe of any winged fowle that flieth in the aire, the likenes of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeneſſe of any fiſh that is in the waters beneath the earth.* Where we may obſerue: firſt, that God in the deliuery of the Law did purpoſely vſe a *voyce* onely; becauſe that ſuch a creature as that, was not to be expreſſed by viſible lineaments, as if that voyce ſhould haue ſaid vnto the Painter, as Eccho is fayned to doe in the [i] Poet.

[i] *Auſonius, Epigram. xi.*

Vane, quid affectas faciem mihi ponere, pictor?
Si mihi vis ſimilem pingere, pinge ſonum.

Secondly, that when he vttered the words of the ſecond Commandement in mount Sinai, and forbad the making of the likenes of any thing *that is in Heauen aboue, or in the Earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the Earth*; hee did at that time forbeare to ſhew himſelfe in any viſible ſhape, either of man or woman, either of beaſt in the earth, fowle in the aire, or fiſh in the waters beneath the earth: to the end it might bee the better made knowne, that it was his pleaſure not to be adored at all in any ſuch formes, & that the worſhipping of

of Images, not onely as they haue reference to the creatures whom they doe immediatly repreſent, or to falſe gods, but alſo as they haue relation to himſelfe (the true God, who was then ſpeaking vnto them in the Mount) did come within the compaſſe of the Idolatry which was condemned in that Commandement.

In vaine therefore doe the Romaniſts goe about to perſwade vs, that their Images be no Idoles: and as vainely alſo doe they ſpend time in curiouſly diſtinguiſhing the ſeuerall degrees of worſhip; the higheſt point whereof, which they call *Latreia*, and acknowledge to be due onely vnto God, they would bee loth wee ſhould thinke that they did communicate to any of their Images. But here wee are to vnderſtand, firſt of all, that Idolatry may be committed by giuing not the higheſt onely, but alſo the loweſt degree of religious adoration vnto Images: and therefore in the words of the Commandement, the very *bowing downe vnto them*, which is one of the meaneſt degrees of worſhip, is expreſly forbidden. Secondly, that it is * the receiued doctrine of Popiſh diuines, that the Image ſhould be honoured with the ſame worſhip, wherewith that thing is worſhipped whoſe Image it is: and therfore what adoration is due to Chriſt and the Trinitie, the ſame by this ground they are to giue vnto their Images. Thirdly, that in the Romane Pontificall publiſhed by the authority of *Clement* the VIII. (to omit other teſtimonies in this kinde) it is concluded, * that the Croſſe of the Popes Legate ſhal haue

* *Conſtans eſt Theologorũ ſententia, Imaginem eodem honore & cultu honorari & coli, quo colitur id cuius eſt Imago. Azor. inſtitut. moral. part. 1. lib. 9. c. 6.*

* *Crux legati, quia debetur ei latria, erit à dextris Pontifical. edit. Rom. pag. 672.*

haue the right hand, vpō this very reaſon, *quia debetur ei latria*, becauſe the worſhip proper to God is due to it. Now whether they commit idolatry, who communicate vnto a ſenſeleſſe thing, that worſhip which they themſelues confeſſe to be due vnto God alone: let all the world iudge.

They were beſt therefore from henceforth confeſſe themſelues to be Idolaters: and ſtand to it, that euery kinde of Idolatry is not vnlawfull. Their Ieſuite *Gregorius de Valentia* will tell them for their comfort, that it is no abſurdity to thinke that Saint *Peter*, when he deterreth the faithfull by name *ab illicitis Idolorum cultibus* (ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρείαις Saint *Peter* calleth them, that is, *abominable Idolatries*) doth inſinuate therby, that * ſome worſhip of Images is lawfull. *Iohn Monceye* the Frenchman in his *Aaron Purgatus* (dedicated to the late Pope *Paul* the fifth) and in his twentie queſtions propounded to *Viſorius*, ſtretcheth yet a ſtraine higher. For howſoeuer he cannot away with the name of Idols and Idolatry; yet he liketh the thing it ſelfe ſo well, that he vndertaketh to cleare *Aaron* from committing any error in ſetting vp the golden Calfe, and laboureth to purge *Laban*, and *Micha*, and *Ieroboam* too from the imputation of Idolatry: hauing found indeed, that nothing had beene done by them in th[illegible], which is not agreeable to the practice of the Romane Church at this day.

Gregor. Valent. lib. 2. Apol. de Idololatr. cap. 7.

* Some *Idolatry* he ſhould ſay: for that is S. *Peters* word. 1 Pet. 4. 3.

And leſt the poore people, whom they haue ſo miſerably abuſed, ſhould finde how farre they haue beene miſſe-led; we ſee that the maſters of that

that Church doe in the Seruice bookes and Catechiſmes, which come vnto the hands of the vulgar, generally leaue out the words of the 2. Commandement that make againſt the adoration of Images: fearing leſt by the light thereof, the myſtery of their iniquity ſhould bee diſcouered. They pretend indeed that this Commandement is not excluded by them, but included onely in the firſt: whereas in truth they doe but craftily conceale it from the peoples eyes, becauſe they would not haue them to be ruled by it. Nay, *Vaſquez* the Ieſuite doth boldly acknowledge, that it plainly appeareth by comparing the words of this Commandement, with the place which hath beene alledged out of the 4. of *Deuteronomy*; that the Scripture did not onely forbid the worſhipping of an Image for God, but alſo the adoration of the true God himſelfe in an Image. He confeſſeth further, that he and his fellow Catholikes doe otherwiſe. What ſaith hee then to the Commandement, thinke you? Becauſe it will not be obeyed, it muſt be repealed, and not admitted to haue any place among the morall precepts of God. * It was (ſaith he) a poſitiue and ceremoniall Law: and therefore ought to ceaſe in the time of the Goſpell. And as if it had not beene enough for him to match the Scribes and Phariſes in impiety, who [a] *made the Commandement of God of none effect, that they might keepe their owne tradition*: that he might fulfill the meaſure of his fathers, and ſhew himſelfe to bee a true child of her who beareth the name of being *the*

Gab. Vaſquez. lib. 2. de Adorat. diſput. 4. cap. 3. ſect. 74. 75.

* *Cùm fuerit iuris poſitiui & Cæremonialis illa legis Moſaicæ prohibitio, tempore legis Euangelicæ debuit ceſſare; atq; id, quod aliàs iure naturali licitum & honeſtum eſt, vt imagines depingere, & illis etiã vti ad adorationem, in lege Euangelicâ locum habere debet. Vaſquez ibid. cap. 4. ſect 84.*

[a] Matth. 15. 6. Mark. 7. 9.

Reuel.17.5. *mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*; he is yet more mad, and ſticketh not to maintaine, that not onely a painted Image, but any other thing of the world, whether it be without life and reaſon, or whether it be a reaſonable creature, may (in the nature of the thing, and if the matter be diſcreetly handled) be adored with God, as his Image; yea and counteth it no abſurditie at all, that a very wiſpe of ſtraw ſhould bee thus worſhipped.

Vaſquez de Adorat. lib. 3. diſput. 1. Cap. 2. ſect. 5. 8. 10.

Ezek.8.15. But let vs turne yet againe, and wee ſhall ſee greater abominations then theſe. We heard how this bleſſed Sacrament, which is here propounded by the Apoſtle, as a bond to vnite Chriſtians together in one body, hath beene made the apple of ſtrife, and the occaſion of moſt bitter breaches in the Church: we may now obſerue againe, that the ſame holy Sacrament, which by the ſame Apoſtle is here brought in as a principall inducement to make men *flee from Idolatry*, is by our Aduerſaries made the obiect of the groſſeſt Idolatry that euer hath beene practiſed by any. For their conſtant doctrine is, that in worſhipping the Sacrament they ſhould giue vnto it, *latriæ cultum qui vero Deo debetur*, (as the Councell of Trent hath determined,) *that kinde of ſeruice which is due to the true God*; determining their worſhip in that very thing which the Prieſt doth hold betwixt his hands. Their practice alſo runs accordingly: for an inſtance whereof we neede goe no further then to *Sanders* booke of the Lords Supper; before which hee hath prefixed an

Concil. Trident. ſeſſ. 13. cap. 5.

an Epiſtle Dedicatory, ſuperſcribed in this manner: *To the Bodie and Blood of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, vnder the formes of Bread and Wine, all honour, praiſe, and thankes, be giuen for euer.* Adding further in the proceſſe of that blockiſh Epiſtle: *Howſoeuer it be with other men, I adore thee my God and Lord really preſent vnder the formes of Bread and Wine, after conſecration duly made: Beſeeching thee of pardon for my ſinnes, &c.*

Now if the conceite which theſe men haue concerning the Sacrament, ſhould proue to bee falſe (as indeed we know it to be moſt abſurd and monſtrous) their owne Ieſuite *Coſter* doth freely confeſſe, that they ſhould be in ſuch an *error and Idolatry, qualis in orbe terrarum nunquam vel viſus vel auditus fuit, as neuer was ſeene or heard of in this world.** *For the error of them is more tolerable,* (ſaith he) *who worſhip for God a Statue of gold or ſiluer, or an Image of any other matter, as the Gentiles adored their gods; or a red cloth lifted vp vpon a ſpeare, as it is reported of the Lappians; or liuing creatures, as did ſometime the Egyptians; then of thoſe that worſhip a piece of bread.* We therefore who are verily perſwaded that the Papiſts doe thus, muſt of force (if we follow their Ieſuites direction) iudge them to be the moſt intolerable Idolaters that euer were.

Nay, according to their owne principles, how is it poſſible that any of themſelues ſhould certainly know, that the hoſt which they worſhip ſhould be any other thing but bread? ſeeing the change doth wholy depend vpon *conſecration duly*

* *Tolerabilior eſt enim error eorum, qui pro Deo colunt Statuã auream aut argenteam, aut alterius materiæ imaginem, quo modo Gentiles deos ſuos venerabantur; vel pannum rubrum in haſtam eleuatum, quod narratur de Lappis; vel viua animalia, vt quondam Ægypty: quàm eorum qui fruſtum panis. Coſter. Ench. c. 12.*

duly made, (as *Sanders* ſpeaketh) and that dependeth vpon the intention of the Prieſt, which no man but himſelfe can haue notice of. *Bellarmine*, diſputing againſt *Ambroſius Catharinus*, one of his owne brethren, that a man hath no certaine knowledge of his owne iuſtification, can take aduantage of this, and alledge for himſelfe, that one * *cannot be certaine by the certainty of faith, that he doth receiue a true Sacrament; foraſmuch as the Sacrament cannot be made without the intention of the Miniſter, and none can ſee another mans intention.* Apply this now to the matter we haue in hand; and ſee into what intricate Labyrinths theſe men haue brought themſelues. Admit the Prieſts intention ſtood right at the time of conſecration, yet if he that baptized him failed in his intention when he adminiſtred that Sacrament, he remaineth ſtill vnbaptized, and ſo becommeth vncapable of Prieſthood; and conſequently, whatſoeuer he conſecrateth is but bread ſtill. Yea, admit hee were rightly baptized too: if either the Biſhop that conferred vpon him the Sacrament of Orders, (for ſo they hold it to be) or thoſe that baptized or ordained that Biſhop, miſſed their right intention; neither will the one proue Biſhop, nor the other Prieſt; and ſo with what intention ſoeuer either the one or the other doth conſecrate, there remaineth but bread ſtill. Neither doth the inconuenience ſtay heere, but aſcendeth vpward to all their predeceſſors: in any one of whom if there fall out to bee a nullity of Prieſthood (for want of intention, either in the baptizer, or in the ordainer)

* *Neque poteſt certus eſſe certitudine fidei, ſe percipere verum Sacramentum; cùm Sacramentum ſine intentione miniſtri non conficiatur, & intentionem alterius nemo videre poſſit.* Bellarmin. de Iuſtificat. lib. 3. cap. 8.

ordainer) all the generation following, according to their principles, goe without their Prieſthood too; and ſo deliuer but bread to the people, in ſtead of the body of Chriſt. The Papiſts themſelues therefore, if they ſtand vnto their owne grounds, muſt needs confeſſe, that they are in no better caſe heere, then the Samaritans were in, of whom our Sauiour ſaith, *Yee worſhip yee know not what:* but we know, that what they worſhip (be the condition or intention of their Prieſt what it will be) is bread indeed; which while they take to be their God, we muſt ſtill account them guiltie of ſpirituall fornication, *and ſuch fornication, as is not ſo much as named amongſt the Gentiles.* Ioh.4.22.

Theſe then being the *Idolaters* with whom we haue to deale, let vs learne firſt how dangerous a thing it is to communicate with them in their falſe worſhip. For if we will be partakers of Babylons ſinnes, wee muſt looke to receiue of her plagues. Reuel.18.4. Secondly, wee are to bee admoniſhed, that it is not ſufficient that in our owne perſons we refraine worſhipping of Idols, but it is further required, that we reſtraine (as much as in vs lyeth) the practice thereof in others; leſt by ſuffering God to be diſhonoured in ſo high a manner, when we may by our calling hinder it, wee make our ſelues partakers of other mens ſinnes. *Eli* the high Prieſt was a good man, and gaue excellent counſell vnto his lewd ſonnes: yet wee know what iudgement fell vpon him, *becauſe his ſons made themſelues vile, and he frowned not vpon them,* (that is, reſtrained them not;) which God 1 Sam.3.13.

1 Sam.2.29. doth interpret to be a kinde of Idolatry, in *honouring of his ſonnes aboue him.* The Church of Pergamus did for her owne part hold faſt Chriſts name, and denyed not his faith: yet had the Reuel.2.14. Lord ſomething againſt her; *becauſe ſhe had there, them that held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to caſt a ſtumbling blocke before the children of Iſrael, to eate things ſacrificed vnto Idols, and to commit fornication.* So we ſee what ſpeciall notice our Sauiour taketh of the workes, and charitie, and ſeruice, and faith, & patience of the Church of Thyatira: and yet for all this he addeth, *Notwithſtanding, I haue a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou ſuffereſt that woman Iezabel, which calleth her ſelfe a Propheteſſe, to teach and to ſeduce my ſeruants to commit fornication, and to eate things ſacrificed vnto Idols.* Reuel.2.20.

In the ſecond of *Iudges* God telleth the children of Iſrael, what miſchiefe ſhould come vnto them by tolerating the Canaanitiſh Idolaters in their Iudg.2.3. Land. *They ſhall be* thornes *in your ſides* (ſaith he) *and their gods ſhall bee a ſnare vnto you.* Which words containe in them the intimation of a double danger: the one reſpecting the *ſoule*, the other the *body*. That which concerneth the ſoule, is: that their Idols ſhould be *a ſnare vnto them.* For God well knew that mans nature is as prone to ſpirituall fornication, as it is to corporall. As therefore for the preuenting of the one, he would not haue a common harlot tolerated in Iſrael, Leuit.19.29. *Leſt the Land ſhould fall to whoredome and become full of wickedneſſe:* ſo for the keeping out of the other,

other, he would haue prouocations taken away, and all occaſions whereby a man might be tempted to commit ſo vile a ſinne. The bodily danger that followeth vpon the toleration of Idolaters, is: that *they ſhould be in their ſides*, that is, (as in another place it is more fully expreſſed) *they ſhould be prickes in their eyes, and thornes in their ſides, and ſhould vexe them in the Land wherein they dwelled.* Now in both theſe reſpects it is certaine, that the toleration of the Idolaters with whom we haue to doe, is farre more perillous than of any other. In regard of the ſpirituall danger, wherewith ſimple ſoules are more like to bee inſnared: becauſe this kinde of Idolatry is not brought in with an open ſhew of impiety, (as that of the Pagans) but is *a myſtery of iniquity*, a wickednesſe couered with the vaile of Piety; and the harlot, which maketh the inhabitants of the earth drunke with the wine of this fornication, is both gilded her ſelfe, and preſenteth alſo her abominations vnto her followers in *a cup of gold.* If we looke to outward perill, we are like to find theſe men, not thornes in our ſides to vexe vs, but daggers in our hearts to deſtroy vs. Not that I take all of them to be of this furious diſpoſition, (miſtake me not: I know a number my ſelfe of a farre different temper:) but becauſe there are neuer wanting among them ſome turbulent humours, ſo inflamed with the ſpirit of fornication, that they runne mad with it; and are tranſported ſo farre, that no tolerable termes can content them, vntill they haue attained to the vtmoſt

Numb. 33. 55.

Reuel. 17. 2, 4.

pitch

pitch of their vnbridled desires. For compassing whereof, there is no trechery, nor rebellion, nor murther, nor desperate course whatsoeuer, that (without all remorse of conscience) they dare not aduenture vpon.

Neither *doe* they thus only, but they *teach* men also so to doe: arming both Pope, and Bishops, and People, and priuate persons, with power to cast downe euen Kings themselues from their Thrones, if they stand in their way, and giue any impediment to their designes. Touching the Popes power herein, there is no disputing: one of them telleth vs, that [a] *there is no doubt, but the Pope may depose all Kings, when there is a reasonable cause so to doe.* For Bishops, Cardinall *Baronius* informeth vs by the example of *Dacius* the Bishop of Millayne, his dealing against the Arrians; [b] that *those Bishops deserue no blame, and ought to suffer no enuie, who rolleuery stone,* (yea and rather then faile, would blow vp stones too) *that they may not liue vnder an hereticall Prince.* For the People, *Dominicus Bannes*, a Dominican Friar, resolues, that they need not, in this case, expect any sentencing of the matter by Pope, or other; but [c] *when the knowledge of the fault is euident, subiects may lawfully (if so be they haue sufficient strength) exempt themselues from subiection to their Princes, before any declaratory sentence of a Iudge.* And that we may vnderstand that the *Prouiso* which he inserteth *of hauing strength sufficient,* is very materiall;

[a] *Dubium non est, quin Papa possit omnes Reges, cùm subest causa rationabilis, deponere.* Augustin. Triumphus, de Potest. Eccles. iast. quæst. 46. artic. 2.

[b] *Quo exemplo satis intelliges, non mereri calumniam, neque inuidiam Episcopos illos pati debere, qui ne sub hæretico principe degant, omnem lapidem voluunt.* Baron. anno 538. sect. 89.

[c] *Quando adest euidens notitia criminis, licitè possunt subditi (si modò eis vires suppetant) eximere se à potestate suorum Principum ante Iudicis sententiam declaratoriam.* Bannes in Thom. 2. 2. quæst. 12. artic. 2.

riall; he putteth vs in minde, that [d] *the faithfull* (the Papiſts he meaneth) *of England are to be excuſed hereby, who doe not exempt themſelues from the power of their ſuperiours, nor make warre againſt them. Becauſe that generally they haue not power ſufficient to make ſuch warres againſt Princes, and great dangers are imminent ouer them.*

Laſtly, for priuate perſons, wee may reade in *Suarez*, that an hereticall King, [e] *after ſentence giuen againſt him, is abſolutely depriued of his Kingdome, ſo that he cannot poſſeſſe it by any iuſt title: and therefore from thenceforth may be handled altogether as a Tyrant; & conſequently, he may be killed by any priuate perſon.* Onely the Ieſuite addeth this limitation: that [f] *If the Pope doe depoſe the King, he may be expelled or killed by them onely to whom he ſhall commit that buſineſſe. But if he inioyne the execution thereof to no body; then it ſhall appertaine to the lawfull ſucceſſor in the Kingdome: or if none ſuch be to be found, it ſhall belong to the Kingdome it ſelfe.* But let him once be declared to be a Tyrant; *Mariana* (*Suarez* his Country-man and fellow Ieſuite) will tell you better how hee ſhould bee handled. [g] *That a Tyrant* (ſaith he) *may be killed by open force and armes, whether by violent breaking in into the Court, or by ioyning of battell, is a matter*

[d] *Ex hâc concluſione ſequitur eſſe excuſandos Anglicanos & Saxonios fideles, qui non ſe eximunt à poteſtate ſuperiorum, nec bellum contra illos gerunt. Quoniam communiter non habent facultatem ad hæc bella gerenda contra Principes, & imminent illis grauia pericula.* Id. Ibid.

[e] *Poſt ſententiam latam omninò priuatur regno, ita vt non poſſit iuſto titulo illud poſſidere, ergo extunc poterit tanquam omninò tyrannus tractari; & conſequenter à quocunque priuato poterit interfici.* Fr. Suarez Defenſ. fid. Cathol. lib. 6. cap. 4. ſect. 14.

[f] *Si Papa Regem deponat, Quod ſi nulli executionem imperet, pertinebit ad legitimum in regno ſucceſſorem; vel ſi nullus inuentus fuerit, ad regnum ipſum ſpectabit.* Id. ibid. ſect. 18.

[g] *Maque apertâ vi & armis poſſe occidi tyrannum, ſiue impetu in regiam facto, ſiue commiſſâ pugnâ, in confeſſo eſt. Sed & dolo atque inſidys exceptum: quod fecit Aiod, &c. Eſt quidem maioris virtutis & adimi ſimultatem apertè exercere, palàm in hoſtem reipublicæ irruere: ſed non minoris prudentiæ, fraudi & inſidys locum captare, quod ſine motu contingat, minori certè periculo publico atque priuato.* Io. Mariana, de Reg. inſtit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

confeſſed: yea, and by deceit and ambuſhes too, as Ehud *did in killing* Eglon *the King of the Moabites. Indeed it would argue a brauer minde to profeſſe open enmity, and publikely to ruſh in vpon the enemy of the Common-wealth: but it is no leſſe prudence, to take aduantage by fraud and ambuſhes, becauſe it is done without ſtirre, and with leſſe danger ſurely, both publike and priuate.* His concluſion is, that [h] *it is lawfull to take away his life, by any arts whatſoeuer*: with this *prouiſo* onely, *that he be not conſtrained either wittingly or vnwittingly to be the cauſe of his owne death.* Where the tenderneſſe of a Ieſuites conſcience is well worth the obſeruing. He maketh no ſcruple at all to take away the mans life: onely he would aduiſe that he be not made away, by hauing poyſon conueyed into his meat or drinke, leſt in taking hereof (forſooth) he which is to be killed, ſhould by this meanes haue ſome hand in procuring his owne death. [i] Yet poyſon him you may, if you liſt, ſo that the venome be *externally applyed by ſome other, he that is to be killed helping nothing thereunto: namely, when the force of the poyſon is ſo great, that a ſeat or garment being infected therewith, it may haue ſtrength to kill.* And that ſuch meanes of poyſoning hath beene vſed, hee prooueth by diuers practices of the Moores: which we leaue to be conſidered of by *Fitzherbert*, who (to proue that *Squires* intention of poyſoning Queene *Elizabeth* in this manner, was but a meere fiction) would perſwade vs that it is not agreeable to the grounds of nature and reaſon, that any ſuch thing ſhould be.

[h] *In eius vitam graſſari quacunque arte conceſſum; ne cogatur tantùm ſciens aut imprudens ſibi conſcire mortem.* Id. ibid. in fine.

[i] *Hoc tamen temperamento vti in hâc quidem diſputatione licebit, ſi non ipſe qui perimitur, venenum haurire cogitur, quo intimis medullis concepto pereat: ſed exteriùs ab alio adhibeatur, nihil adiuuante eo qui perimendus eſt: nimirum cùm tanta vis eſt veneni, vt ſellâ eo aut veſte delibutâ vim interficiendi habeat.* Id. ibid.

Thus

Thus wee ſee what peſtilent doctrine is daily broched by theſe incendiaries of the world: which, what pernicious effects it hath produced, I need not goe farre to exemplifie; this aſſembly and this place cannot but call to minde the memory of that Barbarous plot of the Powder-treaſon. Which being moſt iuſtly charged to haue [k] *exceeded all meaſure of cruelty*; as inuoluing not the King alone, but alſo his children, and the States of the Kingdome, and many thouſands of innocent people in the ſame ruine: a wicked varlet (with whoſe name I will not defile this place) ſteppeth forth ſome foure yeeres after, and with a brazen forehead biddeth vs not to wonder at the matter. *For of an euill and pernicious herbe, both the ſeeds are to be cruſhed, and all the roots to be pulled vp, that they grow not againe. And otherwiſe alſo, for a few wicked perſons it falleth out oftētimes that many periſh in ſhipwracke.* In the later of which reaſons we may note theſe mens inſolent impiety toward God: in arrogating vnto themſelues ſuch an abſolute power for the murthering of innocents, as hee that is Lord of all, hath ouer his owne creatures; the beſt of whom, if he doe enter into iudgement with them, will not bee found righteous in his ſight. In the former, we may obſerue their deadly malice toward Gods Anoynted, which they ſufficiently declare will not bee ſatisfied but by the vtter extirpation of him, and all his Royall progenie.

And whereas for the diſcouery of ſuch wicked ſpirits, his Maieſty in his Princely wiſedome did

[k] *At inquies, omnem modum crudelitatis exceſſit ea coniuratio; cum & prolem, & Regni ordines ſimul implicuiſſet. Id velim ne mireris. Nam malæ & pernitioſæ herbæ & ſemina conterenda, & radices omnes euellendæ ſunt, ne recreſcant. Aliás etiam, propter paucos ſceleratos, multi ſæpè naufragio pereunt.* B. P. ἐξηγητικὸ. epiſtolæ, I. R. impreſſ. anno 1609.

cause an *Oath of Allegeance* to be framed; by the tendring whereof he might be the better able to distinguish betwixt his loyall and disloyall subiects, and to put a difference betwixt a seditious and a quiet-minded Romanist: this companion derideth his simplicitie, in imagining, that that will serue the turne, and supposing that a Papist will thinke himselfe any whit bound by taking such an oath. [1] *See (*saith he*) in so great craft, how great simplicity doth bewray it selfe. When hee had placed all his securitie in that oath, hee thought hee had found such a manner of oath, knit with so many circumstances, that it could not, with safetie of conscience, by any meanes bee dissolued by any man. But hee could not see, that if the Pope did dissolue that oath; all the tyings of it, (whether of performing fidelitie to the King, or of admitting no dispensation) would be dissolued together. Yea, I will say another thing that is more admirable. You know (I beleeue) that an vniust oath, if it bee euidently knowne, or openly declared to bee such, bindeth no man; but is voyd* ipso facto. *That the Kings oath is vniust, hath beene sufficiently declared by the Pastor of the Church himselfe. You see therefore, that the obligation of it is vanished into smoke: so that the bond, which by so many wise men was thought to be of yron, is become lesse then of straw.*

If matters now be come vnto this passe, that such

[1] *Sed vide in tantâ astutiâ, quanta sit simplicitas. Cùm omnem securitatem in eo iuramento sibi statuisset; talem se modum iuramenti, tot circumstantijs connexuisse existimabat, qui, saluâ conscientiâ, nullâ ratione à quoquam dissolui posset. Sed videre non potuit, si Pontifex iuramentum dissoluerit, omnes illius nexus, siue de fidelitate Regi præstandâ, siue de dispensatione non admittendâ, pariter dissolutos fore. Immo aliud dicam admirabilius. Nosti, credo, iuramentum iniustum, si tale esse euidenter sciatur, vel apertè declaretur, neminem obligare; sed ipso facto nullum esse. Regis iuramentum iniustum esse, ab ipso Ecclesiæ Pastore sufficienter declaratum est. Vides igitur iam, in summum abijsse illius obligationem; vt vinculum, quod à tot sapientibus ferreum putabatur, minus sit, quàm stramineum.* Id. ibid.

ſuch as are addicted to the Pope, will account the Oath of Allegeance to haue leſſe force to binde them then a rope of ſtraw; iudge ye whether that be not true which hath bin ſaid, that in reſpect not of ſpirituall infection onely, but of outward danger alſo to our State, any Idolaters may bee more ſafely permitted then Papiſts. Which I doe not ſpeak, to exaſperate you againſt their perſons, or to ſtirre you vp to make new Lawes for ſhedding of their blood. Their blindneſſe I doe much pitty: and my hearts deſire and praier to God for them is, that they might bee ſaued. Onely this I muſt ſay, that (things ſtanding as they doe) I cannot preach peace vnto them. For as *Iehu* ſaid to *Ioram, What peace, ſo long as the whoredomes of thy Mother Iezabel, and her witchcrafts are ſo many?* So muſt I ſay vnto them: What peace can there be, ſo long as you ſuffer your ſelues to be led by the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, who by her ſorceries hath deceiued all nations, and made them drunke with the wine of her fornication? Let her put away her whoredomes out of her ſight, and her adulteries from betweene her breſts; let her repent of her murthers, and her ſorceries, and her idolatries: or rather, becauſe ſhe is paſt all hope, let thoſe that are ſeduced by her, ceaſe to communicate with her in theſe abominable iniquities; and wee ſhall bee all ready to meet them, and reioyce with the Angels in heauen for their conuerſion. In the meane time, they who ſit at the Helme, and haue the charge of our Church and Common-wealth

2 King. 9. 22.

Reu. 17. 2, 5. and 18. 23.

Hoſ. 2. 2.

committed to them, muſt prouide by all good meanes, that God bee not diſhonoured by their open Idolatries, nor our King and State indangered by their ſecret trecheries. Good Lawes there are already enacted to this purpoſe: which if they were duly put in execution, wee ſhould haue leſſe need to thinke of making new. But it is not my part to preſſe this point. I will there-
1 Cor. 10. 15. fore conclude as I did begin: *I ſpeake as to wiſe men; Iudge ye what I ſay.*

2 TIM. 2. 7.

Conſider what I ſay; and the Lord giue you vnderſtanding in all things.

FINIS.

A BRIEFE DECLARATION OF THE VNIVERSALITIE OF THE CHVRCH of CHRIST, and the Vnitie of the Catholike Faith professed therein:

DELIVERED IN A SERMON before *the Kings Majestie* the 20th of Iune, 1624. at *Wansted.*

By IAMES VSSHER, Bishop of *Meath.*

The third Impression, corrected and amended.

LONDON,
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EPHES. 4. 13.

Till we all come in the unitie of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt.

WHen the Lords *Arke* was to ſet forward, the forme of prayer uſed by *Moſes*, was; [a] *Riſe up*, LORD, *and let thine enemies be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* The ſweete Pſalmiſt of Iſrael, framing his deſcant to this ground, beginneth the Pſalme which he prepared to bee ſung at the removing of the *Arke*, after the ſame manner: [b] *Let God ariſe: let his enemies be ſcattered: let them alſo that hate him, flee before him*: and then goeth on, till at length he hath rayſed his note unto his full height: *Thou haſt aſcended up on high: thou haſt led captivitie captive: thou haſt given gifts for men* (Pſalme 68.18.) Which being by our Apoſtle in [c] this Chapter interpreted of the Aſcenſion of our Saviour Chriſt into heaven, and made the very ſpring from whence the matter of my preſent Text is derived, leadeth us to the juſt application of the type to the truth, and putteth us in minde, that the removing of the Arke,

a Num. 10. 35.

b Pſal. 68. 1.

c Epheſ. 4. 8. 10.

which gave occasion to the penning of this Psalme, was an adumbration of our Saviours removeall from the Earth to Heaven; and that by this absence of his, we are no losers, but gainers, seeing hee is ascended up on high, both to triumph over his and our foes, [*hee led captivitie captive*] and to conferre benefits upon his friends [*he gave gifts unto men.*]

d Heb. 9.4. The [d] *Arke of the Covenant* (we know) was appoin-
e Heb. 12.24. ted to be a figure of [e] *Iesus the Mediator of the new Covenant* : the great *King*, *Prophet*, and *Priest* of his Church. Therefore was it ordered, that the Arke should have *a crowne of gold* about it: (Exod. 37.2.) than which, what could be more fit to set forth the state of our *King?* for thus *we see Iesus crowned with glory and honour* (Heb. 2.9.) Vpon the Ark stood the Propitiatorie or Mercie-seate, whence God did use to deliver his Oracles from betwixt the Cherubins: than which, what more lively representation could there be of the *Prophetical* office of our Saviour? of whom it is written: *God hath in these last dayes spoken unto us by his Sonne.* (Heb. 1.2.) The Arke had both the *Rod* and the *Tables* of the Law, by Gods appointment placed within it: than which, what could be more apt to expresse the satisfaction, which our *high Priest* was to make unto his Fathers justice, as well by his *Passive* as by his *Active* obedience? for
f Esa. 53.5. as he felt the stroke of the Rod for us, that [f] *the chastisement of our peace being laid upon him, with his stripes we might be healed*: so [g] *it behooved* him also *to fulfill the Law* and *all righteousnesse*; that so he might
g Math. 3.15. & 5.17.
h Rom. 10.4. be [h] *the end of the Law for righteousnesse to every one that beleeveth.* The letter of the Law being not more

more certainely to be found within the Arke, than the accompliſhment thereof within him: according to that which he ſpake by the holy Prophet, [i] *In the volume of the booke it is written of mee, that I ſhould doe thy will, O God: yea, thy Law is within my heart.*

i Pſal.40.7.8. Heb.10.7.

The Arke had many removes from place to place, whiles it ſojourned in the *Tabernacle*: but was brought up at laſt into the *Temple*, there to dwell upon God's holy Hill; the place of which hee himſelfe had ſaid, [k] *This is my reſt for ever; here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein.* Where, at firſt entry, King *Salomon* ſtood ready to entertaine him with this welcome, [l] *Ariſe, O Lord God, into thy reſting place, thou, and the Arke of thy ſtrength: Let thy Prieſts, O Lord God, be clothed with ſalvation: and let thy Saints rejoyce in goodneſſe.* Our bleſſed Saviour, in the dayes of his fleſh, had no reſting place, but continually [m] went about doing good: untill at length [n] he was received up into Heaven, and ſate on the right hand of GOD. For when he had ended his progreſſe upon Earth, and [o] finiſhed there that worke which his Father had given him to doe, he [p] left the world, and went to his Father; making his laſt remove unto the high Court of Heauen, [q] where he is to reſide untill the time of the reſtitution of all things. [r] *The Temple of GOD was opened in Heaven, and there was ſeene in his Temple the Arke of his Teſtament*, ſaith S. *Iohn* in the Apocalypſe. If we looke to the corporall preſence of our Saviour; in the Temple of Heaven muſt this Arke be ſought for, in no others place is it to be found: but if wee looke to the vertue comming from him, by the operation of his *Word* and *Spirit*; ſo we ſhall finde him in his Temple upon

k Pſal.132. 14.& 68.16.
l Ibid.verſ 8. 9.16.
2 Chro.6.41.
m Act.10.38.
n Mar.16.19.
o Ioh.17.4.
p Ioh 16.28. and 19.30.
q Act.3.21
r Rev. 11.19.

f Mat.28.20. upon earth, f preſent with us alwayes, even unto the end of the world: for, theſe were the gifts that, when he aſcended into Heaven, he did beſtow upon men.

t Pſal.68.18. This the Prophet layeth downe thus; t *Thou haſt aſcended up on high: thou haſt received gifts for men.* The

u Epheſ.4.8. Apoſtle citeth it thus: u *When he aſcended up on high, he gave gifts unto men.* The reconciliation is eaſie: He received thoſe gifts, not to retaine them with himſelfe, but to diſtribute them for the behoofe of his Church. So for the *Spirit*, S. *Peter* teacheth us, Act. 2.33. *Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted*, [there is his aſcending up on high] *and having received of the Father the promiſe of the holy Ghoſt*, [there is his receiving] *he hath ſhed forth this which ye now ſee and heare*, [there is his giving of this gift unto men.] And for the Miniſtery of the *word*, he himſelfe intimateth as much in his Commiſſion, given to the Apoſtles, Mat.28.18,19. *All power is given unto mee in heaven and in earth*: [there he receiveth] *Goe yee therefore, and teach all nations*: [there he giveth this gift unto men]

x Epheſ.4.11. 12. x *He gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors & Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints*: ſaith our Apoſtle here. That herein alſo that might be fulfilled, which we heard to have beene uttered, when

y 2 Chron.16. 41. Pſal.132.9.16 the Arke was brought to his reſting place: y *Let thy Prieſts, O Lord God, be cloathed with ſalvation, and let thy Saints reioyce in goodneſſe.*

The *worke of the Miniſtery*, how meanely ſoever it be eſteemed in the World; yet in the eſtimation of our Saviour Chriſt, was one of the choyſeſt gifts, that in

z Epheſ.4.10. this ſolemnity of his triumphant z aſcending up far above all heavens, hee thought fit to beſtow upon his Church

Church here upon earth: as that which tended both to the [a] *perfecting of the Saints*, and to the *edifying* of his owne *body*. For as [b] it hath pleaſed the Father, *that in him all fulneſſe ſhould dwell*: ſo the Son is alſo pleaſed, not to hold it any diſparagament, that [c] *his Body*, the Church, ſhould be accounted *the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all*. That howſoever in himſelfe he be moſt abſolutely and perfectly compleate; yet is his Church ſo neerely conjoyned unto him, that he holdeth not himſelfe full without it: but as long as any one member remaineth yet ungathered and unknit unto this myſticall body of his, he accounteth, in the meane time, ſomewhat to bee deficient in himſelfe. And therefore our Apoſtle having, in the words immediately going before this Text, declared, that the Miniſtery was inſtituted *for the edifying of the bodie of Chriſt*; addeth preſently, *Till we all come in the unitie of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of GOD, unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*.

[a] Ibid. ver. 12.

[b] Col. 1. 19.

[c] Epheſ. 1. 23.

In which words we may obſerve aſwell the *Matter* of this Building [*We all*] as the *Structure* of it; & further alſo conſider in the Structure, *firſt*, the laying of the foundation [*In the unitie of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God*] *ſecondly*, the bringing of the worke to perfection, & the raiſing of it to his juſt height [*unto a perfect man, unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*.]

The *Matter* then of this ſpirituall edifice (that we may begin with that) are *Wee* our ſelves. [d] *Yee alſo as lively ſtones, are built up a ſpirituall houſe*: ſaith Saint *Peter*. To this Saint *Paul* doth here adde a note of

[d] 1 Pet. 2. 5.

Vniverſalitie [WEB ALL:] as ſuting beſt with the nature of the *Catholick* or Vniverſall Church, which is that *body of Chriſt*, of the *edifying* whereof he here treateth: of which therefore he telleth us more plainly in another place; that [e] *by one Spirit we are all baptized into one bodie, whether wee bee Iewes or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free.* For the Catholick Church is not to be ſought for in any one angle or quarter of the world: but among *all that in every place call upon the Name of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, both theirs and ours.* (1. Corinthians 1. 2.) Therefore to their Lord and ours was it ſaid; [f] *Aske of mee, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion*; & to this myſticall body, the Catholique Church accordingly, [g] *I will bring thy ſeed from the Eaſt, and gather thee from the weſt: I will ſay to the North, give up; and to the South, Keepe not backe: bring my ſonnes from farre, and my daughters from the ends of the earth; even every one that is called by my name.*

[e] 1 Cor. 12. 13.

[f] Pſal. 2. 8.

[g] Eſa. 43. 5, 6, 7.

Thus muſt we conceive of the Catholick Church, as of one entire body; made up by the collection and aggregation of all the Faithfull unto the unitie thereof: from which union there ariſeth unto every one of them ſuch a relation to, and a dependance upon the Church Catholique, as *parts* uſe to have in reſpect of their *whole*. Whereupon it followeth, that neyther particular perſons, nor particular Churches, are to worke as ſeverall divided bodyes by themſelves (which is the ground of all *Schiſme*,) but are to teach, and to bee taught, and to doe all other Chriſtian duties, as parts conjoyned unto the

the whole, and members of the ſame Common-wealth or corporation; and therefore the Biſhops of the ancient Church, though they had the govermẽt of particular Congregations onely committed unto them, yet in regard of this communion which they held with the Vniverſall, did uſually take to themſelves the title of *Biſhops of the Catholick Church.* Which maketh ſtrongly aſwell againſt the new *Separatiſts*, as the old *Donatiſts*: who either hold it a thing [h] not much materiall, ſo they profeſſe the faith of Chriſt, whether they doe it in the Catholick Communion, or out of it; or elſe (which is worſe) dote ſo much upon the perfectiõ of their own part, that they refuſe to joyne in fellowſhip with the reſt of the body of Chriſtians; as if they themſelves were the onely people of God, and all wiſedome muſt live and die with them and their generation.

And herein, of all others, doe our Romaniſts moſt fearefully offend; as being the authors of the moſt cruell ſchiſme, that ever hath been ſeene in the Church of God. Thoſe infamous ſchiſmes of the *Novatians* and *Donatiſts* were put petty rents, in compariſon of this huge rupture, which hath pulled aſunder Eaſt and Weſt, North and South; and growne to ſuch a head at home, that in our weſtern parts (where this faction was ſo prevalent) it hath for diverſe ages paſt beene eſteemed *Catholicke.* In the 17.th of the Revelation we have a *Woman* deſcribed unto us, ſitting upon *ſeven mountaines*, and upon *many waters.* The *Woman* is there expounded to be [i] *that great City which reigneth over the Kings of the earth.* The ſeven mountains upon which that City ſate, needed not to

h *Auguſtin. ep* 48. Quàm multi nihil intereſſe credentes in quâ quiſque parte Chriſtianus ſit; ideò permanebant in parte Donati, quia ibi nati erant, & eos inde diſcedere, atq; ad Catholicam nemo tranſire cogebat. *Et paulò pòſt.* Putabamus quidem nihil intereſſe ubi fidem Chriſti teneremus: ſed gratias Domino, qui nos à diviſione collegit, & hoc uni Deo congruere, ut in unitate colatur, oſtendit.

i Rev. 17. 18.

be expounded: every childe knew what was meant thereby. The waters are interpreted[k] *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues*. Which is that very Vniverſalitie and Catholiciſme that the Romaniſts are wont ſo much to brag of. For, this *Woman* is the particular Church of *Rome*, the *City-Church*; which they call the *Mother-Church*, the holy Ghoſt ſtileth[l] the *Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*. Thoſe *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues*, are ſuch as this proud City reigneth over: the *Catholick-Roman* Church they are commonly called by themſelves; but by the holy Ghoſt,[m] the *Beaſt* upon which the Woman ſitteth.

k Ibid. ver. 15.

l Ibid. verſ. 5.

m Ib. v. 3. & 7

This *Woman* is the Head of the faction, and the very Mother of this ſchiſm: the *Beaſt*, that is to ſay, they that ſuffer themſelves to bee thus ridden by her, are her abbettors and ſupporters in it. For the *particular Church of Rome* (not being content to bee a fellow-member with the reſt of the Churches of Chriſt, & to have a joynt dependance with them upõ the whole body of the Church Catholick,[n] *which is the Mother of us all*) will needs goe out of her ranke; and, ſcorning any longer to be accounted one of the *branches* of the Catholick Church, would faine be acknowledged to be the *root* of it: ſo that now all other Churches muſt hold their dependance upon it, or otherwiſe be caſt forth as withered branches, which are fit onely to be throwne into the fire, and burned. The wiſedome of God foreſaw this inſolency long before hand: and therefore cauſed a Caveat to be entred againſt it, even in that Epiſtle which was ſpecially directed to the Church of *Rome* it ſelfe. The words are plain enough,

n Gal. 4. 26.

Rom.

Rom. 11.18. *If thou boaſt, thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee.* The Church of *Rome* therefore muſt know that ſhee is no more a *root* to beare up other Churches, than other Churches are to beare up her: ſhe may not goe beyond her line, and boaſt her ſelfe to be the *roote* of the Catholick Church, but be contented to be born herſelfe by the *root*, aſwell as other particular Churches are. For a ſtream to ſever it ſelfe from the common Fountaine, that it may bee counted a Fountaine it ſelfe, without dependance upon any other; is the next way to make an end of it, and dry it up. The Church of *Rome* may doe well to think of this, and leave off her vaine boaſting. [o] *I ſit a Queen, and am no Widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.* Other Churches may faile, and the gates of hell may prevaile againſt them: but it cannot fall out ſo with me. Whereas ſhe might remember, that they were *Romans*, unto whom the Apoſtle ſo long ſince gave this admonition. [p] *Be not high minded, but feare. For if God ſpared not the naturall branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee. Behold therefore the goodneſſe and ſeverity of God: on them which fell, ſeveritie, but towards thee, goodneſſe, if thou continue in his goodneſſe: otherwiſe* THOU ALSO SHALT BE CUT OFF.

o Rev. 18.7.

p Rom. 11. 20, 21, 22.

The *Romanes* therefore by their pride may get a fall, as well as others; and the Church of *Rome* by infidelity may be cut off, aſwell as any other congregation: and yet the Catholick Church ſubſiſt for all that, as having for her foundation neither *Rome*, nor *Rom's* Biſhop, but *Ieſus Chriſt*, the Sonne of the living God. And yet this proud Dame and her daughters, the particular Church of *Rome* I meane, & that

which they call the *Catholicke Romane* (or the faction rather that prevaileth in them both) have in theſe latter ages confined the whole Church of Chriſt within themſelves, and excluded all others that were not under the Romane obedience, as aliens from the Common-wealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the covenants of promiſe. The *Donatiſts* were cryed out againſt by our forefathers, for ſhutting up the Church within the parts of the *South*; & rejecting all others that held not correſpondency with that patch of theirs: And could they thinke well then of them, that ſhould conclude the Church within the *weſterne* parts of the world, and exclude all other Chriſtians from the body of Chriſt, that held by the ſame root there that they did? It is a ſtrange thing to me, that wiſe men ſhould make ſuch large diſcourſes of the *Catholique* Church, and bring ſo many teſtimonies to prove the Vniverſalitie of it: & not diſcern, that while by this means they think they have gotten a great victory over us, they have in very truth overthrowne themſelves; for when it cõmeth to the point, in ſtead of the Catholick Church which conſiſteth of the communion of all nations, they obtrude their owne peece unto us: circumſcribing the Church of Chriſt within the precincts of the *Romiſh* juriſdiction, and leaving all the world beſide to the power of Sathan; for with them it is a reſolved caſe; that [q] *to every creature it is altogether of neceſsitie to ſalvation, to be ſubject to the Romane Biſhop.*

What muſt then become of the poore *Moſcovites* and *Grecians* (to ſay nothing of the reformed Churches) in *Europe*? What of the *Ægyptian* and *Æthiopian*

q Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, & pronunciamus omninò eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis. *Boniface. VIII. in Extrauág.* De majoritate & obedientiâ, *cap.* Vnam ſanctam,

an Churches in *Africk*? what of the great companies of Chriſtians ſcattered over all *Aſia*, even from *Conſtantinople* unto the *Eaſt Indies*, which have and ſtill doe endure more afflictions and preſſures for the Name of Chriſt, than they have ever done, that would be accounted the onely friends of Chriſt? Muſt theſe, becauſe they are not the Popes ſubjects, be therefore denied to be Chriſt's ſubjects? Becauſe they are not under the obedience of the Romane Church, doe they thereupon forfait the eſtate which they claime in the Catholick Church, out of which there is no ſalvation? Muſt we give all theſe for gone, and conclude, that they are certainely damned? They who talke ſo much of the *Catholick* Church, but indeed ſtand for their owne *particular*, muſt of force ſinke as low in *uncharitableneſſe*, as they have thruſt themſelves deep in *ſchiſme*: we who talke leſſe of the *Vniverſalitie* of the Church, but hold the truth of it, cannot finde in our hearts to paſſe ſuch a bloudy ſentence upon ſo many poore ſoules, that have given their Names to Chriſt. He whoſe pleaſure it was to ſpread the Churches ſeed ſo farre, ſaid to Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, *Give*: it is not for us then to ſay; *Keepe backe*. He hath given to his Sonne *the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for his poſſeſſion*: wee for our parts dare not abbridge this grant, and limit this great Lordſhip, as we conceive it may beſt fit our owne turnes; but leave it to his owne latitude, & ſeek for the *Catholick* Church neyther in this part nor in that peece, but (as it hath beene before ſaid in the words of the Apoſtle) among r *all that in every place call upon the Name of* r 1 Cor. 1. 2.

Ieſus

Iesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours.

Yea, but how can this be, will some say, seeing the *Catholicke* Church is but *one*: and the principall reason for which it is accounted one, is [f] the *unitie of the faith* professed therein? How then can this unitie of faith bee preserved in all places, if one speciall Church be not set as a Mistresse over all the rest, and one chiefe Bishop appointed for a Master over all others, by whom in matters of faith every one must be ruled? And out of such different professions, as are to bee found among the divided Christians in those severall parts of the world, how can there bee fit matter drawne for the making up of one Vniversall Church? To this I answer (and so passe from the *Matter* of the Building, to the *Structure*) that it is most true indeede, that in the Church there is [t] *one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*: for so we are taught by the Apostle in this chapter. But yet, in the first place, it is to be considered, that this *unitie of the faith* must be compassed by such meanes as God hath ordained for the procuring of it, and not by any politicke trickes of mans devising. Now for the bringing of us all to this *unity of the faith*, the Apostle here telleth us, that Christ [u] *gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers.* If he had thought that the maintenance of this *unitie* did depend upon the singularitie of any one Apostle, or Pastor, or Teacher: is it to be imagined, that hee would have overslipped such a singular person (even in that very place where, of all others, his presence was most requisite) and runne altogether, as he doth, upon the plurall number?

[f] Ecclesia ex pluribus personis congregatur: & tamen una dicitur, propter unitatem fidei. *Hieron. (si modò is horũ Commentariorum author) in Psal. 23.*

[t] Ephes. 4. 5.

[u] Ibid. v. 11.

That

That the multitude of Teachers diſperſed over the world, without any ſuch dependencie or correſpondencie, ſhould agree together in laying the foundations of the ſame faith, is a ſpecial worke of Gods Spirit. And it is [x] *the unity of the Spirit* which the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of, and exhorteth us to *keepe in the bond of peace*. Whereas the unity of which our aduerſaries boaſt ſo much (which is nothing elſe but a wilfull ſuffering of themſelves to be led blind-fold by one man, who commonly is more blinde than many of themſelves) is no fruit of the *Spirit*, but of meere *carnall* policie: and may ſerve peradventure for *a bond of peace* betwixt themſelves and their owne partie (ſuch as [y] the Prieſts of *Antichriſt* were to have, and as many as would bee content to yeeld themſelves to the conduct of ſuch a Commander) but hath proved the greateſt block that ever ſtood in the way, for giving impediment to the peace and unity of the univerſall Church, which here we looke after. And therefore *Nilus* Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*, entring into the conſideration of the originall ground of that long continued ſchiſme, whereby the Weſt ſtandeth as yet divided from the Eaſt, and the Latin Churches from the Greeke, wrote a whole booke purpoſely of this argument, wherein he ſheweth, [z] *that there is no other cauſe to be aſsigned of this diſtraction, but that the Pope wil not permit the cogniſance of the controverſie unto a generall Councell, but will needs ſit himſelfe as the alone Teacher of the point in queſtion, & have others hearken unto him as if they were his Scholars: and that this is contrary both to the ordinances, and the practice of the*

x Ibid. ver. 3. y Pace ſuâ, id. eſt, impietatis ſuæ unitate ſe jactant; agentes ſe non ut Chriſti epiſcopos, ſed ut Antichriſti ſacerdotes. *Hilar. contr. Auxentium.*

z Λόγος ἀποδεικνὺς μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ τῆς διαστάσεως τῆς Λατίνων ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡμῶν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, αἴτιον εἶναι ἢ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸν Πάπαν οἰκουμενικῷ συνόδῳ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον διαγνῶναι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν μόνον διδάσκαλον ἐθέλειν τοῦ ζητουμένου καθέζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἐν μαθηταῖς μοίρᾳ ὑπακούοντας ἐ-

χειν, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτον ἀλλότριον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καὶ πατρικῶν νόμων καὶ παραξέως.

Apoſtles and the Fathers. Neither indeed is there any hope, that ever we ſhall ſee a generall peace, for matters of Religion, ſetled in the Chriſtian world, as long as this ſupercilious Maſter ſhall bee ſuffered to keepe this rule in Gods houſe: how much ſoever he be magnified by his owne Diſciples, and made the onely foundation upon which the unitie of the Catholick Church dependeth.

Now in the next place, for the further opening of the *unitie of the faith*, we are to call unto minde the diſtinction wch the Apoſtle maketh betwixt [a] *the foundation*, & that which is *builded thereupon*: betwixt [b] the *principles of the doctrine of Chriſt*, and that which he calleth *perfection*. The *unitie of the faith & of the knowledge of the Son of God* here ſpoken of, hath reference (as we heard) to the *foundation*: as that which followeth of *a perfect man*; and *the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſſe of Chriſt*, to the *ſuperſtruction* and *perfection*. In the former there is a generall *unitie* among all true beleevers: in the latter, a great deale of *varietie*; there being ſeverall degrees of *perfection* to be found in ſeverall perſons, [c] *according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt*. So we ſee in a materiall building, that ſtill there is but one foundation, though great diſparity be obſerved in ſundry parts of the ſuperſtruction: ſome rooms are high, ſome lowe, ſome darke, ſome light-ſome, ſome more ſubſtantially, ſome more ſlightly builded, and in tract of time ſome prove more ruinous than others; yet all of them belong to one building, as long as they hould together, and ſtand upon the ſame foundation. And even thus is it in the ſpirituall Building alſo; whether wee reſpect the *practi-*

a 1 Cor. 3. 10, 11, 12.
b Heb. 6. 1.
c Ephes. 4. 7.

call

call part of Christianitie, or the *intellectuall.*

In the *practicall* we see wonderfull great difference betwixt Christian and Christian: some by Gods mercy attaine to a higher measure of perfection, and keepe themselves unspotted from the cõmon corruptions of the world; others watch not so carefully over their wayes, and lead not such strict lives, but are oftentimes overtaken and fall fowly: that hee who looketh upon the one and the other, would hardly thinke that one Heaven should receive thẽ both. But although the one doth so farre outstrip the other in the practice of new Obedience (which is the Christian mans race) yet are there certaine fundamentall principles, in which they both concurre; as [d] a desire to feare Gods name, [e] repentance for sinnes past, and a sincere [f] purpose of heart for the time to come to cleave unto the LORD. Which whosoever hath, is under mercie, and may not be excluded from the *Communion of Saints.* In like manner for the *intellectuall* part: the [g] *first principles of the Oracles of God* (as the Apostle calleth them) hold the place of the common foundation, in which all Christians must be grounded: although [h] some be *babes*, and for further knowledge are *unskilfull in the word of righteousnesse*; other some are of *perfect age, who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discerne both good and evill.*

d Neh.1.11.
e Luk.13.3.5 Heb.6.1.
f Act.11.23.
g Heb.5.12.
h Ib.ver.13.14.

The Oracles of God containe abundance of matter in them, and whatsoever is found in them is a fit object for *faith* to apprehend: but that all Christians should uniformely agree in the profession of al those truthes that are revealed there, is a thing that rather may be wished, than ever hoped for. Yet the varietie

of mens judgements in thoſe manie points, that belong to *Theologicall* faith; doth not diſſolve the unitie which they hold together in the fundamentall principles of the *Catholick* faith. The *unitie of the faith* commended here, is a Catholick unitie, and ſuch as every true Chriſtian attaineth unto. *Till wee* ALL *come in the unitie of the faith*: ſaith the Apoſtle. As there is a [i] *common ſalvation*, ſo is there a [k] *common faith*; which is [l] *alike precious* in the higheſt Apoſtle & the meaneſt beleever. For we may not thinke that Heaven was prepared for deepe Clerkes onely: and therefore beſide that larger meaſure of knowledge, whereof all are not capable, there muſt be [m] *a Rule of faith common to ſmall and great*; which as it muſt conſiſt but of few propoſitions, (for ſimple men cannot beare away many) ſo is it alſo requiſite, that thoſe articles ſhold be of ſo much weight & momẽt that they may be ſufficient to make a man wiſe unto ſalvation: that howſoever in other points learned men may go beyond common Chriſtians, & exceed one another likewiſe by many degrees: yet in reſpect of theſe radicall truthes, which is the neceſſarie and common food of all the children of the Church, there [n] is not an unitie onely, but ſuch a kinde of equalitie alſo brought in among al ſorts of Chriſtians, as was heretofore among the Congregation of the Iſraelites in the collection of their Manna; where [o] *he that gathered much, had nothing over; and he that gathered little, had no lacke.*

If then ſalvation by beleeving theſe common principles may be had, and to ſalvation none can come that is not firſt a member of the Catholick Church of

i Iude, ver. 3.
k Tit. 1. 4.
l 2 Pet. 1. 1.
m Regula fidei, puſillis magniſque communis. *Aug. ep.* 57.
n Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης οὔτε τὸ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον ἠλαττόνησε. *Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 3.*
o Exod. 16. 18.

of Chriſt: it followeth thereupon, that *the unity of the faith*, generally requiſite for the incorporating of Chriſtians into that bleſſed ſocietie, is not to be extended beyond thoſe common principles. Which may further be made manifeſt unto us by the continuall practice of the Catholick Church her ſelfe, in the matriculation of her children, and the firſt admittance of them into her communion. For when ſhee prepared her *Catechumeni* for Baptiſme, and by that dore received them into the congregation of Chriſts flock; we may not think her judgement to have beene ſo weake, that ſhee ſhould omit any thing herein that was eſſentially neceſſary for the making of one a member of the Church. Now the profeſſion which ſhe required of al that were to receive Baptiſme, was, for the *Agenda* or practicall part, an abrenuntiation of the Divell, the World, & the Fleſh, with all their ſinfull works & luſts; and for the *Credenda*, the things to be beleeved, an acknowledgement of the articles of the Creed: which being ſolemnly done, ſhee then baptized them *in this faith*; intimating thereby ſufficiently, that this was that *one Faith* commended unto her by the Apoſtles, as the other that *one Baptiſme* which was appointed to be the p Sacrament of it.

This Creed, though for ſubſtance it was the ſame every where, yet for forme was ſomewhat different; and in ſome places received moe enlargements than in others. The Weſterne Churches herein applyed themſelves to the capacitie of the meaner ſort, more than the Eaſterne did: uſing in their Baptiſme that ſhorter Forme of Confeſſion, commonly called *The Apoſtles Creed*, which in the more ancient times was

p Sacramentum fidei. *Aug. epiſt. 23.*

briefer alſo than now it is. As we may eaſily perceive, by comparing the Symbol recited by *Marcellus Ancyranus* (in the [q] Profeſſion of the faith which he delivered to Pope *Iulius*) with the expoſitions of the Apoſtles Creed, written by the Latin Doctors: [r] wherein the mention of the Fathers being *Maker of heaven and earth*, the Sonnes *Death* and *Deſcending into Hell*, and *the Communion of Saints*, is wholly omitted. All which, though they were of undoubted veritie, yet for brevities ſake ſeeme at firſt to have beene omitted in this ſhort Summe: becauſe ſome of them perhaps were not thought to be altogether ſo neceſſary for all men (which is [f] *Suarez* his judgement touching the point of the *deſcent into Hell*;) and ſome that were moſt neceſſary, eyther thought to be ſufficiently implied in other Articles (as that of Chriſt's *death* in thoſe of his *crucifixion* & *buriall*,) or thought to be ſufficiently manifeſted by the light of reaſon; as that of the *creation of heaven and earth*. For howſoever this, as it is a truth revealed by God's Word, becommeth an object for faith to apprehend (*Heb.* 11.3.) yet it is otherwiſe alſo clearely to be underſtood by the diſcourſe of reaſon (*Rom.* 1.20.) even as the *unitie*, and all the other attributes of the Godhead likewiſe are. Which therefore may be well referred unto thoſe *Præcognita*, or common principles which nature may poſſeſſe the minde withall, before that grace enlighteneth it; and need not neceſſarily to be inſerted into that Symbol, which is the badge and cognizance whereby the Beleever is to be differenced and diſtinguiſhed from the Vnbeleever.

The Creed which the Eaſterne Churches uſed in Bap-

[q] *Habetur apud* Epiphaniũ *in* hæreſ. 72.

[r] *See my Anſwer to the Ieſuits challenge, pag.* 311.312.

[f] *Fr. Suarez, tom.* 2. *in* 3. *par. Thom. diſp.* 43. *ſect.* 2.

Baptiſme, was larger than this: being either the ſame, or very little different from that which we commonly call the *Nicene Creed*; becauſe the greateſt part of it was repeated and confirmed in the firſt generall Councell held at *Nice*: where the firſt draught thereof was preſented to the Synod by *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Ceſaria*, with this Preamble. [t] *As wee have received from the Biſhops that were before us, both at our firſt catechizing, and when we received Beptiſme: and as we have learned from the holy Scriptures; and as we have both beleeved and taught, when we entred into the Miniſtery, and in our Biſhoprick it ſelfe: ſo beleeving at this preſent alſo, we declare this our faith unto you.* To this the *Nicene* Fathers added a more cleare explication of the Deitie of the Son (againſt the *Arrian* hereſie, wherewith the Church was then troubled,) profeſſing him to be *begotten, not made*, and to be *of one ſubſtance with the Father*. The ſecond generall Councell, which was aſſembled fiftie-ſix yeeres after at *Conſtantinople*, approving this confeſſion of the faith, as [u] *moſt ancient and agreeable to Baptiſme*, inlarged it ſomewhat; in the Article that concerned the Holy Ghoſt eſpecially, which at that time was moſt oppugned by the *Macedonian* Heretickes. And whereas the *Nicene* confeſſion proceeded no further, than to the beleefe which we have in the holy Trinitie; the Fathers of *Conſtantinople* made it up, by adding that which was commonly profeſſed touching the Catholick Church & the priviledges belonging thereunto. *Epiphanius* repeating this Creed at large, [x] affirmeth it to have bin delivered unto the Church by the Apoſtles. [y] *Caſſianus* avoucheth as much, where he urgeth this againſt *Ne-*

t Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστεύομέν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες, τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρομεν. *Euſeb. ep. apud Socratem, lib. 1 hiſt. cap. 8. (al. 5.) et Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

u Πρεσβυτάτην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι. *Conc. Conſtant. epiſ. apud Theod. li. 5. cap. 9.*

x *Epiphan. in* Ἀγκυρωτ. *p. 518. edit. Grac.*

y *Io. Caſſ lib. 5. de Incarnat. Verbi.*

Neſtorius, as the Creed anciently received in the Church of *Antioch*; from whence he came. The Romane Church, after the dayes of *Charles* the Great, added the article of the proceſſion of the *Holy ghoſt* from the *Sonne*, unto this Symboll: & the [a] Councell of *Trent* hath now recommended it unto us, *as that principle in which all that profeſſe the faith of Chriſt doe neceſſarily agree; and the firme and* ONELY FOVNDATION, *againſt which the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevaile.*

[a] *Concil. Tridentin.* (*Seſ.* 3.) Symbolum fidei, quo ſancta Romana Eccleſia utitur, tanquam principium illud, in quo omnes, qui fidem Chriſti profitentur neceſſariò conveniunt, ac fundamentum firmũ & unicum, contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt, totidem verbis, quibus in omnibus eccleſiis legitur, exprimendum eſſe cenſuit.

It is a matter confeſſed therefore by the Fathers of *Trent* themſelves, that in the *Conſtantinopolitane* Creed, or in the *Romane* Creed at the fartheſt (which differeth nothing from the other, but that it hath added *Filióque* to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, & out of the *Nicene* Creed, *Deum de Deo*, to the articles that concerne the Sonne) that *onely foundation*, and principle of faith is to be found, in the *unity* whereof all Chriſtians muſt neceſſarily agree. Which is otherwiſe cleared ſufficiently, by the conſtant practiſe of the Apoſtles & their ſucceſſours, in the firſt receiving of men into the Societie of the Church. For in one of the Apoſtles ordinary Sermons, we ſee, there was ſo much matter delivered, as was ſufficient to convert men unto the faith, and to make them capable of Baptiſme: and thoſe Sermons treated onely of the firſt principles of the doctrine of Chriſt; upon the receiving whereof, the Church (following the example of the Apoſtles) never did denie Baptiſme unto her *Catechumeni*. In theſe firſt principles therefore muſt the foundation bee contained, and that common *unitie of faith* which is required in all the

the members of the Church.

The foundation then being thus cleared: concerning the ſuperſtruction, we learne from the Apoſtle, that ſome [a] *build upon this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, wood, hay, ſtubble.* Some proceed from one degree of wholeſome knowledge unto another, increaſing their maine ſtock, by the addition of thoſe other ſacred truthes that are revealed in the word of God: and theſe build upon the foundation, *gold*, and *ſilver*, and *precious ſtones*. Others retaine the precious foundation, but lay baſe matter upon it; *wood, hay, ſtubble*, and ſuch other eyther unprofitable or more dangerous ſtuffe: and others goe ſo farre, that they overthrow the very foundation it ſelfe. The firſt of theſe be *wiſe*, the ſecond *fooliſh*, the third *madde* builders. When the day of tryall commeth: the firſt mans [b] *worke ſhall abide*, and hee himſelfe ſhall *receive a reward*; the ſecond ſhall loſe his worke, but not himſelfe; ([c] *he ſhall ſuffer loſſe*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *but he himſelfe ſhall be ſaved*:) the third ſhall loſe both himſelfe and his worke together. And as in this ſpirituall ſtructure verie different kindes of materialls may bee laid upon the ſame foundation, ſome ſound and ſome unſound: ſo in eyther of them, there is a great difference to bee made betwixt ſuch as are more contiguous to the foundation, and ſuch as be remoter off. The fuller explication of the firſt principles of faith, and the concluſions deduced from thence, are in the ranke of thoſe verities that be more neerely conjoyned to the foundation: to which thoſe falſities are anſwerable on the other

[a] 1 Cor. 3. 12

[b] Ibid. v. 14.

[c] Ibid. v. 15.

ſide, that grate upon the foundation, and any way endanger it.

For that there be diverſe degrees both of truthes and errors in Religion, which neceſſarily muſt be diſtinguiſhed; is a thing acknowledged, not by us alone, bnt by the learnedeſt alſo of our Adverſaries. [d] *There bee ſome Catholick verities* (ſay they) *which doe ſo pertaine to faith, that theſe being taken away, the faith it ſelfe muſt be taken away alſo. And theſe by common uſe wee call not onely Catholick, but verities of Faith alſo. There are other verities which bee Catholick alſo and univerſall, namely, ſuch as the whole Church holdeth, which yet being overthrowne, the faith is ſhaken indeed, but not overturned. And in the errors that are contrary to ſuch truthes as theſe, the faith is obſcured, not extinguiſhed; weakened, not periſhed.* Nevertheleſſe, [e] *though the faith bee not altogether deſtroyed by them, yet is it evill at eaſe, and ſhaken, and as it were diſpoſed to corruption. For as there be certaine hurts of the bodie which doe not take away the life, but yet a man is the worſe for them, and diſpoſed to corruption eyther in whole or in part; as there be other mortall hurts, which take away the life: ſo likewiſe are there certaine degrees of propoſitions, which*

d Quædam ſunt catholicæ veritates, quæ ita ad fidem pertinent, ut his ſublatis, fides quoque ipſa tollatur. Quas nos, uſu frequenti non ſolùm catholicas, ſed fidei veritates appellavimus. Aliæ veritates ſunt etiam ipſæ catholicæ & univerſales, nempe quas univerſa Eccleſia tenet, quibus licèt everſis, fides quatitur, ſed non evertitur tamen. Atque in hujuſmodi veritatũ contrarijs erroribus, dixi fidem obſcurari, non extingui; infirmari, non perire. Has ergo nunquam fidei veritates cenſui vocandas, quamvis doctrinæ Chriſtianæ veritates ſint. *Melch. Canus, loc. Theolog. lib. 12. cap. 11.*

e Neceſſariò oportet diſtinguere alios gradus propoſitionum, per quas etiamſi fides non deſtruatur omninò, tamen malè habet, & quatitur, & quaſi diſponitur ad corruptionem. Sicut ſunt quædam corporum læſiones quæ non auferunt vitam, ſed malè habet homo per eas, & diſponitur ad corruptionem aut in toto aut in parte; aliæ verò ſunt læſiones mortales, quæ vitam eripiunt: ita ſunt quidam gradus propoſitionum, continentes doctrinam non ſanam, etiamſi non habeant hæreſim manifeſtam *Dominic. Bannes, in 2am 2æ quæſt. 11. artic. 2.*

con-

conteine unſound doctrine, although they have not manifeſt hereſie. In a word, the generall rule concerning all theſe ſuperſtructions, is: that the more neere they are to the foundation, of ſo much greater importance be the truthes, and ſo much more perillous be the errors; as againe, the farther they are removed off, the leſſe neceſſary doth the knowledge of ſuch verities prove to be, and the ſwarving from the truth leſſe dangerous.

Now from all that hath beene ſaid, two great Queſtions may be reſolved, which trouble manie. The firſt is; What wee may judge of our Fore-fathers, who lived in the communion of the Church of Rome? Whereunto I anſwer, that we have no reaſon to thinke otherwiſe, but that they lived and dyed under the mercie of God. For wee muſt diſtinguiſh the *Papacie* from the *Church* wherein it is; as the Apoſtle doth [f] *Antichriſt* from *the Temple of God*, wherein hee ſitteth. The foundation upon which the Church ſtandeth, is that *common faith*, (as we have heard) in the *unitie* whereof all Chriſtians doe generally accord. Vpon this new foundation Antichriſt raiſeth up his new buildings; and layeth upon it, not *hay* and *ſtubble* onely, but farre more vile and pernicious matter, which wrencheth and diſturbeth the very foundation it ſelfe. For example. It is a ground of the Catholick faith, that *Chriſt was borne of the Virgin Mary*: which in the Scripture is thus explained: [g] *God ſent forth his Sonne, Made of a Woman.* This the Papacie admitteth for a certaine truth: but inſinuateth withall, that upon the Altar God ſendeth forth his Sonne

[f] 2 Theſſ. 2. 4.

[g] Gal. 4. 4.

made of Bread. For the *Tranſſubſtantiation* which theſe men would have us beleeve, is not an annihilation of the Bread, and a ſubſtitution of the Bodie of Chriſt in the ſtead thereof, but a reall converſion of the one into the other: ſuch as they themſelves would have eſteemed to bee a bringing forth of Chriſt, and a kinde of Generation of him. For, to omit the wilde conceits of *Poſtellus* in his booke *De Nativitate Mediatoris ultimâ*: this is the doctrine of their *graver Divines* (as *Cornelius à Lapide* the Ieſuite doth acknowledge in his Romane Lectures) that [h] *by the words of conſecration truely and really as the bread is tranſſubſtantiated, ſo Chriſt is produced and as it were generated upon the Altar, in ſuch a powerfull and effectuall manner; that, if Chriſt as yet had not beene incarnate, by theſe words* [Hoc eſt corpus meum] *he ſhould be incarnated, and aſſume an humane bodie.* And doth not this new Divinitie, thinke you, ſhrewdly threaten the ancient foundation of the Catholick beleefe of the *Incarnation*?

Yet ſuch as in the dayes of our fore-fathers oppoſed the Popiſh doctrine of Tanſſubſtantiation, could alledge for themſelves, [i] that the faith which they maintained, was then *preſerved among the laitie, and ſo had anciently beene preſerved.* And of mine owne knowledge I can teſtifie, that when I have dealt with ſome of the common people that would be counted members of the Romane Church, and demanded of them what they thought of that which I knew to be the common *Tenet* of their Doctors in this point: they not onely rejected it with indignation, but wondered alſo that I ſhould imagine any of their

ſide

h Per verba conſecrationis verè & realiter utì tranſſubſtantiatur panis, ita producitur & quaſi generatur Chriſtus in altari, adeò potenter & efficaciter, ut ſi Chriſtus nec dum eſſet incarnatus, per hæc verba *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, incarnaretur, corpuſq; humanum aſſumeret: ut graves Theologi docent. *Cornelius Cornelij à Lapide, comment. in Eſai. 7.14.*

i Confitentur alii, quòd fides ſua, quâ aſtruunt quòd panis & vinum remanent poſt conſecrationẽ in naturis ſuis, adhuc ſervatur laicis, & antiquitùs ſervabatur. *Io. Toſſington, in Confeſſione cont. Io. Wicliff. quam MS. habeo.*

ſide to be ſo fooliſh, as to give credit to ſuch a ſenſeleſſe thing. Neither may we account it to have beene a ſmall bleſſing of God unto our anceſtors, who lived in that kingdome of darkeneſſe, that the Ignorance wherein they were bred, freed them from the underſtanding of thoſe things, which being knowne might prove ſo prejudiciall to their ſoules health.[k] *For there be ſome things, which it is better for a man to be ignorant of, than to know*: and the [l] not knowing of thoſe profundities, which are indeed *the depths of Satan*, is to thoſe that have not the skill to dive into the bottome of ſuch myſteries of iniquitie, a good and an happie Ignorance.

k Sunt enim quædam, quæ neſcire, quàm ſcire, ſit melius. *Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 17.*

l Rev. 2. 24.

The ignorance of thoſe principles of the Catholique faith, that are abſolutely neceſſarie to ſalvation, is as dangerous a gulfe on the other ſide: but the light of thoſe common truthes of Chriſtianitie was ſo great, and ſo firmely fixed in the mindes of thoſe that profeſſed the name of Chriſt, that it was not poſſible for the power of darkeneſſe to extinguiſh it, nor the gates of Hell to prevaile againſt it. Nay, the very ſolemne dayes, which by the ancient inſtitution of the Church were celebrated for the commemoration of the *Bleſſed Trinitie*, the *Nativitie*, *Paſsion*, *Reſurrection*, and *Aſcenſion* of our Saviour Chriſt, did ſo preſerve the memorie of theſe things among the common people; that by the [m] Popiſh Doctors themſelves, it is made an argument of groſſe and ſupine Ignorance, that any ſhould not have explicate knowledge of thoſe myſteries of Chriſt, which were thus publikely ſolemnized in the Church. And (which is the principall

m *Sylveſt. in Summâ, Verb.* Fides. §. 6. *ex Thom. in 2a 2æ, quæſt. 2. art. 7.*

point of all) the ordinary instruction appointed to be given unto men upon their death-beds, was: [n] that they should looke *to come to glorie, not by their owne merits, but by the vertue and merit of the passion of our Lord Iesus Christ*; that they should *place their whole confidence in his death onely, and in no other thing*; and that they should *interpose his death betweene God and their sinnes, betwixt them and Gods anger*.

n See *my Treatise* De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu, *cap.* 7. §. 21. 22. *and the Answer to the Iesuite, pag.* 569. 570.

So that where these things did thus concurre in any (as wee doubt not but they did in many thousands,) the knowledge of the common principles of the faith, the ignorance of such maine errours as did endanger the foundation, a godly life, and a faithfull death: there we have no cause to make any question, but that God had fitted a subject for his mercy to worke upon. And yet in saying thus, we doe nothing lesse than say that such as these were *Papists*, either in their life or in their death: members of the Romane Church perhaps they were, but such as by God's goodnesse were preserved from the mortality of *Popery* that reigned there. For *Popery* it selfe is nothing else but the botch or the plague of that Church: which hazardeth the soules of those it seizeth upon, as much as any infection can doe the body. And therefore if any one will needs be so foolehardy as to take up his lodging in such a Pest-house, after warning given of the present danger; wee in our charitie may well say, *Lord have mercy upon him*: but he, in the meane time, hath great cause to feare, that God in his justice will inflict that judgement upon him, which [o] in this case he hath threatned against such as will *not beleeve the truth, but take plea-*

o 2 Thess. 2. 12.

sure

ſure in unrighteouſneſſe. And ſo much may ſuffice for that queſtion.

The ſecond queſtion, ſo rife in the mouthes of our Adverſaries, is: *where was your Church before Luther?* Whereunto an anſwer may bee returned from the grounds of the ſolution of the former queſtion: that our Church was even there where now it is. In all places of the world, where the ancient foundations were retained, and theſe common principles of faith, upon the profeſſion whereof men have ever beene wont to be admitted, by Baptiſme, into the Church of Chriſt: there we doubt not but our Lord had his ſubjects, and we our fellow-ſervants. For wee bring-in no new Faith, nor no new Church. That which in the time of the ancient Fathers[p] was accounted to be *truely and properly Catholick*, namely, *that which was beleeved every where, alwayes, and by all*: that in the ſucceeding ages hath evermore beene preſerved, and is at this day intirely profeſſed in our Church. And it is well obſerved by a learned man, who hath written a full diſcourſe of this argument; that[q] *whatſoever the Father of lies either hath attempted or ſhall attempt, yet neither hath he hitherto effected, nor ſhall ever bring it to paſſe hereafter, that this Catholick doctrine, ratified by the common conſent of Chriſtians alwayes and every where, ſhould be aboliſhed; but that in the thickeſt miſt rather of the moſt perplexed troubles, it ſtill obtained victorie,*

p In ipſâ Catholicâ Eccleſiâ magnoperè curandum eſt, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod ſemper, quod ab omnibus creditum eſt: hoc eſt etenim verè propriéq; Catholicum. *Vincent. Lirin. contharef. cap. 3.*

q Quicquid vel molitus ſit vel moliturus ſit mendacii Pater, non tamen vel effeciſſe hactenùs vel effecturum poſthàc, ut hæc doctrina catholica, omnium Chriſtianorum conſenſu, ſemper & ubique rata, aboleatur: quin potiùs, illam in denſiſſimâ maximè involutarum perturbationum caligine victricem extitiſſe, & in animis & in apertâ confeſsione Chriſtianorum omnium, in ſuis fundamentis nullo modo labefactatam. In illâ quoque veritate unam illam Eccleſiam fuiſſe conſervatam in mediis ſæviſsimæ hyemis tempeſtatibus, vel denſiſsimis tenebris ſuorum interluniorum. *Joh. Serranus, in Apparat. ad fidem Cathol. edit. Pariſ. an. 1607. p. 172*

both

both in the mindes and in the open confeſsion of all Chriſtians, no wayes overturned in the foundation thereof: and that in this veritie that one Church of Chriſt was preſerved in the midſt of the tempeſts of the moſt cruell winter, or in the thickeſt darkneſſe of her waynings.

Thus if at this day we ſhould take a ſurvay of the ſeverall profeſſions of Chriſtianitie, that have any large ſpread in any part of the world (as of the Religion of the *Romane* and the *Reformed* Churches in our Quarters, of the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians* in the South, of the *Grecians* and other Chriſtians in the Eaſterne parts,) and ſhould put-by the points wherein they did differ one from another, and gather into one body the reſt of the Articles wherein they all did generally agree: wee ſhould finde, that in thoſe propoſitions which without all controverſie are univerſally received in the whole Chriſtian world, ſo much truth is conteined, as, being joyned with holy obedience, may bee ſufficient to bring a man unto everlaſting ſalvation. Neither have wee cauſe to doubt, but that [r] *as many as doe walke according to this rule* (neither overthrowing that which they have builded by ſuperinducing any *damnable hereſies* thereupon, not otherwiſe vitiating their *holy faith* with a lewd and wicked converſation) *peace ſhall bee upon them, and mercie, and upon the Iſrael of GOD.*

r Gal. 6. 16.

Now theſe common principles of the Chriſtian faith, which we call κοινόπιςα, or things *generally beleeved* of all, as they have [f] *Vniverſalitie*, and *Antiquity*, and *Conſent* concurring with them (which by *Vincentius*

f Vniverſitatem, antiquitatem, conſentionem. *Vincent. Lirin. cont. hæreſ. cap. 3.*

centium his rule, are the ſpeciall characters of that which is truely and properly *Catholicke*: ſo for their *Duration* wee are ſure that they have ſtill held out, and beene kept as the *Seminarie* of the Catholique Church in the darkeſt and difficulteſt times that ever have beene: where if the Lord of Hoſtes had not in his mercy reſerved this ſeed unto us, we ſhould long ſince [t] *have beene as Sodom, and ſhould have beene like unto Gomorrah.* It cannot bee denied indeed, that Sathan and his inſtruments have uſed their utmoſt endeavour, eyther to hide this light from mens eyes, by keeping them in groſſe ignorance, or to deprave it by bringing in pernicious hereſies; and that in theſe latter ages they have much prevailed both wayes, aſwell in the Weſt and North, as in the Eaſt and South. Yet farre be it, for all this, from any man to thinke, that [u] *God ſhould ſo caſt away his people,* that in thoſe times there ſhould not be left *a remnant according to the election of grace.*

[t] Eſay 1.9.

[u] Rom. 11.2. 5.

The Chriſtian Church was never brought unto a lower ebbe, than was the Iewiſh Synagogue in the dayes of our Saviour Chriſt; when [x] the *Interpreters of the Law* had taken away the key of knowledge: and that little knowledge that remained, was miſerably corrupted, not onely with the leaven of the *Phariſees*, but alſo with the damnable hereſie of the *Sadduces.* And yet a man at that time might have ſeene the true ſervants of GOD ſtanding together with theſe men in the ſelfe-ſame Temple: which might well be accounted, as the *Houſe of the Saints* in regard of the one, ſo a *Denne of theeves* in reſpect

[x] Luk. 11.52.

of the other. When the peſtilent hereſie of the *Arrians* had polluted the whole world; the people of Chriſt were not to bee found among them onely who made an open ſeceſſion from that wicked company, but among thoſe alſo who held externall communion with them, and lived under their Miniſtery. Where they ſo learned the other truthes of GOD from them, that they were yet ignorant of their maine errour; God in his providence ſo ordering matters, that (as it is noted by S. [y] *Hilary*) *the people of Chriſt ſhould not periſh under the Prieſts of Antichriſt.*

If you demand then, Where was *Gods Temple* all this while? the anſwer is at hand: There where *Antichriſt* ſate. Where was *Chriſts* people? Even under *Antichriſts* Prieſts: and yet this is no juſtification at all, either of *Antichriſt*, or of his *Prieſts*; but a manifeſtation of God's great power, who is able to uphold his Church even there [z] *Where Satans throne is.* Babylon was an infectious place, and the infection thereof was mortall: and yet God had his people there, whom hee preſerved from the mortalitie of that infection. Elſe, how ſhould he have ſaid; [a] *Come out of her my people; that yee bee not partakers of her ſinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues.* If the place had not beene infectious, he ſhould not have needed to forewarne them of the danger wherein they ſtood of *partaking in her ſinnes*; and if the infection had not beene mortall, hee would not have put them in minde of the *plagues* that were to follow: and if in the place thus mortally infected, God had not preſerved a people alive unto himſelfe, he could not

y Et hujus quidem uſque adhuc impietatis occaſio per fraudem perficitur; ut jam ſub Antichriſti Sacerdotibus Chriſti populus non occidat. *Hilar. contr. Auxentium.*

z Revel. 2. 13.

a Revel. 18. 4.

not have said; *Come out of her my people.*

The enemie indeed had there sowne his tares: but [b] sowne them in the LORDS field, and among the LORDS wheate. And a field, we know, may so be [c] overgrowne with such evill weedes as these, that at the first sight a man would hardly thinke, that any corne were there at all: even as in the barne it selfe, the [d] mixture of the chaffe with the wheate is sometime such, as a-farre off a man would imagine that he did see but a heape of chaffe, and nothing else. Those worthy husbandmen that in these last 600. yeeres have taken paines in plucking up those pernicious weedes out of the LORDS field, and severing the chaffe from his graine, cannot be rightly said in doing this, eyther to have brought in another field, or to have changed the ancient graine. The field is the same, but weeded now, unweeded then: the graine the same, but winnowed now, unwinnowed then. We preach no new faith, but the same Catholique faith that ever hath beene preached: neyther was it any part of our meaning to begin a new Church in these latter dayes of the world, but to reforme the old. A tree that hath the luxurious branches lopped off, and the noxious things that cleave unto it taken away; is not by this pruning and purging of it made another tree than it was before: neyther is the Church *reformed* in our dayes, another Church than that which was *deformed* in the dayes of our fore-fathers; though it hath no agreement, for all that, with *Poperie*, which is the Pestilence that walked in those times of darkenesse, and the destruction

[b] Mat. 13. 24, 25.

[c] Infelix lolium, & steriles dominantur avenæ.

[d] Grana cùm cœperint triturari inter paleam, se non jam tangunt, & quasi non se noverunt, quia intercedit medio palea. Et quicunq; longiùs attendit aream, paleam solummodò putat: nisi diligentiùs intueatur, nisi manum porrigat, nisi spiritu oris, id est, flatu purgante discernat; difficilè pervenit ad discretionē granorum. *Serm. 221. de Tempore, tomo 10. Oper. August.*

that now wasteth at noone day.

And thus have I finished that which I had to speak, concerning *the unitie of the faith*: for the further explication whereof, the Apostle addeth [*and of the knowleage of the Sonne of God.*] Wherein wee may observe both the Nature of this Grace, and the Object of it. For the former, we see that Faith is here described unto us by *Knowledge*: to shew unto us, that knowledge is that thing that is necessarily required in true beleeving; Whereof this may bee an argument sufficient: that in matters of faith the Scripture doth use indifferently the termes of *knowing* and *beleeving*. So Iob 19.25. *I know that my Redeemer liveth.* Ioh. 17.3. *This is life eternall, that they Know thee the onely true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* Esay 53.11. *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justifie manie.* As therefore in the fundamentall truths of Christian Religion *unitie of faith* is required among all those that belong to the Catholicke Church: so in those maine grounds likewise there is *unitie of knowledge* generally required among all that professe the name of Christ.

For some things there be, the knowledge whereof is absolutely necessarie, [e] *necessitate medij vel finis* (as the School-men speake) without which no man may expect, by Gods ordinarie law, to attaine unto the *end* of his faith, the salvation of his soule. And

[e] Necessarium necessitate medij appellant Theologi illud, quod ex lege ordinariâ Dei, sic ad salutem necessarium est, ut quicunque etiam ob ignorantiam invincibilem, vel quacunq; aliâ de causâ id non fuerit assecutus, is nequeat etiam consequi salutem. *Greg. de Valentiâ, tom. 3. commentar. Theolog. quæst. 2. punct. 2. col. 299.* Illa quæ sunt necessaria necessitate finis, si desint nobis etiam sine culpâ nostrâ, non excusabunt nos ab æternâ morte; quamvis non fuerit in nostrâ potestate illa assequi. Quamadmodum etiam si non sit nisi unicum remedium, ut aliquis fugiat mortem corporalem, & tale remedium ignoretur & ab infirmo & medico; sine dubio peribit homo ille. *Dom. Banues, in 2. am 2æ, quæst. 2. art. 8. col. 348.*

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in theſe a man may loſe himſelfe, not by *Hereſie* onely, which is a flat denying; but by *Ignorance* alſo, which is a bare not knowing of them: theſe things being acknowledged to be ſo neceſſarie, that although it lay not in our power to attaine thereunto, yet this invincible Ignorance ſhould not excuſe us from everlaſting death. Even as if there were one onely remedie, whereby a ſicke man could be recovered, and freed from corporall death: ſuppoſe the patient and the Phyſitian both were ignorant of it, the man muſt periſh, as well not knowing it, as if being brought unto him, hee had refuſed it. And therefore in this caſe it is reſolved, that [f] from the explicite faith, & actuall knowledge of theſe things, nothing can excuſe but onely ſuch an incapacitie as is found in infants, naturals, and diſtracted perſons, and that in all others which have the uſe of reaſon, although they want the meanes of inſtruction, this Ignorance is not onely perillous, but alſo damnable.

The danger then of this Ignorance being, by the confeſſion of the moſt judicious Divines of both ſides, acknowledged to be ſo great: the wofull eſtate of the poore Countrey wherein I live, is much to bee lamented, where the people generally are ſuffered to periſh for want of knowledge: the vulger ſuperſtitions of Poperie not doing them halfe that hurt, that the ignorance of thoſe common principles of the faith doth, which all true Chriſtians are bound to learne. The conſideration whereof, hath ſometime drawne mee to treate with thoſe of the

[f] Sicut ad legis Chriſti habitualem fidem omnis viator obligatur ſine ullâ exceptione: ſic ab ejus actuali fide nullus excuſatur niſi ſolâ incapacitate, &c. Parvulos autem & furioſos, cæteriſq; paſſionibus mente captos, ſeu aliâ naturali impoſſibilitate prohibitos, incapaces voco: etſi non ſimpliciter tamen ſecundum quid; ſc. dum his defectibus laborant. *Petr. de Alliaco, in quæſtione Veſperiarum.*

the oppoſite party, & to move them: that howſoever in other things we did differ one from another, yet we ſhould joyne together in teaching thoſe maine points, the knowledge whereof was ſo neceſſary unto ſalvation, and of the truth whereof there was no controverſie betwixt us. But what for the jealouſies, which theſe diſtractions in matters of Religion have bred among us, & what for other reſpects, the motiõ took ſmall effect: & ſo betwixt us both, the poor people are kept ſtill in miſerable ignorãce, neither knowing the grounds of the one religion nor of the other.

Here the caſe (God bee thanked) is farre otherwiſe: where your *Majeſties* care can never be ſufficiently commended, in taking order, that the chiefe heads of the *Catechiſme* ſhould, in the ordinarie miniſterie, be diligently propounded and explained unto the people throughout the land. Which I wiſh were as duely executed every where, as it was piouſly by You intended. Great Scholars poſſibly may thinke, that it ſtandeth not ſo well with their credite, to ſtoope thus low, and to ſpend ſo much of their time in teaching theſe rudiments and firſt principles of the doctrine of Chriſt. But they ſhould conſider, that the laying of the foundation skilfully, as it is the matter of greateſt importance in the whole building, ſo is it the very maſter-peece of the wiſeſt builder: g *According to the grace of God which is given unto mee, as a wiſe maſter-builder, I have layd the foundation*: ſayth the great Apoſtle. And let the learnedeſt of us all try it when-ever wee pleaſe; wee ſhall finde, that to lay this ground-worke right-

g 1 Cor. 3. 10

ly

ly, (that is, to apply our ſelves unto the capacitie of the common Auditorie, and to make an Ignorant man to underſtand theſe myſteries in ſome good meaſure) will put us to the tryall of our skill, and trouble us a great deale more, than if we were to diſcuſſe a controverſie, or handle a ſubtile point of learning in the Schooles. Yet [h] *Chriſt* did give as wel his *Apoſtles*, and *Prophets*, and *Evangeliſts*, as his ordinarie *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, to bring us all, both learned and unlearned, unto *the unitie of this faith and knowledge*: and the neglecting of this, is the fruſtrating of the whole *worke of the Miniſterie*. For let us preach never ſo many Sermons unto the people, our labour is but loſt, as long as the foundation is unlaid, and the firſt principles untaught, upon which all other doctrine muſt be builded.

h Ephes. 4. 11.

Hee therefore that will [i] *ſtudie to ſhew himſelfe approved unto God, a workeman that needeth not to bee aſhamed, dividing the word of God aright*; muſt have a ſpeciall care to plant this Kingdome both in the mindes and in the hearts of them that heare him. I ſay, in the hearts aſwell as in the mindes: becauſe we may not content our ſelves with a bare *Theoricall* knowledge, which is an information onely of the Vnderſtanding, and goeth no further than the braine; but we muſt labour to attaine unto a further degree both of *Experimentall* and of *Practicall* knowledge, in the things that wee have learned. A young man may talke much of the troubles of the world, and a Scholar in the Vniverſitie may ſhew a great deale of wit in making a large declaration up-

i 2 Tim. 2. 15.

upon that argument: but when the ſame men have afterwards beene beaten in the world, they will confeſſe that they ſpake before they knew not what, & count their former apprehenſion of theſe things to be but meere Ignorance, in reſpect of that new learning which now they have bought by deare experience. The tree in Paradiſe, of which our firſt parents were forbidden to eate, was called [k] *the tree of knowledge of good and evill*: becauſe it ſignified unto them, that as now while they ſtood upon termes of obedience with their Creator, they knew nothing but *good*; ſo at what time ſoever they did tranſgreſſe his commandement, they ſhould begin to know *evill* alſo, whereof before they had no knowledge; not but that they had an *intellectuall* knowledge of it before (for he that knoweth good, cannot bee ignorant of that which is contrarie unto it, *Rectum* being alwayes *index ſui & obliqui*:) but that till then they never had felt any evill, they never had any *experimentall* knowledge of it. So our Apoſtle in this Epiſtle boweth his knees unto the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that hee would grant unto theſe Epheſians, [l] *to know the love of Chriſt which paſſeth knowledge*: ſhewing, that there is a further degree of knowledge in this kinde, that may bee felt by the heart, though not comprehended by the braine: and in the Epiſtle to the Philippians, [m] he counteth all things but loſſe *for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Ieſus his Lord*. Meaning hereby a knowledge grounded upon deepe experience of the vertue of Chriſts death and reſurrection, in his owne ſoule:

[k] Gen. 2. 9, 17

[l] Ephe. 3. 19.

[m] Phil. 3. 8.

as

as he expoundeth it himſelfe, in the words following: [a] *That I may know him, and the power of his reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, and bee made conformable unto his death.*

[a] Ibid.verſ.10

There is an *Experimentall* knowledge then to be looked after, beſide the *Mentall*: and ſo is there a *Practicall* knowledge likewiſe, as well as an *Intellectuall*. When Chriſt is ſaid to have *knowne no ſinne*: wee cannot underſtand this of *Intellectuall* knowledge (for had he not thus knowne ſinne, hee could not have reproved it is he did) but of *Practicall*. So that, [o] *He knew no ſinne*, in S. *Paul*; muſt be conceived to be the very ſame with, [p] *He did no ſinne*, in S. *Peter*. In the firſt to the Romanes, they that [q] *knew God*, becauſe they *glorified him not as God*, are therefore ſaid, [r] *not to have God in their knowledge*. God made his wayes and his lawes knowne to the children of Iſrael in the deſert; and yet he [ſ] ſaid of them: *It is a people that doe erre in their heart, and they have not knowne my wayes*. For there is an errour in the heart, as well as in the braine: and a kinde of ignorance ariſing from the will, as well as from the minde. And therefore in the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes, [t] all ſinnes are termed ἀγνοήματα, *ignorances*, and [u] ſinners ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ πλανώμενοι, *ignorant and erring* perſons: becauſe how ever in the generall the underſtanding may bee informed rightly, yet when particular actions come to be reſolved upon, mens perverſe wils and inordinate affections cloude their mindes, and leade them out of the way. That therefore is to bee accounted ſound *Knowledge*, which ſinketh from the braine into the heart, and from thence

[o] 2 Cor.5.21.
[p] 1 Pet.2.22.
[q] Rom.1.21.
[r] Ibid.verſ.18.
[ſ] Pſal.95.10 Heb.3.10.
[t] Heb.9.7. compared with Levit. 16.16.17.
[u] Heb.5.2. *Ariſtot. Ethic. lib.3. cap.1.* Ἀγνοεῖ μὲν ὅλως πᾶς ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, καὶ δι' ἃ καὶ ἀφεκτέον. καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἄγνοιαν, ἄδικοι καὶ ὅλως κακοὶ γίνονται.

thence breaketh forth into action: (ſetting head, heart, hand, and all aworke:) and ſo much onely muſt thou reckon thy ſelfe to know in Chriſtianitie, as thou art able to make uſe of in practiſe. For, as Saint
x Iam.2.18. *Iames* ſaith of faith; [x] *Shew me thy faith by thy works:*
y Iam.3.13. ſo doth he in like manner of knowledge: [y] *Who is a wiſe man, and endued with knowledge amongſt you? let him ſhew out of a good converſation his workes with meekeneſſe of wiſedome*: and S. *Iohn* much to the ſame
z 1 Ioh.2.3,4 purpoſe. [z] *Hereby doe we know that we know him, if we keepe his commandements. Hee that ſaith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandements, is a lyar, and the truth is not in him.*

He ſpeaketh there of Ieſus Chriſt the righteous: *the Sonne of God*, who is here in my text likewiſe
a Mat.16.16, 18. made the *Obiect* of this Knowledge. [a] *Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the living God*: is by Chriſt himſelfe made the *rocke* upon which the whole Church is
b 1 Cor.3.11. builded. And [b] *Other foundation* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Ieſus Chriſt.*
c *Vid. Aug. lib. de fide & oper. c. 9.* [c] Not that we ſhould thinke, that there were no other fundamentall doctrine to bee acknowledged but this alone (for the articles of the Holy Ghoſt, forgivenes of ſinnes, reſurrection of the dead, eternall judgement, and ſuch other like, have their place alſo in the
d Heb.6.1.2. [d] foundation) but becauſe this is the moſt ſpeciall obiect of faith, and the primary foundation of the other. For *firſt*, as *God* is made the coæquate obiect of the whole body of Divinity, notwithſtanding it treateth alſo of men and Angels, Heaven and Hell, Sinne and Obedience, and ſundrie other particulars; becauſe all theſe are brought to God *reductively*, if not

not as explications of his Nature, yet of his Workes and Kingdome: ſo likewiſe may *Chriſt* be made the primarie head of other fundamentall articles, becauſe they have all reference unto him; being ſuch as concerne either his Father, or his Spirit, or his Incarnation, or his Office of Mediation, or his Church, or the ſpeciall Benefits which he hath purchaſed for it.

Secondly, howſoever this faith and knowledge, being taken in their larger extent, have for their full object what-ever is revealed in the Word of God: yet as they build us upon the foundation, as they incorporate us into the myſticall body, as they are the meanes of our juſtification and life, they looke upon the *Sonne of God*, and him onely. *The holy Scriptures* (within the bounds whereof the utmoſt extent of all our faith and knowledge muſt bee contained) *are able to make us wiſe unto ſalvation*; but yet *through faith which is in Chriſt Ieſus* (2 Tim. 3.15. So, *by his knowledge* (or the knowledge of himſelfe) *ſhall my righteous ſervant iuſtifie many*: ſaith the Father of the Son, Eſay 53.11. And *the life which I now live in the fleſh, I live by the faith of the Sonne God, who loved me, and gave himſelfe for me*: ſaith the Apoſtle, *Gal.*2.20. The children of Iſrael in the wilderneſſe, being ſtung with fierie Serpents, were directed, for their recovery, to looke upon the brazen Serpent: which was a figure of [e] *the Son of man, lifted up* upon the Croſſe; *that whoſoever did beleeve in him, might not periſh, but have eternall life*. Now as the Iſraelites with the ſame eyes, and with the ſame viſive facultie, wherewith they beheld the ſands and the

e Ioh.3.14. 15.

mountaines in the desert, did looke upon the brazen Serpent also; but were cured by fastning their sight upon that alone, and not by looking upon any other object: so by the same faith and knowledge where-
f Heb.11.3. by we are justified, f *we understand that the world was framed by the word of God*, and beleeve all other truths revealed; and yet *fides quâ justificans*, faith as it doth justifie us, doth not looke upon these, but fixeth it selfe solely upon the Son of God, not knowing any thing here but Iesus Christ and him crucified. And thus hath our Saviour a speciall and peculiar place in that larger foundation: according to that of the Apostle, Ephes.2.20. *Yee are built upon the foundation*
g ὄντος ακρογωνιαίου λίθου αὐτοῦ (sc. θεμελίου) Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *of the Apostles and Prophets,* g *of which* (for so his words in the Originall may well beare it) *Iesus Christ is the chiefe corner-stone.*

It followeth now, that wee should proceed from
h Heb.6.1. the *foundation* to the *structure*: and so h *leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, go on unto perfection* [*unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulnesse of Christ*]: There is a time wherein Christ is but begun, and as it were a-breeding in us. Gal.4. 19. *My little children, of whom I travell in birth againe untill Christ be formed in you.* After that he hath beene formed in our hearts, he is at first but as a babe there; yet resteth not at that stay: but as in his naturall bo-
i Luke 2.52. dy hee i *increased in stature*, so in every part of his mysticall body hee hath set for himselfe a certaine *measure of stature*, and a *fulnesse* of growth; which being attained unto, a Christian is thereby made *a perfect man*. And for this end also doth the Apostle
k Ephes.4. 14.15. here shew that the Ministery was instituted, k *that*

we

we henceforth ſhould be no more children (as it is in the words immediately following my Text), but that we might *grow up into him in all things, which is the head*, even *Chriſt*. For the *perfection* which the Apoſtle here ſpeaketh of, is not to be taken abſolutely, (as if any abſolute perfection could be found among men in this life) but in compariſon with childhood; as the oppoſition is more clearely made by him, in 1 Corinth. 14.20. *Brethren, be not children in underſtanding, howbeit in malice be you children, but in underſtanding be perfect*, that is to ſay, of mans eſtate. And, Heb. 5.13, 14. *Every one that uſeth milke, is unskilfull in the word of righteouſneſſe; for hee is a babe: but ſtrong meat belongeth to them that are perfect*, that is, *that are of full age*; as our Interpreters have rightly rendred it.

Now as there is great difference among men in their naturall growth, ſo is there no leſſe varietie among them alſo in reſpect of their ſpirituall ſtature: there being ſeverall degrees of this imperfect kinde of perfection here ſpoken of; which, according to the diverſitie of times, places, and perſons, may admit a greater or a leſſer meaſure. For wee may not thinke that the ſame meaſure of knowledge (for example) is ſufficient for a learned man and an unlearned; for a Paſtor, and for an ordinarie Chriſtian; for thoſe that lived in the time of darkneſſe, and them that enjoy the light of the Goſpell; for them that have the meanes, and them that want it. But according to the meaſure of the gift of God, wee muſt know notwithſtanding that it is required generally of all men; that they *grow in grace, and in the know-*

ledge of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. (2. Pet. 3. 18.) not in *knowledge* onely, but in *grace*: even [l] *grow up into him in* ALL *things, which is the head*; as our Apoſtle here admoniſheth us. We muſt proceed *from faith to faith*, (Rom. 1. 17.) that is, from one meaſure and degree of it unto another: and this being the root, and other graces as it were the branches, if it grow apace, other graces alſo muſt haſten, and ripen, and grow proportionably with it: elſe thou mayeſt juſtly ſuſpect, that thy growth is not ſound, and anſwerable to that which the Apoſtle ſheweth to be in the myſticall body of Chriſt; which [m] *according to the effectuall working in the meaſure of* EVERY *part, maketh increaſe of the bodie, unto the edifying of it ſelfe in love.* The time will not permit me to proceed any further: and therefore here I end.

l Epheſ. 4. 15.

m Epheſ. 4. 16.

n Heb. 13. 20, 21.

n *Now the God of peace, that brought againe from the dead our Lord Ieſus, that great Shepheard of the Sheepe, through the blood of his everlaſting Covenant, make you perfect in every good worke to doe his will; working in you that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight, through Ieſus Chriſt: to whom be glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

(*_*)

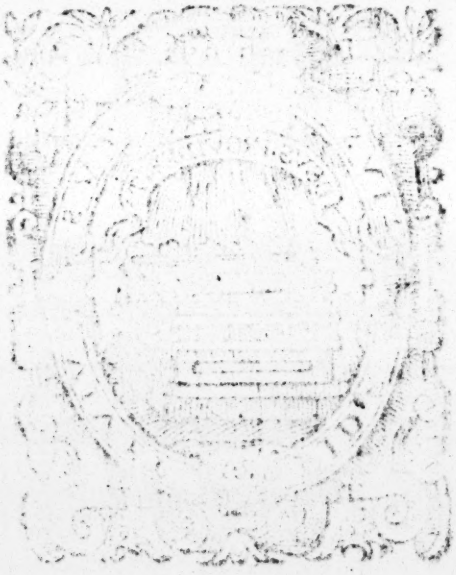
FINIS.

A DISCOURSE OF THE RELIGION Anciently professed by the IRISH and BRITTISH.

By IAMES VSSHER Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of IRELAND.



LONDON,
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TO MY VERY MVCH HONOVRED Friend, Sir *Chriſtopher Sibthorp*, Knight, one of his Majeſties Iuſtices of his Court of chiefe place in IRELAND.

WORTHY SIR:



Confeſſe, I ſomewhat incline to bee of your minde, that if unto the authorities drawn out of Scriptures and Fathers (which are common to us with others) a true diſcoverie were added of that Religion which anciently was profeſſed in this Kingdome; it might prove a ſpeciall motive to induce my poore country-men to conſider a little

better of the old and true way from whence they have hitherto been miſ-ledd. Yet on the one ſide, that ſaying in the Goſpel runneth much in my minde; [a] *If they heare not Moſes and the Prophets, neyther will they be perſwaded, though one roſe from the dead*: and on the other, that heavie iudgement mentioned by the Apoſtle; [b] *becauſe they receiued not the love of the truth, that they might bee ſaved, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould beleeve lyes.* The woefull experience whereof, wee may ſee daily before our eyes in this poore nation: where, ſuch as are ſlow of heart to beleeve the ſaving truth of God delivered by the Prophets and Apoſtles, doe with all greedineſſe imbrace, and with a moſt ſtrange kinde of credulitie entertaine thoſe lying Legends, wherewith their Monkes and Friars in theſe latter daies have polluted the religion and lives of our ancient Saints.

[a] *Luke* 16. 31.

[b] 2 *Theſ.* 2. 10, 11.

I doe not deny but that in this Countrey, as well as in others, corruptions did creep in by little and little, before the Divell was let looſe to procure that ſeduction which prevailed ſo generally in theſe laſt times: but as farre as I can collect by ſuch records of the former ages as have come unto my hands (eyther

eyther *manuſcript* or *printed*) the religion profeſſed by the ancient Biſhops, Prieſts, Monks, and other Chriſtians in this land, was for ſubſtance the very ſame with that which now by publike authoritie is maintained therein, againſt the forraine doctrin brought in thither in later times by the Biſhop of Romes followers. I ſpeake of the more ſubſtantiall points of doctrine, that are in controverſie betwixt the Church of Rome and us at this day, by which only we muſt iudge, whether of both ſides hath departed from the religion of our Anceſtors: not of matters of inferiour note, much leſſe of ceremonies and ſuch other things as appertaine to the diſcipline rather than to the doctrine of the Church.

And whereas it is knowne unto the learned, that the name of *Scoti* in thoſe elder times (whereof we treate) was common to the inhabitants of the *greater* and the *leſſer* Scotland (for ſo heretofore they have beene diſtinguiſhed) that is to ſay, of *Ireland*, and the famous colonie deduced from thence into *Albania*: I will not follow the example of thoſe that have of late laboured to make diſſenſion betwixt the daughter and the mo-

ther, but account of them both, as of the ſame people.

Tros Rutulus ve fuat, nullo diſcrimine habebo.

The religion doubtleſſe received by both, was the ſelfe ſame; and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the *Britons*: as by comparing the evidences that remaine, both of the one nation and of the other, in the enſuing diſcourſe more fully ſhall appeare.

The



The chiefe Heads treated of in this diſcourſe, are theſe:

I. OF *the holy Scriptures.* pag. 1.

II. *Of Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, Workes, Iuſtification and Sanctification.* pag. 11.

III. *Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead.* pag. 21.

IIII. *Of the Worſhip of God, the publike forme of Liturgie, the Sacrifice, and Sacrament of the Lords Supper.* pag. 30.

V. *Of Chriſme, Sacramentall Confeſsion, Penance, Abſolution, Marriage, Divorces, and ſingle life in the Clergie.* pag. 45.

VI. *Of the diſcipline of our ancient Monkes; and abſtinence from meats.* pag. 54.

VII. *Of the Church and various ſtate thereof, eſpecially in the dayes of Antichriſt: of Miracles*

Miracles alſo, and of the Head of the Church. pag.66.

VIII. *Of the Popes ſpirituall Iurisdiction, and how little footing it had gotten at firſt within theſe parts.* pag.75.

IX. *Of the Controverſie which the Britons, Picts, and Iriſh maintained againſt the Church of Rome, touching the celebration of Eaſter.* pag.92.

X. *Of the height that the oppoſition betwixt the Romane party, and that of the Brittiſh and the Scottiſh grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the Scottiſh and Iriſh ſide have beene ever accounted moſt eminent men in the Catholike Church, notwithſtanding their diſ-union from the Biſhop of Rome.* pag.105.

XI. *Of the temporall power, which the Popes followers would directly intitle him unto over the Kingdome of Ireland: together with the indirect power which hee challengeth in abſolving ſubjects from the obedience, which they owe to their temporall Governours.* pag.117.

OF

OF THE RELIGION PROFESSED BY THE ANCIENT IRISH.

CHAP. I.

Of the holy Scriptures.

TWo excellent rules doth St. *Paul* preſcribe unto Chriſtians for their direction in the waies of God: the one, that they [a] *be not unwiſe, but underſtanding what the will of God is*; the other, that they [b] *bee not more wiſe than behoveth to be wiſe, but be wiſe unto ſobriety*. and that we might know the limits, within which this wiſedome and ſobriety ſhould bee bounded; hee elſewhere declareth, that not to bee

a *Epheſ.* 5. 17.

b *Rom.* 12. 3. μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν· ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

more wise than is fitting, is [c] *not to be wise above that which is written.* Hereupon *Sedulius* (one of the most ancient Writers that remaineth of this Country birth) delivereth this for the meaning of the former rule; [d] *Search the Law, in which the will of God is contained:* and this for the later; [e] *He would be more wise* than is meete, *who searcheth those things that the Law doth not speake of.* Unto whom wee will adjoyne *Claudius* another famous Divine, (counted one of the founders of the University of Paris) who for the illustration of the former, affirmeth that men [f] *therefore erre, because they know not the Scriptures; and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not Christ, who is the power of God and the wisedome of God:* and for the clearing of the latter, bringeth in that knowne Canon of Saint *Hierome*; *This, because it hath not authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility contemned, wherewith it is avowed.*

Neither was the practice of our Ancestors herein different from their judgement. For as *Bede* touching the latter, recordeth of the successors of *Colum-kille* the great Saint of our Country; that they [h] *observed onely those workes of piety and chastity, which they could learne in the Prophetical, Evangelicall, and Apostolicall writings:* so for the former, hee specially noteth of one of the principall of them, to wit, Bishop *Aidan*; that [i] *all such as went in his company, whether they were*

c 1 Cor. 4. 6. μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν. d Scrutamini legem, in quâ voluntas ejus continetur. *Sedul. in Ephes. 5.* e Plus vult sapere, qui illa scrutatur quæ Lex non dicit. *Id. in Rom. 12.* f Propterea errant, quia Scripturas nesciunt: & quia Scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus & Dei sapientia. *Claud. in Matth. lib. 3.* Habetur MS. Romæ in Bibliothecâ *Vallicellanâ*; & Cantabrigiæ, in Bibliothec. Colleg. *Benedict.* & Aulæ *Pembrochianæ.* g Hoc, quia de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur. *Id. ib.* h Tantùm ea quæ in Propheticis, Evangelicis & Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis & castitatis opera diligenter observantes. *Bed. lib. 3. histor. Eccles. cap. 4.* i In tantum autem vita illius à nostri temporis segnitiâ distabat; ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. *Idibid. cap. 5.*

of

of the Clergie, or of the Laity, were tyed to exercise themselves, either in the reading of Scriptures, or in the learning of Psalmes. And long before their time, it was the observation which Saint *Chrysostome* made of both these Ilands: that [k] *although thou didst goe unto the Ocean, and those Brittish Isles, although thou didst sayle to the Euxine Sea, although thou didst goe unto the Southerne quarters; thou shouldst heare ALL men everywhere discoursing matters out of the SCRIPTVRE, with another voice indeede, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an according judgement.* Which is in effect the same with that which venerable *Bede* pronounceth of the Island of Brittaine in his owne dayes, that [l] *in the language of five Nations it did search and confesse one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity; to wit, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins.* which last although hee affirmeth *by the meditation of the Scriptures to have become common to all the rest:* yet the *community* of that one among the learned, did not take away the *property* of the other foure among the vulgar, but that such as understood not the Latin, might yet in their own mother tongue have those Scriptures, wherein they might *search the knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity.* even as at this day in the reformed Churches, the same Latin tongue is common to all the learned in the meditation and exposition of the Scriptures; and yet the common people for all that, doe in their owne vulgar tongues * *search the Scriptures, because*

k Κἂν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέλθῃς, κἂν σχῇς τὰς Βρεταννικὰς νήσους ἐκείνας· κἂν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πλεύσῃς πόντον· κἂν σχῇς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθῃς μέρη· πάντων ἀκούσῃ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ, πίστει δὲ οὐχ ἑτέρᾳ· καὶ γλώττῃ μὲν διαφόρῳ, διανοίᾳ δὲ συμφώνῳ. Chrysost. in serm. de utilitate lectionis Scripturæ, tom. 8. edit. Savil. pag. 111.

l Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemq; summæ veritatis & veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur & confitetur; Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, & Latinorum, quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. Bed. lib. 1. Histor. Ecclesiast. cap. 1. * Iohn 5. 39.

in them they thinke to have eternall life. For as by us now, so by our forefathers then, the [m] *continuall meditation of the Scriptures* was held to give speciall vigour and *vegetation to the soule* (as wee reade in the booke attributed unto St. *Patrick, of the abuses of the world:*) and the holy documents delivered therein, were esteemed by Christians as their chiefe riches; according to that of *Columbanus*,

[n] *Sint tibi divitiæ, divinæ dogmata legis.*

In which heavenly riches our ancient *Scottish* and *Irish* did thrive so well, that many worthy personages in forraine parts were content to undergoe a voluntarie exile from their owne Country; that they might more freely trafficke here for so excellent a commodity. And by this meanes *Altfrid* King of Northumberland, purchased the reputation of [o] *a man most learned in the Scriptures.*

Scotterum qui tum versatus incola terris,
Cœlestem intento spirabat corde sophiam.
Nam patriæ fines & dulcia liquerat arva,
Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.

as *Bede* writeth of him, in his Poëme of the life of our Countryman St. *Cuthbert.*

So when wee reade in the same *Bede* of [p] *Furseus*, and in another ancient Author of [q] *Kilianus*, that *from the time of their very childhood*, they had a care to learne the holy Scriptures: it may easily bee collected, that in those dayes it was not thought a thing unfit, that even children should give themselves un-

m Bonis semper moribus delectatur & consentit; & assiduis Scripturarum meditationibus & eloquiis animam vegetat. *Patric. de abusionibus sæculi, cap. 5. de* Pudicitia.

n *Columban. in Monastichis, & in epistolâ ad Hunaldum.*

o Successit Ecgfrido in regnum Altfrit, vir in Scripturis doctissimus. *Bed. lib. 4. hist. ca. 26.*

p Ab ipso tempore pueritiæ suæ curam non modicam lectionibus sacris, simul & monasticis exhibebat disciplinis. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 19. Ab infantiâ sacris litteris & monasticis disciplinis eruditus.* Iohannes de Tinmouth (& ex eo Io. Capgrav.) in vita Fursei. q A puerili ætate magnum habet studium sacras discere literas. *Tom. 4. Antiqu. lect. Henr. Canis. pag. 642.*

to

to the ſtudie of the Bible. Wherein how greatly ſome of them did profit in thoſe tender yeeres, may appeare by that which *Bonifacethe* firſt Archbiſhop of Mentz, relateth of *Livinus* (who was trained up in his youth by *Benignus* in [r] the ſinging of *Davids* Pſalmes, and the reading of the holy Goſpels, and other divine exerciſes) and *Ionas* of *Columbanus*; in whoſe [s] *breaſt the treaſures of the holy Scriptures were ſo layd up, that within the compaſſe of his youthfull yeeres hee ſet forth an elegant expoſition of the booke of the Pſalmes.* by whoſe induſtry likewiſe afterward, the ſtudie of Gods Word was ſo propagated; that in the Monaſteries which were founded [t] *according to his rule* beyond the Seas, not the men only, but the religious women alſo did carefully attend the ſame, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures they might have hope. See for this, the practice of the Virgin [u] *Bitihildis* lying upon her death-bed; reported by the ſame *Ionas*, or whoſoever elſe was the Author of the life of *Burgundofora*.

As for the *edition* of the Scriptures uſed in theſe parts at thoſe times: the *Latin* tranſlation was ſo received into common uſe among the learned, that the principall authority was ſtill reſerved to the originall fountaines. Therefore doth *Sedulius* in the Old Teſtament commend unto us [x] *the Hebrew verity* (for ſo with S. *Hierome* doth he ſtyle it:) and in the New correct oftentimes the vulgar Latin according to the truth of the *Greek* copies. For example in 1 Cor. 7 34. he

r Davidicia Pſalmorum melodiis, & ſanctorum Evangeliorum mellifluis lectionibus atque cæteris divinis exercitationibus. *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini.*

s Tantum in ejus pectore divinarum theſauri Scripturarum conditi tenebantur; ut intra adoleſcentiæ ætatem detentus, Pſalmorum librum elimato ſermone exponeret. *Ionas in vitâ Columba i, cap. 2.*

t B. Burgundofora monaſterium quod Euoriacas appellatur, &c. ſecundùm regulam S. Columbani inſtituit. *Id. in vitâ Burgundof.*

u Cùm jam in extremis poſita poſceret per ſucceſſiones noctium lumen coram ſe accendi, & ſacræ lectionis præconia ante ſe legi, &c. *Id. ibid.* x Hebraicam veritatem. *Sedul. in Galat. 3. & Hebr. 7.*

he readeth as wee doe, *There is difference betweene a wife and a virgin*; and not as the Rhemiſts have tranſlated it out of the Latin. Rom. 12.19. hee readeth, *Non voſmetipſos vindicantes*, not avenging your ſelves: where the vulgar Latin hath corruptly, *Non voſmetipſos defendentes*, not defending your ſelves. Rom. 3.4. where the Rhemiſts tranſlate according to the Latin, *God is true:* hee ſheweth that in the Greeke copies it is found, *Let God be true*, or, *let God be made true*. Rom. 15.17. hee noteth that the Latin bookes have put *glory* for *gloriation*. Galat. 1.16. where the Rhemiſts have according to the Latin, *I condeſcended not to fleſh & bloud:* he ſaith, that *in Græco melius habet* (for ſo muſt his words bee here corrected out of St. *Hierome*, whom hee followeth) the Greek hath it better, *I conferred not*. Rom. 8.3. where the Rhemiſts ſay of God, according to the Latin tranſlation, *that of ſinne* hee *damned ſinne in the fleſh*. *Sedulius* affirmeth, that *verius habetur apud Græcos*, it is *more truly* expreſſed in the Greeke bookes; that *for ſinne* he *damned ſinne in the fleſh*. Laſtly, where the Rhemiſts tranſlate after their Latin copie, Gal. 5.9. *A little leaven corrupteth the whole paſte:* hee ſaith it ſhould be, *leaveneth*, (as we have it) and [y] not *corrupteth*, as it is *ill* read in the Latin bookes. So where they tranſlate by the ſame authority, Galat. 6.1. *Inſtruct ſuch an one in the ſpirit of lenitie:* [z] *Claudius*, following St. *Hierome*, affirmeth that it is better in the Greeke, *Reſtore* or *Perfect him*. and where they make St. *Peter* ſay, Mat. 16.22. *Lord, bee it farre from thee:* [a] he noteth, that it is *better* in the Greeke, *Lord, favour thy ſelfe*.

y Non, ut malè in Latinis codicibus, corrumpit. *Sedul. in Gal.* 5.

z Inſtruat; ſive, ut melius habetur in Græco, perficiat in ſpiritu lenitatis. *Claud. in Gal.* 6.

a Abſit à te Domine: vel ut melius habetur in Græco; Propitius eſto tibi, Domine. *Id. lib.* 2. *comment. in Matth.*

In

In the old Teſtament I obſerve that our Writers doe more uſually follow the tranſlation taken out of the *Septuagint*, than the *Vulgar Latine*, which is now received in the Church of Rome. So, for example, where the Vulgar Latin hath *Eſay* 32.4. [b] *The tongue of the ſtammerers* (or *mafflers*, as the Doway Tranſlation would have it engliſhed) *ſhall ſpeak readily and plainely*: in the *Confeſſion* of St. *Patricke* [c] wee finde it layd downe more agreeably to the [d] Greecke lection: *The ſtammering tongues ſhall ſwiftly learne to ſpeak peace.* and in his Epiſtle to *Coroticus* or *Ceretieus*; [e] Malach. 4. 2. *You ſhall dance as calves looſed out of bands*: where our common Latin hath; [f] *You ſhall leape as calves of the heard.* And Iob 20. 15, 16. [g] *The riches which he ſhall gather unjuſtly, ſhall be vomited out of his belly, the Angel of death draweth him. Hee ſhall be mulcted with the wrath of Dragons: the tongue of the Serpent ſhall kill him.* where the Vulgar Latin readeth: [h] *The riches, which he hath devoured, he ſhall vomit out, and God ſhall draw them forth out of his belly. He ſhall ſuck the head of Aſpes, and the Vipers tongue ſhall kill him.* The ſame courſe is likewiſe obſerved by *Sedulius* in his citations. But *Gildas* the Briton in ſome Bookes, (as *Deuteronomy*, *Eſay* and *Ieremy*, for example) uſeth to follow the Vulgar Latin tranſlated out of the Hebrew; in others (as the bookes of *Chronicles*, *Iob*, *Proverbs*, *Ezekiel*, and the *ſmall Prophets*) the elder Latin tranſlated out of the Greeke, as alſo long after him his country man * *Nennius*, in recko-

b Lingua balborum velociter loquetur & planè.

c Linguæ balbutientes velociter diſcent loqui pacem.

d αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι ταχὺ μαθήσουσι λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.

e Exultabitis ſicut vituli ex vinculis reſoluti.

Græc. σκιρτήσετε ὡς μοσχάρια ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνειμένα.

f Salietis ſicut vituli de armento.

g Divitiæ quas congregabit injuſtè, evomentur de ventre ejus, trahit illum angelus mortis. Irâ draconum mulctabitur: interficiet illum lingua colubri.

Græc. Πλοῦτος ἅδικος συναγόμενος ἐξεμεσθήσεται, ἐξ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἐξελκύσει αὐτὸν ἄγγελος. Θυμὸν δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσειεν, ἀνέλοι δὲ αὐτὸν γλῶσσα ὄφεως. h Divitias quas devoravit evomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aſpidum ſuget, & occidet eum lingua viperæ. * *Nenn. Hiſtor. Briton. cap.* 1.

ning the yeares of the age of the world, followeth the LXX. and *Aſſer* alledgeth the text, Geneſ. 4. 7. [i] *If thou offer aright, and doſt not divide aright, thou ſinneſt*; according to the [k] Greek reading: whereas the Vulgar Latin hath it; [l] *If thou doe well, ſhalt thou not receive againe? but if thou doeſt ill, ſhall not thy ſinne forthwith be preſent at the doore?*

i Si rectè offeras, rectè autem non dividas, peccas. *Aſſer Menevenſ. de geſtis Ælfredi R.*

k Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες;

l Nonne ſi benè egeris, recipies? ſin autem malè, ſtatim in foribus peccatum aderit?

Of the Pſalter there are extant foure Latin tranſlations out of the *Greeke*, (namely the old *Italian*, the *Romane*, the *Gallican*, and that of *Millayne*:) and one out of the *Hebrew*, compoſed by St. *Hierome*: which though it bee now excluded out of the body of the Bible, and the *Gallican* admitted in the roome thereof; yet in ſome Manuſcript Copies, it ſtill retaineth his ancient place. three whereof I have ſeene my ſelfe in Cambridge, the one in Trinitie, the other in Benet, and the third in Ieſus Colledge Librarie: where this tranſlation out of the Hebrew, and not the Vulgar out of the Greek, is inſerted into the context of the Bible. In the citations of *Gildas*, and the Confeſſion of Saint *Patrick*, I obſerve that the *Roman* Pſalter is followed, rather than the *Gallican*: in the quotations of *Sedulius*, on the other ſide, the *Gallican* rather than the *Roman*. *Claudius* ſpeaking of a text in the 118th. (or as he accounteth it, the 117th.) [m] Pſalme, ſaith, that where the LXX. Interpreters did tranſlate it, *O Lord ſave me*, it was written in the Hebrew, *Anna Adonai Oſanna*: *which our Interpreter Hierom* (ſaith he) *more diligently explaining*, tranſlated thus; *I beſeech thee, O Lord, ſave I beſeech thee*. Be-

m In Pſalmo 117. ubi LXX. interpretes tranſtulerunt, O Domine ſalvũ me fac; *in Hebræo ſcriptum eſt*, Anna Adonai Oſanna: *quod interpres noſter Hieronymus diligentiùs elucidans ita tranſtulit*; Obſecro Domine, ſalva obſecro. *Claud. Scot. in Matth. lib. 3.*

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fore this tranſlation of S. *Hierome*, [n] I have ſeene an Epigram prefixed by *Ricemarch* the Briton; who by *Caradoc* of *Lhancarpan* [o] is commended for *the godlieſt, wiſeſt, and greateſt Clerke that had been in Wales many yeares before* his time, his father *Sulgen Biſhop of S. Davids* only excepted, *who had brought him up, and a great number of learned diſciples*. He having in this Epigramme ſaid of thoſe who tranſlated the Pſalter out of Greeke, that they did *darken the Hebrew rayes with thir Latin clowde*: addeth of S. *Hierome*, that being *repleniſhed with the Hebrew fountaine, hee did more cleerely and briefly diſcover the truth*; as drawing it out of the *firſt veſſell* immediately, and not taking it at the *ſecond hand*. To this purpoſe thus expreſſeth he himſelfe;

Ebræis nablam cuſtodit littera ſignis:
Pro captu quam quiſque ſuo ſermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros Linguâ variante libellos;
Ebræumq; jubar ſuffuſcat nube Latinâ.
Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra ſaporem.
Sed ſacer Hieronymus, Ebræo fonte repletus,
Lucidiùs nudat verum, breviuſque miniſtrat.
Namque ſecunda creat, nam tertia vaſcula vitat.

Now for thoſe bookes annexed to the Old Teſtament, which S. *Hierom* calleth *Apocryphall*, others *Eccleſiaſticall*: true it is that in our Iriſh and Brittiſh writers ſome of them are alledged as parcels of Scripture, and propheticall writings; thoſe eſpecially that commonly bare the name of *Salomon*. But ſo alſo is the fourth booke of *Eſdras* cited by *Gildas*, in the name of [p] *bleſſed Eſdras the Prophet*; which yet our Romaniſts will not admit to be Canonicall: neither doe

n *MS. in Bibliothecâ eruditiſſimi antiſtitis D. Guilielmi Bedelli, Kilmorenſis & Ardachadenſis apud nos Epiſcopi.*

o *Caradoc. in Chronico Cambriæ, circa annum* 1099. *ad quem in aliis etiam Annalibus Britannicis MSS. annotatum repperi.* Sub hujus anni ambitum morti ſuccumbit Richmarch cognomine Sapiens, filius Sulgeni Epiſcopi, cùm jam annum XLIII. ætatis ageret.

p Quid præterea beatus Eſdras Propheta ille, Bibliotheca legis, minatus ſit attendite. *Gild. Epiſt.*

doe our writers mention any of the reſt with more titles of reſpect than wee finde given unto them by others of the ancient Fathers, who yet in expreſſe termes doe exclude them out of the number of thoſe bookes which properly are to be eſteemed Canonicall. So that from hence no ſufficient proofe can bee taken, that our anceſtours did herein depart from the tradition of the Elder Church,* delivered by S. *Hierome* in his Prologues, and explained by *Brito* (a Briton, it ſeemeth, by nation, as well as by appellation) in his commentaries upon the ſame; which being heretofore joyned with the Ordinarie Gloſſe upon the Bible, have of late proved ſo diſtaſtefull unto our Popiſh Divines, that in their new editions (printed at *Lyons* anno 1590. and at *Venice* afterward) they have quite croſſed them out of their books.

* *Vid. Richard. Armachanum, de quæſtionib. Armeniorum, lib. 18. cap. 1.*

Yet *Marianus Scotus* (who was borne in Ireland in the MXXVIII. yeare of our Lord) was ſomewhat more carefull to maintaine the ancient bounds of the *Canon* ſet by his forefathers. For he in his Chronicle, following *Euſebius* and S. *Hierom*, at the reigne of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* writeth thus: q *Hitherto the divine Scripture of the Hebrewes containeth the order of Times. But thoſe things that after this were done among the Iewes, are repreſented out of the booke of the Maccabees, and the writings of Ioſephus and Aphricanus.* But before him, more plainly, the author of the book *de mirabilibus Scripturæ* (who is accounted to have lived here, about the yeare DCLVII.) r *In the bookes*

q Hucuſq; Hebræorum divina Scriptura temporum ſeriem continet. Quæ verò poſt hæc apud Iudæos ſunt geſta, de libro Maccabæorum, & Ioſephi atq; Aphricani ſcriptis exhibentur. *Marian. Chron. MS.*

r In Maccabæorum libris etſi aliquid mirabilium numero inſerendum conveniens fuiſſe huic ordini inveniatur; de hoc tamen nullâ curâ fatigabimur: quia tantum agere propoſuimus, unde divini canonis mirabilibus exiguam (quamvis ingenioli noſtri modulum excedentem) hiſtoricam expoſitionem ex parte aliquâ tangeremus. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Script. cap. 34. (inter opera B. Auguſtini, tom. 3.)*

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of the Maccabees, howſoever ſome wonderfull things bee found, which might conveniently bee inſerted into this ranke; yet will wee not weary our ſelves with any care thereof: becauſe wee only purpoſed to touch in ſome meaſure a ſhort hiſtoricall expoſition of the wonderfull things contained in the divine canon. as alſo in the apocryphall additions of *Daniel*, hee telleth us, that what is reported [f] *touching the lake (or denne) and the carrying of Abackuk, in the fable of Bel and the Dragon, is not therefore placed in this ranke, becauſe theſe things have not the authority of divine Scripture.*

And ſo much concerning the holy Scriptures.

f De lacu verò iterùm & Abacuk tranſlato in Belis & Draconis fabulâ, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur; quòd in authoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur. *ibid. cap.* 32.

CHAP. II.

Of Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, Workes, Iuſtification and Sanctification.

THe Doctrine which our learned men obſerved out of the Scriptures & the writings of the moſt approved Fathers, was this, that God [b] *by his immoveable counſaile* (as *Gallus* ſpeaketh in his Sermon preached at *Conſtance*) ordained ſome of his creatures *to praiſe him, and to live bleſſedly from him and in him, & by him:* namely, [c] *by his eternall predeſtination, his free calling, and his grace which was due to none.* that [d] *hee hath mercie with great goodneſſe, and hardneth without any iniquitie: ſo as neyther he that is delivered can glory of his own merits, nor he that is condemned complain but*

b Præſcitam & prædeſtinatam immobili conſilio creaturam, ad ſe laudandum, & ex ſe & in ſe & per ſe beatè vivendum. *S Gallus in ſerm. habit. Conſtant.*

c Prædeſtinatione ſcilicèt æternâ, non creatione temporariâ, ſed vocatione gratuitâ, vel indebitâ gratiâ *Id. ib.* d Miſeretur magnâ bonitate, & obdurat nullâ iniquitate: ut neq; liberatus de ſuis meritis glorietur, neq damnatus niſi de ſuis meritis conqueratur. Sola enim gratia redemptos diſcernit à perditis; quos in unam perditionis concreaverat maſſam, ab origine ducta cauſſa communi. *Sedul. in Rom.* 9.

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of his own merits. foraſmuch as grace onely maketh the diſtinction betwixt the redeemed and the loſt; who by a cauſe drawne from their common originall, were framed together into one maſſe of perdition. For [c] *all mankinde ſtood condemned in the apoſtaticall roote* (of Adam) *with ſo juſt and divine a judgement; that although none ſhould be freed from thence, no man could rightly blame the juſtice of God: and ſuch as were freed, muſt ſo have beene freed, that by thoſe many which were not freed, but left in their moſt juſt condemnation, it might bee ſhewed what the whole lumpe had deſerved. that the due judgement of God ſhould have condemned even thoſe that are juſtified, unleſſe mercy had relieved them from that which was due: that ſo all the mouthes of them, which would glory of their merits, might bee ſtopped; and hee that glorieth, might glory in the Lord.*

They further taught (as Saint *Auguſtine* did) that [f] *Man uſing ill his Free will, loſt both himſelfe and it.* that, as one *by living is able to kill himſelfe, but by killing himſelfe is not able to live, nor hath power to raiſe up himſelfe when hee hath killed himſelfe: ſo when ſinne had beene committed by free will, ſinne being the conquerour, free will alſo was loſt; foraſmuch as of whom a man is overcome, of the ſame is hee alſo brought in bondage* (2 Pet. 2. 19.) that *unto a man thus brought in bondage and ſold, there is no liberty left to doe well, unleſſe he re-*

c Videt univerſum genus humanum tam juſto judicio divino que in apoſtaticâ radice damnatum; ut etiamſi nullus inde liberatur, nemo rectè poſſet Dei vituperare juſtitiam: & qui liberantur, ſic oportuiſſe liberari, ut ex pluribus non liberatis, atq; damnatione juſtiſſimâ derelictis, oſtenderetur quid meruiſſet univerſa conſperſio. quòd etiam juſtos debitum judicium Dei damnaret, niſi in ejus debitum miſericordia ſubveniret: ut volentium de ſuis meritis gloriari, omneos obſtruatur; & qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. *Id. ibid.*

f Libero arbitrio malè utens homo, & ſe perdidit, & ipſum. Sicut enim qui ſe occidit, utique vivendo ſe occidit, ſed ſe occidendo non vivit, neque ſeipſum poterit reſuſcitare cùm occiderit: ita cùm libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato amiſſum eſt & liberum arbitrium. à quo enim quis devictus eſt, huic & ſervus addictus eſt. ſed ad benè faciendum iſta libertas unde erit homini addicto & vendito, niſi redimat, cujus illa vox eſt; Si vos Filius liberaverit, verè liberi eritis? *Id. ibid.*

deeme

deeme him, whoſe ſaying is this; If the Sonne make you free, yee ſhall bee free indeede. (Iohn 8.36.) that [g] *the minde of men from their very youth is ſet upon evill: there being not a man which ſinneth not.* that a man [h] *hath nothing from himſelfe, but ſinne.* that [i] *God is the author of all good things, that is to ſay, both of good nature, and of good will; which unleſſe God doe worke in him, man cannot doe. becauſe this good will is prepared by the Lord in man; that by the gift of God hee may doe that, which of himſelfe he could not doe by his owne free will.* that [k] *the good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, but not all: and of thoſe which it doth not goe before, it ſelfe is one. For both of theſe is read in the holy Scriptures; His mercy ſhall goe before mee, and, His mercie ſhall follow mee: it preventeth him that is unwilling that hee may will, and it followeth him that is willing, that he will not in vaine.* and that therefore *we are admoniſhed to aske that wee may receive; to the end, that what we doe will may be effected by him, by whom it was effected that we did ſo will.*

They taught alſo, that [l] *the Law was not given, that it might take away ſinne, but that it might ſhut up all under ſinne:* to the end that men, being *by this means humbled, might underſtand that their ſalvation was not in their owne hand, but in the hand of a Mediatour.* that

g Quòd ab adoleſcentia mens hominum appoſita ſit ad malitiam: non eſt enim homo qui non peccet. *Id. in Epheſ. 2.*

h Quid habes ex teipſo niſi peccatum? *Id. in 1 Cor. 4.*

i Deus author eſt omnium bonorum, hoc eſt, & naturæ bonæ, & voluntatis bonæ; quam niſi Deus in illo operetur, non facit homo. quia præparatur voluntas à Domino in homine bona; ut faciat Deo donante, quod à ſeipſo facere non poterat per liberi arbitrii voluntatem. *Claud. li. 1. in Matth.*

k Præcedit bona voluntas hominis multa Dei dona, ſed non omnia: quæ autem non præcedit ipſa, in eis eſt & ipſa. Nam utrumque legitur in ſanctis eloquiis; & *miſericordia ejus prævenier me*, & *miſericordia ejus ſubſequetur me*: nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem ſubſequitur, ne fruſtrà velit. Cur enim admonemur petere ut accipiamus; niſi ut ab illo fiat quod volumus, à quo factum eſt ut velimus? *Sedul. in Rom. 9.* l Non ergo lex data eſt, ut peccatum auferret, ſed ut ſub peccato omnia concluderet. Lex enim oſtendebat eſſe peccatum, quod illi per conſuetudinem cæcati poſſent putare iuſtitiam: ut hoc modo humiliati cognoſcerent non in ſuâ manu eſſe ſalutem ſuam, ſed in manu mediatoris, *Id. in Gal. 3.*

by

by the Law commeth, [m] *neither the remiſſion nor the removall, but the knowledge of ſinnes:* that it [n] *taketh not away diſeaſes, but diſcovereth them;* [o] *forgiveth not ſinnes, but condemneth them.* that [p] *the Lord God did impoſe it, not upon thoſe that ſerved righteouſneſſe, but ſinne; namely, by giving a juſt law to unjuſt men, to manifeſt their ſins, and not to take them away: foraſmuch as nothing taketh away ſins but the grace of faith which worketh by love.* That our [q] *ſinnes are freely forgiven us;* [r] *without the merit of our workes:* that [s] *through grace we are ſaved, by faith, and not by works;* and that therfore we are to rejoyce, [t] *not in our owne righteouſneſſe, or learning, but in the faith of the Croſſe, by which all our ſinnes are forgiven us.* That [u] *grace is abject and vaine, if it alone doe not ſuffice* us: and that we [x] *eſteem baſely* of Chriſt, *when we thinke that he is not ſufficient for us to ſalvation.*

That [y] *God hath ſo ordered it, that he will be gracious to mankind, if they do beleeve that they ſhall be freed by the bloud* of Chriſt. that, as [z] *the ſoule is the life of the body, ſo faith is the life of the ſoule:* and that wee live [a] *by faith onely, as owing nothing to the Law.* that [b] *hee*

m Non remiſſio, nec ablatio peccatorum, ſed cognitio. *Id. in Rom.* 3.

n Lex, quæ per Moyſen data eſt, tantùm peccata oſtendit, non abſtulit. *Claud. in Gal.* 2. Perq; illam legem morbos oſtendentem non auferentem, etiam prævaricationis crimine contrita ſuperbia eſt. *Id. in Gal.* 3.

o Lex non donat peccata, ſed damnat. *Sedul. in Rom.* 4.

p Dominus Deus impoſuerat non juſtitiæ ſervientibus ſed peccato: juſtam ſcilicèt legem injuſtis hominibus dando, ad demonſtranda peccata eorum, non auferenda. Non enim aufert peccata niſi gratiâ fidei quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Claud. in argument. epiſt. ad Gal.*

q Gratis nobis donantur peccata. *Sedul. in Gal.* 1. A morte redemptis gratis peccata dimittuntur. *Id. in Epheſ.* 1.

r Abſq; operum merito, & peccata nobis conceſſa ſunt priſtina, & pax indulta poſt veniam. *Claud. in Gal.* 1.

ſ Gratiâ eſtis ſalvati per fidem, id eſt, non per opera. *Sedul. in Eph.* 2.

t Non in propriâ juſtitiâ, vel doctrinâ, ſed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimiſſa ſunt. *Sedul. & Claud. in Gal.* 6.

u Abjecta & irrita gratia eſt, ſi mihi ſola non ſufficit. *Sedul. in Gal.* 2.

x *Chriſtum* vilem habetis, dum putatis eum vobis non ſufficere ad ſalutem. *Id. in Galat.* 3.

y Diſpoſuit Deus propitium ſe futurum eſſe humano generi, ſi credant in ſanguine ejus ſe eſſe liberandos. *Id. in Rom.* 3.

z Vita corporis anima, vita animæ fides eſt. *Id. in Hebr.* 10.

a In fide vivo filii Dei, id eſt, in ſolâ fide, qui nihil debeo legi. *Id. in Gal.* 2.

b Perfectionem legis habet, qui credit in Chriſto. Cùm enim nullus juſtificaretur ex lege, quia nemo implebat legem, niſi qui ſperaret in promiſſionem Chriſti: fides poſita eſt, quæ cederet pro perfectione legis; ut in omnibus prætermiſſis fides ſatisfaceret pro totâ lege. *Id. in Rom.* 10.

who

who beleeveth in Chriſt, hath the perfection of the Law. For whereas none might be juſtified by the Law, becauſe none did fulfill the Law, but onely hee which did truſt in the promiſe of Chriſt: faith was appointed, which ſhould be accepted for the perfection of the Law, that in all things which were omitted faith might ſatisfie for the whole Law. That this righteouſneſſe therefore is [c] *not ours, nor in us, but in Chriſt*; in whom wee are conſidered *as members in the head.* That [d] *faith, procuring the remiſſion of ſinnes by grace, maketh all beleevers the children of Abraham:* and that [e] *it was juſt, that as Abraham was juſtified by faith onely, ſo alſo the reſt that followed his faith ſhould bee ſaved* after the ſame manner. That [f] *through adoption we are made the ſons of God, by beleeving in the Sonne of God:* and that this is [g] *a teſtimony of our adoption, that we have the ſpirit; by which we pray,* and cry Abba Father; *foraſmuch as none can receive ſo great a pledge as this, but ſuch as bee ſonnes onely.* That [h] *Moſes himſelfe made a diſtinction betwixt both the juſtices, to wit of faith and of deedes: that the one did by workes juſtifie him that came, the other by beleeving onely.* that [i] *the Patriarches and the Prophets were not juſtified by the workes of the Law, but by faith.* that [k] *the cuſtome of ſinne hath ſo prevailed, that none now can fulfill the Law: as the Apoſtle Peter ſaith,* Acts 15.10. *Which neither our fathers nor wee*

c Non noſtra, non in nobis, ſed in Chriſto, quaſi membra in capite. *Id. in 2 Cor. 5.*

d Fides, dimiſſis per gratiam peccatis, omnes credentes filios efficit Abrahæ. *Id. in Rom. 4.*

e Iuſtum fuerat, ut quo modo Abraham credens ex gentibus per ſolam fidem iuſtificatus eſt; ita cæteri fidē eius imitantes ſalvarentur. *Id. in Rom. 1.*

f Per adoptionem efficimur filii Dei, credendo in Filium Dei. *Claud. lib. 1. in Mat.*

g Teſtimonium adoptionis, quòd habemus ſpiritum, per quem ita oramus: tantam enim arrham non poterant, niſi filii accipere. *Sed. in Rom. 8.*

h Ipſe Moſes diſtinxit inter utramque iuſtitiam, fidei ſcilicet atque factorum: quia altera operibus, altera ſolâ credulitate iuſtificet accedentem. *Id. in Rom. 10.*

i Patriarchæ & Prophetæ non ex operibus legis, ſed ex fide iuſtificati ſunt. *Id. in Gal. 2.*

k Ita prævaluit conſuetudo peccandi, ut nemo iam perficiat legem: ſicut Petrus Apoſtolus ait; Quod neque nos neque patres noſtri portare potuimus. Si qui verò iuſti non erant maledicti; non ex operibus legis, ſed fidei gratiâ ſalvati ſunt. *Id. in Gal. 3.*

have

have beene able to beare. But if there were any righteous men which did eſcape the curſe: it was not by the workes of the Law, but for their faiths ſake that they were ſaved.

Thus did *Sedulius* and *Claudius*, two of our moſt famous Divines deliver the doctrine of free will and grace, faith and workes, the Law and the Goſpel, Iuſtification and Adoption; no leſſe agreeably to the faith which is at this day profeſſed in the reformed Churches, than to that which they themſelves received from the more ancient Doctors, whom they did follow therein. Neither doe wee in our judgement one whit differ from them, when they teach that [l] *faith alone is not ſufficient to life.* For when it is ſaid, that *Faith alone juſtifieth*: this word *alone* may bee conceived to have relation either to the former part of the ſentence, which in the Schooles they terme the *Subject*; or to the latter, which they call the *Predicate.* Being referred to the former, the meaning will be; that ſuch a faith as is *alone* (that is to ſay, not accompanied with other vertues) doth juſtifie: and in this ſenſe wee utterly diſclaime the aſſertion. But being referred to the latter, it maketh this ſenſe; that faith is it which *alone* or onely juſtifieth: and in this meaning onely doe we defend that propoſition; underſtanding ſtill by *faith*, not a dead carkaſe thereof (for how ſhould the juſt bee able to *live* by a *dead* faith?) but a true and lively faith, [m] *which worketh by love.* For as it is a certaine truth, that among all the members of the body, the eye is the onely inſtrument whereby we ſee; and yet it is as true alſo, that the eye being alone, and ſeparated from the reſt of the

l Hoc contra illos agit, qui ſolam fidem poſſe ſufficere dicunt. *Sedul. in Epheſ. 5.* Non ergo ſola ad vitam ſufficit fides. *Claud. in Gal. 5. bis.* Hæc ſententia illos revincit, qui ſolam fidem ad ſalutem animarum ſuarum ſufficere arbitrantur. *Id. ibid. in fine.*

m *Gal. 5. 6.*

the members, is dead, and for that cause doth neither see onely, nor see at all: so these two sayings likewise may stand well enough together, that among all the vertues in the soule, faith is the onely instrument whereby wee lay hold upon Christ for our justification; and yet, that faith being alone, and disjoyned from the society of other graces, *is dead in it selfe*, (as St.[n] *Iames* speaketh) and in that respect can neither only justifie, nor justifie at all.

n *Iam.*2.17.

So though *Claudius* doe teach as wee doe, that [o] *faith alone saveth us; because by the workes of the law no man shall bee justified:* yet hee addeth withall this caution. [p] *Not as if the workes of the law should be contemned, and without them a simple faith* (so hee calleth that *solitary* faith whereof we spake, which is a *simple* faith indeed) *should bee desired; but that the workes themselves should bee adorned with the faith of Christ. For that sentence of the wise man is excellent, that the faithfull man doth not live by righteousnesse, but the righteous man by faith.* In like manner *Sedulius*, acknowledgeth with us, that God [q] *hath purposed by faith onely to forgive our sinnes freely*, and [r] *by faith onely to save the beleevers*; and that, when men have fallen, they are to bee renewed [s] *onely by the faith of Christ, which worketh by love.* intimating by this last clause, that howsoever faith onely be it which justifieth the man, yet the worke of love is necessarily required (for all that) to justifie the faith. And *this*

o Si gentes fides sola non salvat, nec nos: quia ex operibus legis nemo iustificabitur. *Claud. in Galat.*2.

p Non quòd legis opera contemnenda sint, & absq; eis simplex fides adpetenda; sed ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia; non fidelem vivere ex iustitiâ, sed iustum ex fide. *Id. in Galat.*3.

q Gratis proposuit per solam fidem dimittere peccata. *Sedul. in Rom.*4.

r Vt solâ fide salvarentur credentes. *Idem. in Galat.*3.

s Per solam fidem Christi, quæ per dilectionem operatur; *Id. in Hebr.*6.

faith (saith [t] he) *when it hath beene iustified, sticketh in the soyle of the soule, like a roote which hath received a showre: that when it hath begunne to be manured by the law of God, it may rise up againe into bowes, which may beare the fruit of workes. Therefore the roote of righteousnesse doth not grow out of works, but the fruit of works out of the root of righteousnesse; namely out of that root of righteousnesse, which God doth accept for righteousnesse without workes.* The conclusion is: that saving faith is alwaies a fruitfull faith; and though it never goe alone, yet may there be some gift of God, which it alone is able to reach unto. as [u] *Columbanus* also implieth in that verse:

Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur almo.

The greatest depressers of Gods grace, and the advancers of mans abilities, were *Pelagius* and *Celestius*: the one borne in *Brittaine* (as appeareth by *Prosper Aquitanus*) the other in *Scotland* or *Ireland*; as [x] Mr. *Persons* doth gather out of those words of S. *Hierom* in one of the Prefaces of his commentaries (not upon Ezechiel, as he quoteth it, but) upon Ieremy. [y] *He hath his off-spring from the Scottish nation, neere to the Britans.* These hereticks (as our *Marianus* noteth out of *Prosper*, in his Chronicle) preached, among other of their impieties, [z] that for *attaining of righteousnesse every one was governed by his owne will, and received so much grace as he did merit.* Whose venemous doctrine was in *Brittaine* repressed, first by *Palladius*, *Lupus*,

t Hæc fides cùm justificata fuerit, tanquam radix imbre susceptо, hæret in animæ solo; ut cùm per legem Dei excoli cæperit, rursùm in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix justitiæ, sed ex radice justitiæ fructus operum crescit: illâ scilicet radice justitiæ, cui Deus acceptam fert justitiam sine operibus. *Id. in Rom. 4.*

u *Columban. in Monòstichis.*

x *Pers. three Convers. part. 1. chap. 3. sect. 10.*

y Habet enim progeniem Scotiæ gentis, de Britannorum viciniâ. *Hieron. prowm. lib. 3. commentar. in Ierem.*

z Vnumquemque ad iustitiam voluntate propriâ regi; tantumque accipere gratiæ, quantum meruerit. *Marian. Scot. Chron. ad an. Dom. 413. vel 414. whereof see more particularly, the Answer to the Iesuite, in the question of* Free-will.

Germanus

Germanus and *Severus* from abroad; afterward, by *David Menevenſis*, and his ſucceſſors at home agreeably to whoſe inſtitution, *Aſſer Menevenſis* doth profeſſe, that God is alwaies to bee eſteemed both the mover of the will, and the beſtower of the good that is willed. for hee is (ſaith hee) [a] *the inſtigatour of all good wills, and withall the moſt bountifull provider that the good things deſired may bee had: foraſmuch as hee would never ſtirre up any to will well, unleſſe hee did alſo liberally ſupply that which every one doth well and juſtly deſire to obtaine.*

Among our *Iriſh*, the grounds of ſound doctrine in theſe points were at the beginning well ſettled by *Palladius* and *Patricius*, [b] ſent hither by *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of Rome. And when the poyſon of the Pelagian hereſie, about two hundred yeares after that, beganne to breake out among them: the Clergie of Rome in the yeare of our Lord DCXXXIX. (during the vacancie of the See, upon the death of *Severinus*) directed their letters unto them, for the preventing of this growing miſchiefe. Wherein among other things they put them in minde, that [d] *it is both blaſphemy and folly to ſay, that a man is without ſinne: which none at all can ſay, but that one mediatour betwixt God and man, the man Chriſt Ieſus, who was conceived and borne without ſinne.* Which is agreeable, partly to that of *Claudius*; that [e] *it is manifeſt unto all wiſe men, although it bee contradicted by heretickes, that there is none who can live upon earth without the touch of ſome*

a Omnium bonarum voluntatum inſtigator; necnon etiam, ut habeantur bona deſiderata, largiſſimus adminiſtrator. neque enim unquam aliquem bene velle inſtigaret, niſi & hoc, quod bene & iuſtè quiſque habere deſiderat, largiter adminiſtraret. *Aſſer. de rebus geſtis Ælfredi. R.*

b *Proſp. Aquitan. adverſ. Collator. circa finem*

d Blaſphemia & ſtultiloquium eſt dicere, eſſe hominem ſine peccato: quod omnino non poteſt, niſi unus mediator Dei & hominum homo Chriſtus Ieſus, qui ſine peccato eſt conceptus & partus. *Epiſt. Cler. Roman. apud Bedam, lib. 2. hiſt. cap. 19.*

e Quia, (quod omnibus ſapientibus patet, licèt hæretici contradicant) nemo eſt, qui ſine adtactu alicuius peccati vivere poſsit ſuper terram. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

ſinne: partly to that of *Sedulius*, that [f] *there is none of the elect ſo great, whom the Divell doth not dare to accuſe, but him alone who did no ſinne, and who ſaid; The Prince of this world commeth now, and in mee hee findeth nothing.*

For touching the imperfection of our ſanctification in this life, theſe men held the ſame that wee doe: to wit, that the Law [g] *cannot be fulfilled*; that [h] *there is none that doth good, that is to ſay, perfect and entire good.* that [i] Gods elect ſhall be pertectly *holy and immaculate in the life to come, where the Church of Chriſt ſhall have no ſpot nor wrinkle:* whereas *in this preſent life they are righteous, holy, and immaculate, not wholly, but in part only.* that [k] *the righteous ſhall then be without all kinde of ſinne, when there ſhall be no law in their members, that ſhall reſiſt the law of their minde.* that although [l] *ſinne doe not now reigne in their mortall body to obey the deſires thereof:* yet *ſin dwelleth in that mortall body, the force of that naturall cuſtome being not yet extinguiſhed*, which we have gotten by our originall, and increaſed by our actual tranſgreſſions. And as for the matter of *merit: Sedulius* doth reſolve us out of S. *Paul*, that we are Saints [m] *by the calling of God, not by the merit of our deed*; that God is able to do exceeding abundantly above that we aske or think, [n] *according to the power that worketh in us, not according to our merits*;

f Nullus electus & ita magnus, quem Diabolus non audeat accuſare: niſi illum ſolum, qui peccatum non fecit, qui & dicebat; Nunc venit princeps huius mundi, & in me nihil invenit. *Sedul. in Rom.* 8.

g Non poteſt impleri. *Id. in Rom.* 7.

h Non eſt qui faciat bonum, hoc eſt, perfectum & integrum bonum. *Id. in Rom.* 3.

i Ad hoc nos elegit, ut eſſemus ſancti & immaculati, in futurâ vitâ; quoniam Eccleſia Chriſti non habebit maculam neque rugam. Licèt etiam in præſenti vitâ iuſti, & ſancti, & immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconuenienter dici poſſunt. *Id. in Epheſ.* 1.

k Tunc erit iuſtus ſine ullo omninò peccato, quando nulla lex erit in membris eius, repugnans legimentis eius. *Claud. in Gal.* 5.

l Non enim iam regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore ad obediendum deſideriis eius: quamvis habitet in eodem mortali corpore peccatum, nondum extincto impetu conſuetudinis naturalis, quâ mortaliter nati ſumus, & ex propriis vitæ noſtræ, cùm & nos ipſi peccando auximus quod ab origine peccati humani damnationis trahebamus. *Id ibid.*

m Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. *Sedul. in Rō.* 1.

n Secundùm virtutem quæ operatur in nobis; non ſecundùm merita noſtra. *Id. in Epheſ.* 3.

rits; that [o] *whatſoever men have from God, is grace, becauſe they have nothing of due*; and that [p] *nothing can bee found worthy or to bee compared with the glorie to come.*

o Sciendum eſt, quia omne quod habent homines à Deo, gratia eſt: nihil enim ex debito habent. *Id. in Rom.* 16. p Nihil dignum inveniri vel comparari ad futuram gloriam poteſt. *Id. in Rom.* 8.

CHAP. III.

Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the dead.

THe next Point that offereth it ſelfe unto our conſideration, is that of *Purgatory*. Whereof if any man doe doubt; [a] *Cæſarius* (a Germane Monke of the Ciſtercian order) adviſeth him for his reſolution to make a journey into *Scotland* (the greater Scotland he meaneth) and there to *enter into S. Patricks Purgatory*: and then he giveth him his word, that *he ſhall no more doubt of the paines of Purgatory*. If Doctor *Terry* (who commendeth this unto us as the teſtimony of [b] *a moſt famous Authour*) ſhould chance to have a doubtfull thought hereafter of the pains of Purgatory; I would wiſh his ghoſtly Father to injoyne him no other penance, but the undertaking of a pilgrimage unto S. *Patricks* purgatorie; to ſee whether he would prove any wiſer when he came from thence, than when he went thither. In the meane time, untill he hath made ſome further experiment of the matter, he ſhall give me leave to beleeve him that hath beene there, and hath cauſe to know the place as wel as any (the Iland wherein it is ſeated, being held by him as a part of the inheritance deſcended unto him from his anceſtours)

a Qui de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, Purgatorium ſancti Patricii intret, & de Purgatorii pœnis amplius non dubitabit. *Cæſar. Heiſterbach. Dialog. lib.* 12. *cap.* 38.

b Cujus locâ fama, ita ſparſim per omnes Europæ partes velare viſa eſt; ut Cæſarius celeberrimus auctor, de co nihil dubitans ſic ſcribat. *Guil. Thyræus, in Diſcurſ. Panegyrii de S. Patric. pag.* 151.

ceſtours) and yet profeſſeth, that hee found nothing therein, which might afford him any argument to thinke there was a Purgatorie. I paſſe by, that *Nennius*, and *Probus*, and all the elder writers of the life of S. *Patrick* that I have met withall, ſpeake not one word of any ſuch place; and that [c] *Henrie* the monke of *Saltrey*, in the daies of King *Stephen*, is the firſt in whom I could ever finde any mention thereof. this only would I know of the Doctor, what the reaſon might bee, that where hee bringeth in the words of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* touching this place, as [d] *an authenticall authoritie*; he paſſeth over that part of his relation, wherein he affirmeth, that S. *Patrick* intended by this means to bring the rude people to a perſwaſion of the certaintie [e] *of the infernall paines of the reprobate, and of the true and everlaſting life of the elect after death.*

The Grecians alledge this for one of their arguments againſt Purgatory: that whereas [f] *their Fathers had delivered unto them many viſions and dreames and other wonders concerning the everlaſting puniſhment*, wherewith the wicked ſhould be tormented in Hell; yet none of them had *declared any thing concerning a purgatorie temporarie fire.* Belike the Doctor was af-

c *Henr. Saltereyenſ. in lib. de Viſione Oeni militis. MS. in publicâ Cantabrigienſis academiæ Bibliothecâ; & privatâ viri doctiſſ. M. Thomæ Alani Oxonienſis; & in Nigro libro Eccleſiæ S. Trinitat. Dublin.*

d De poſteriori non minùs authentica videtur auctoritas Giraldi Cambrenſis, rerum Iberniearum diligentiſſimi inveſtigatoris, qui taliter loquitur. *Thyr. Diſcurſ. Panegyric. pag. 153.*

e De infernalibus namque reproborum pœnis, & de verâ poſt mortem perpetuâque electorum vitâ vir ſanctus cum gente incredulâ dum diſputâſſet: ut tanta, tam inuſitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas rudibus infidelium animis oculatâ fide certiùs imprimeretur: efficaci orationum inſtantiâ magnam & admirabilem utriuſque rei notitiam, duræq; cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere. *Giral. Cambrenſ. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct. 2. cap. 5.* f Οἱ τὸ ἀσύγκλυτον ὀπὸ γῆς πολιτευόμενοι Σίον ὅσοι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλαχῶ καὶ πολλάκις δι' ὀπτασιῶν καὶ ἐνυπνίων καὶ ἑτέρων θαυμάτων τὰ περὶ τὴ αἰωνίε κολάσεως καὶ ἁγίᾳ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν αὐτάῤῥε μνήμενοι καὶ τὸν ἄλλως μυθολογες, &c. περὶ καθαρτικῆ πυρὸς ὐδὲν ὐδαμῶς διεσάφησαν. Marcus Epheſius, in Græcorum Apolog. de igne Purgatorio ad Concil. Baſileenſ.

fraid,

fraid, that wee would conclude upon the ſame ground; that S. *Patrick* was carefull to plant in mens minds the beleefe of *Heaven* and *Hell*, but of *Purgatory* taught them never a word. And ſure I am, that in the booke aſcribed unto him, *De tribus habitaculis*, (which is to be ſeene in his Majeſties Librarie) there is no mention of any other place after this life, but of theſe two only. I will lay downe here the beginning of that treatiſe; and leave it to the judgement of any indifferent man, whether it can well ſtand with that which the Romaniſts teach concerning Purgatorie at this day. g *There be three habitations under the power of Almighty God: the firſt, the lowermoſt, and the middle. The higheſt whereof is called the Kingdome of God, or the Kingdome of Heaven, the lowermoſt is termed Hell, the middle is named the preſent World, or the circuit of the earth. The extremes whereof are altogether contrary one to another: (for what fellowſhip can there be betwixt light and darkeneſſe, betwixt Chriſt and Belial?) but the middle hath ſome ſimilitude with the extremes. For in this world there is a mixture of the bad and of the good together. whereas in the Kingdome of God there are none bad, but all good: but in Hell there are none good, but all bad. And both theſe places are ſupplyed out of the middle. For of the men of this world,*

g Tria ſunt ſub omnipotentis Dei nutu habitacula: primum, imum, mediũ. Quorum ſummum, regnum Dei vel regnũ Cœlorum dicitur, imum vocatur Infernus, medium Mundus præſens vel Orbis terrarum appellatur. Quorum extrema omnino ſibi invicem ſunt contraria, & nullâ ſibi ſocietate conjuncta: (quæ enim ſocietas poteſt eſſe luci ad tenebras, & Chriſto ad Belial?) medium verò nonnullam habet ſimilitudinem ad extrema, &c. Commixio namque malorum ſimul & bonorum in hoc mundo eſt. In regno autem Dei nulli mali ſunt, ſed omnes boni: at in Inferno nulli boni ſunt, ſed omnes mali. Et uterq; locus ex medio ſuppletur. Hominum enim huius mundi alii elevantur ad Cœlum, alii trahuntur ad Infernum. Similes quippe ſimilibus iunguntur, id eſt, boni bonis, & mali malis; iuſti homines iuſtis angelis, tranſgreſſores homines tranſgreſſoribus angelis; ſervi dei Deo, ſervi diaboli Diabolo. Benedicti vocantur ad regnum ſibi paratum ab origine mundi; maledicti expelluntur in ignem æternum, qui præparatus eſt Diabolo & angelis eius. *Patric. de trib. habitac. MS. in Bibliotheca Regiâ Iacobeâ.*

ſome are lifted up to Heaven, others are drawne downe to Hell. namely, like are joyned unto like, that is to ſay, good to good, and bad to bad: juſt men to juſt Angels, wicked men to wicked Angels; the ſervants of God to God, the ſervants of the Divell to the Divell. The bleſſed are called to the Kingdome prepared for them from the beginning of the world: the curſed are driven into the everlaſting fire that is prepared for the Divell and his angels. Thus farre there.

Hitherto alſo may be referred that ancient Canon of one of our Iriſh Synods, wherein it is affirmed, that the ſoule being ſeparated from the body is [h] *preſented before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt, who rendreth it owne unto it, according as it hath done:* and that *neither the Archangel can leade it unto life, untill the Lord hath judged it; nor the Divell transport it unto paine, unleſſe the Lord doe damne it.* as the ſayings of *Sedulius* likewiſe; that after the end of this life, [i] *eyther death or life ſucceedeth*, and that [k] *death is the gate by which wee enter into our kingdome:* together with that of *Claudius*; that [l] *Chriſt did take upon him our puniſhment without the guilt, that thereby hee might looſe our guilt, and finiſh alſo our puniſhment.* Cardinall *Bellarmine* indeed alledgeth here againſt us the viſion of *Furſeus:* who [m] *riſing from the dead, told many things, which he ſaw concerning the paines of purgatory*; as *Bede*, he ſaith, doth write. But, by his good leave, we will be better

h Cuſtodit animam uſque dum ſteterit ante tribunal Chriſti; cui refert ſua prout geſſerit propria. Nec archangelus poteſt ducere ad vitam, uſque dum judicaverit eam Dominus; nec Zabulus ad pœnam traducere, niſi Dominus damnaverit eam. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. cod. Canonum, titulorum 66. MS in Bibliothecâ D. Roberti Cottoni.* Cuius initium: *Inter vetera Concilia, quatuor eſſe venerabiles Synodos, &c.* i Finem dixit exitum vitæ & actuum; cui aut mors, aut vita ſuccedit. *Sedul. in Rom. 7.* k Mors porta eſt, per quam itur ad regnum. *Id. in 1. Cor. 3.* l Suſcepit Chriſtus ſine reatu ſupplicium noſtrum; ut inde ſolveret reatum noſtrum, & finiret etiam ſupplicium noſtrum. *Claud. in Galat. 3.* m Beda lib. 3. *hiſt.* Anglor. cap. 19. ſcribit, B. Furſeum à mortuis reſurgentem narrâſſe multa, quæ vidit de purgatoriis pœnis. *Bellarm. de Purgator. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

adviſed,

adviſed, before wee build articles of faith upon ſuch viſions and dreames as theſe: many whereof deſerve to have a place among [n] *the ſtrange narrations of ſoules appearing after death*, collected by *Damaſcius* the heathen Idolater; rather than among the hiſtories and diſcourſes of ſober Chriſtians.

As for this viſion of *Furſeus*: all that *Bede* relateth of it to this purpoſe, is concerning certain great fires above the ayre, appointed to [o] *examine every one according to the merits of his workes.* which peradventure may make ſomething for *Damaſcius* his Purgatory in *Circulo lacteo* (for in that circle made hee [p] a way for the ſoules that went to the *Hades* in Heaven; and [q] would not have us wonder, that there they ſhould be purged by the way:) but nothing for the Papiſts Purgatory, which *Bellarmine* by the common conſent of the Schoolemen determineth to bee within the bowels of the earth. Neyther is there any thing elſe in the whole booke of the life of *Furſeus* (whence *Bede* borrowed theſe things) that looketh toward Purgatorie: unleſſe peradventure that ſpeech of the Divell may bee thought to give ſome advantage unto it. [r] *This man hath not purged his ſins upon earth; neither doth he receive puniſhment for them here. Where is therefore the juſtice of God?* as it Gods juſtice were not ſufficiently ſatisfied by the ſufferings of Chriſt; but man alſo muſt needs give further ſatisfaction thereunto by penall workes or ſufferings, eyther here, or in the other world. which is the ground, upon which our Romaniſts doe lay the rotten frame of their deviſed Purgatorie.

The later viſions of *Malachias*, *Tundal*, *Owen*, and others

n Δαμασκίε, περὶ τῆς μὴ θανάτου ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν, παραδόξων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια ῥέ. Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

o Etſi terribilis iſte & grandis rogus videtur, tamen iuxta merita operum ſingulos examinat: quia uniuſcuiuſque cupiditas in hoc igne ardebit. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 19.

p Ὁ δὲ ὁδὸς ὅτι τὸ γάλα τῆς διαπορευομένου τὸν ἐν ᾅδου Damaſc. apud Io. Philoponum in 1. Meteor. fol. 104. b.

q Καὶ ὃ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ μὴ ψυχαὶ καθαίρονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κυκλῳ τὸ ἐν ᾅδου γενέσεως. Id. ibid.

r Hic homo non purgavit delicta ſua in terrâ, nec vindictam hic recipit. Vbi eſt ergo iuſtitia Dei? Lib. vitæ Furſei.

others that lived within theſe laſt five hundred years; come not within the compaſſe of our preſent inquirie: nor yet the fables that have beene framed in thoſe times, touching the lives and actions of elder Saints; whereof no wiſe man will make any reckoning. Such (for example) is that which we read in the life of St. *Brendan*: that the queſtion being moved in his hearing, [f] *Whether the ſinnes of the dead could be redeemed by the prayers or almeſ-deeds of their friends remaining in this life* (for that was ſtill a queſtion in the Church:) he is ſaid to have told them, that on a certaine night, as hee ſayled in the great Ocean, the ſoule of one *Colman* [t] (who *had beene an angry Monke, and a ſower of diſcord betwixt brethren*) appeared unto him; who complaining of his grievous torments, intreated that prayers might be made to God for him, and after ſixe dayes thankefully acknowledged that by meanes thereof hee had gotten into heaven. Whereupon it is concluded, [u] *that the prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.* But of S. *Brendans* ſea-pilgrimage, we have the cenſure of *Molanus* a learned Romaniſt; that there bee [x] *many apocryphall fooleries* in it: and whoſoever readeth the ſame with any judgement, cannot chooſe but pronounce of it, as *Photius* doth of the *ſtrange narrations of Damaſcius*, formerly mentioned; that it containeth not only *apocryphall*, but alſo [y] *impoßible, incredible, ill-compoſed, and monſtrous* fooleries. Whereof though the old Legend it ſelfe were not free (as by the heads thereof, touched by *Glaber Rodulphus* and *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, may appeare) yet for the tale that I recited out of the [z] *New Legend* of *England*, I can ſay, that

f Si peccata mortuorum redimi poſſunt ab amicis ſuis remanentibus in hâc vitâ; orando, vel eleemoſynas faciendo. *Vit. Brendani, in Legendâ Io. Capgravii.*

t Colmannus, inquit, vocor: qui fui Monachus iracundus, diſcordiæque ſeminator inter fratres. *Ibid.*

u In hoc ergo, dilectiſsimi, apparet: quòd oratio vivorum multùm mortuis prodeſt. *Ib.*

x Multa apocrypha deliramenta. *Molan. in Uſuard. martyrolog. Mai. 26.*

y ἀδύνατα τε καὶ ἀπίθανα, καὶ κακόπλαστα τερατολογήματα καὶ μυθεύματα. Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

z Nova Legenda Angliæ. *impreſſ. Londin. an. 1516.*

that in the *manuſcript* books which I have met with-all here, in St. *Brendans* owne country, (one whereof was tranſcribed for the uſe of the Friars minors of *Kilkenny*, about the yeere of our Lord 1350.) there is not the leaſt footſtep thereof to be ſeene.

And this is a thing very obſervable in the ancienter lives of our Saints (ſuch I meane, as have beene written before the time of Sathans looſing; beyond which we doe not now looke:) that the prayers and oblations for the dead mentioned therein, are expreſly noted to have beene made for them, whoſe ſoules were ſuppoſed at the ſame inſtant to have reſted in bliſſe. So *Adamnanus* reporteth, that Saint *Colme* (called by the Iriſh, both in [a] *Bedes* and our dayes, *Colum-kille*) [b] cauſed all things to be prepared, for the ſacred miniſtry of the Euchariſt; when he had ſeene the ſoule of St. *Brendan* received by the holy Angels: and that hee did the like, when *Columbanus* Biſhop of *Leinſter* departed this life. for *I muſt to day* (ſaith St. *Colme* [c] there) *although I bee unworthy, celebrate the holy myſteries of the Euchariſt, for the reverence of that ſoule which this night, carried beyond the ſtarry firmament betwixt the holy Quires of Angels, aſcended into Paradiſe.* Whereby it appeareth, that an honourable commemoration of the dead was herein intended, and a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for their ſalvation rather than of propitiation for their ſinnes. In *Bede* alſo wee finde mention of the like obſequies celebrated by St. *Cuthbert* for one *Hadwaldus*; after [d] he *had ſeene his ſoule carried by the hands of*

a Qui videlicèt Columba nunc à nonnullis, compoſito à cella & Columba nomine, Colum-celli vocatur. *Bed. lib. 5. hiſt. ca. 10.*

b *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

c Meque (ait) hodiè, quamlibèt indignus ſim, ob veneration[em] illius animæ, quæ hâc in nocte inter ſanctos Angelorum choros vecta ultra ſiderea cœlorum ſpatia ad Paradiſum aſcendit, ſacra oportet Euchariſtiæ celebrare myſteria. *Ib. cap. 16.*

d Vidi, inquit, animam cujuſdam ſancti manibus Angelicis ad gaudia regni cœleſtis ferri. *Bed. in vit. Cuthbert. cap. 34.*

Angels

Angels unto the joyes of the kingdome of heaven. So *Gallus* and *Magnus* (as *Walafridus Strabus* relateth in the life of the one, and *Theodorus Campidonensis*, or whosoever else was author of the life of the other) [e] *said Masse* (which what it was in those dayes wee shall afterward heare) *and were instant in prayers for the commemoration* of Abbat *Columbanus* their countryman; [f] *frequenting the memory of that great Father, with holy prayers, and healthfull sacrifices.* Where that speech of *Gallus* unto his Deacon *Magnus* or *Magnoaldus*, is worthy of speciall consideration: [g] *After this nights watch, I understood by a vision, that my master and father Columbanus is to day departed out of the miseries of this life unto the joyes of Paradise. For his rest therefore I ought to offer the sacrifice of salvation.* In like manner also, when *Gallus* himselfe dyed; [h] *Iohn* Bishop of *Constance prayed to the Lord for his rest*, and *offered healthfull sacrifices for him*: although he were certainly perswaded that he had attained the blessing of everlasting life; as may bee seene in *Walafridus*. And when *Magnus* afterwards was in his death-bed, hee is said to have used these words unto *Tozzo* Bishop of *Ausborough*, that came to visit him. [i] *Doe not weepe, reverend Prelate,*

e Cœperunt missas agere, & precibus insistere pro commemoratione B. Columbani. *Walafrid. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 26. Theodor. vit. Magni, li. 1. cap. ult. edit. Goldasti, c. 12. Canisii.*

f Deinde tanti patris memoriam precibus sacris & sacrificiis salutaribus frequentaverunt. *Ibid.*

g Post hujus vigilias noctis, cognovi per visionem, Dominum & patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitæ angustiis hodie ad Paradisi gaudia commigrâsse. Pro ejus itaq; requie sacrificium salutis debeo immolare. *Ibid.* h Presbyter eum ut surgeret monuit, & pro requie defuncti ambitiosiùs Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque Ecclesias, & Episcopus pro carissimo salutares hostias immolavit amico. Finito autem fraternæ commemorationis obsequio, *&c. Walafrid. Strab. vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 30. qui etiam addit postea, Discipulos ejus*, pariter cum Episcopo orationem pro illo fecisse. *cap. 33.*

i Noli flere, venerabilis Præsul, quia me in tot mundialium perturbationum procellis laborantem conspicis: quoniam credo in misericordiâ Dei, quòd anima mea in immortalitatis libertate sit gavisura. tamen deprecor, ut orationibus tuis sanctis me peccatorem & animam meam non desinas adjuvare. *Theodor. Campiden. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni, lib. 2. cap. 13. edit. Goldasti, cap. 28. Canisii.*

because

becauſe thou beholdeſt me labouring in ſo many ſtormes of worldly troubles: becauſe I beleeve in the mercy of God, that my ſoule ſhall rejoyce in the freedome of immortalitie. yet I beſeech thee, that thou wilt not ceaſe to helpe mee a ſinner and my ſoule with thy holy prayers. Then followeth: that at the time of his departure, this voice was heard; [k] *Come, Magnus, come, receive the crowne which the Lord hath prepared for thee.* and that thereupon *Tozzo* ſaid unto *Theodorus* (the ſuppoſed writer of this hiſtory) [l] *Let us ceaſe weeping, brother; becauſe wee ought rather to rejoyce, having heard this ſigne of the receiving of his ſoule unto immortality, than to make lamentation. but let us goe to the Church, and be carefull to offer healthfull ſacrifices to the Lord for ſo deare a friend.*

k Veni, Magne, veni; accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus præparatam habet. *Ibid.*

l Ceſſemus flere, frater; quia potiùs nos oportet gaudere de animæ ejus in immortalitate ſumptæ hoc ſigno audito, quàm luctum facere: ſed eamus ad Eccleſiam, & pro tam chariſſimo amico ſalutares hoſtias Domino immolare ſtudeamus. Finito itaque fraternæ commemorationis obſequio, &c. *Ibid.*

I diſpute not of the credit of theſe particular paſſages: it is ſufficient, that the authors from whom wee have received them, lived within the compaſſe of thoſe times, whereof wee now doe treate. For thereby it is plaine enough (and if it be not, it ſhall elſewhere be made yet more plaine) that in thoſe elder dayes it was an uſuall thing, to make prayers and oblations for the reſt of thoſe ſoules, which were not doubted to have beene in glorie: and conſequently, that neither the *Commemoration* nor the *Praying for the dead*, nor the *Requiem Maſſes* of that age, have any neceſſary relation to the beleefe of *Purgatory*. The leſſon therefore which *Claudius* teacheth us here out of Saint *Hierome*, is very good: that [m] *while wee are in this preſent world, wee may bee*

m Dum in præſenti ſeculo ſumus, ſive orationibus, ſive conſiliis invicem poſſe nos adjuvari: cùm autem ante tribunal Chriſti venerimus, nec Iob, nec Daniel, nec Noe, rogare poſſe pro quoquam; ſed unumquemque portare onus ſuum. *Claud. in Gal. 6.*

able

able to helpe one another, either by our prayers or by our counsailes, but when wee shall come before the Iudgement seate of Christ, neither Iob, nor Daniel, nor Noah can intreate for any one, but every one must beare his owne burden. and the advice which the no lesse learned than godly Abbat *Columbanus* giveth us, is verie safe: not to pitch upon uncertainties hereafter, but now to *trust in God, and follow the precepts of Christ; while our life doth yet remaine, and while the times, wherein we may obtaine salvation, are certaine.*

n *Columban. in epist. ad Hunaldum.*

Vive Deo fidens (saith [n] he) *Christi præcepta sequēdo;*
Dum modò vita manet, dum tempora certa salutis.

Whereunto *Iohn* the Briton (another son of *Sulgen Bishop of St. Davids*) seemeth also to have had an eye, when (at the end of the Poëme which he wrote of his owne and his fathers life) he prayeth for himselfe in the same manner:

Vt genitor clemens solitâ pietate remittat
Factis aut dictis quæ gessi corde nefando;
Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina possunt.
Nam cum tartareis nullius cura subintrat.

Chap. IV.

Of the Worship of God, the publicke forme of Liturgie, the Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

TOuching the worship of God, *Sedulius* delivereth this generall rule: that [a] *to adore any other beside the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, is*

a Adorare alium præter Patrem & Filium, & Spiritum sanctum, impietatis crimen est. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.

the

the crime of impiety; and that [b] *all that the ſoule oweth unto God, if it beſtow it upon any beſide God, it committeth adultery.* More particularly, in the matter of *Images*, [c] hee reproveth the wiſe men of the heathen, for thinking that they had found out a way, *how the inviſible God might bee worſhipped by a viſible image*: with whom alſo accordeth *Claudius*; that [d] God is to bee *knowne, neither in mettall nor in ſtone.* and for *Oathes*, there is a Canon aſcribed to Saint *Patricke*; wherein it is determined, that [e] *no creature is to bee ſworne by, but onely the Creator.* As for the forme of the *Litugrie* or publicke ſervice of God, which the ſame St. *Patrick* brought into this country: it is ſaid, that hee received it from *Germanus* and *Lupus*; and that it originally deſcended from S. *Marke* the Evangeliſt. for ſo have I ſeene it ſet downe in an ancient fragment, written wellnigh 900. yeeres ſince: remaining now in the Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, my worthy friend; who can never ſufficiently bee commended, for his extraordinary care, in preſerving all rare monuments of this kinde. Yea St. *Hieromes* authority is there vouched for proofe hereof. *Beatus Hieronymus adfirmat, quòd ipſum curſum, qui dicitur præſente tempore Scottorum, beatus Marcus decantavit.* which being not now to bee found in any of Saint *Hieroms* workes, the truth thereof I leave unto the credit of the reporter.

But whatſoever *Liturgie* was uſed here at firſt: this is ſure, that in the ſucceeding ages no one generall forme of divine ſervice was retained, but diverſe rites and manners of celebrations were obſerved in diverſe parts of this Kingdome; untill the *Romane* uſe

b Totum quod debet Deo anima, ſi alicui præter Deum reddiderit, mœchatur. *Id. in Rom.* 2.

c Recedentes à lumine veritatis ſapientes; quaſi qui invenirent, quo modo inviſibilis Deus per ſimulacrum viſibile coleretur. *Id. in Rom.* 1.

d Deus non in manufactis habitat, nec in metallo aut ſaxo cognoſcitur. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Matth.*

e Non adjurandam eſſe creaturam aliam, niſi creatorem. *Synod. Patricy. can.* 23. *MS.*

use was brought in at last by *Gillebertus*, and *Malachias*, and *Christianus*, who were the Popes Legates here about 500. yeeres agoe. This *Gillebertus* (an old acquaintance of [f] *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) in the Prologue of his booke *De usu Ecclesiastico*, directed to the whole Clergie of Ireland, writeth in this manner. [g] *At the request, yea and at the command of many of you (dearely beloved) I endevoured to set downe in writing the Canonicall custome in saying of Houres, and performing the Office of the whole Ecclesiasticall Order; not presumptuously, but in desire to serve your most godly command: to the end that those diverse and schismaticall Orders, wherewith in a manner all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholicke and Romane Office. For what may bee said to bee more undecent or schismaticall; than that the most learned in one order, should bee made as a private and lay man in another mans Church?*

These beginnings were presently seconded by *Malachias*: in whose life, written by *Bernard*, wee reade as followeth. [h] *The Apostolicall constitutions, and the decrees of the holy Fathers, but especially the customes of the holy Church of Rome, did he establish in all Churches. And hence it is, that at this day the Canoni-*

f *Anselm. lib. 3. epist. 143.*

g Episcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gille Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Rogatu, nec non & præcepto multorum ex vobis (Charissimi) canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis Horis, & peragendo totius Ecclesiastici ordinis officio, scribere conatus sum; non præsumptivo, sed vestræ cupiens piissimæ servire jussioni: ut diversi & schismatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit; quàm doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius Ecclesiâ idiotam & laicum fieri? &c. *Prolog. Gille sive Gilleberti Lunicensis episc. De usu Ecclesiastic. MS. in Colleg. S. Benedict.* & publicâ academiæ Cantabrigiensis Bibliothecâ.

h Apostolicas sanctiones ac decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipuèque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ in cunctis ecclesiis statuebat. Hinc est quòd hodieque in illis ad horas canonicas cantatur & psallitur juxta morem universæ terræ: nam minimè id antè fiebat, ne in civitate quidem. Ipse verò in adolescentiâ cantum didicerat, & in suo cœnobio mox cantari fecit; cùm necdum in civitate seu in episcopatu universo cantare scirent, vel vellent. *Bernard. in vitâ Malachiæ.*

cath

call Houres are chanted and ſung therein, according to the manner of the whole earth: whereas before that, this was not done, no not in the Citie it ſelfe. (the poore city of *Ardmagh* he meaneth.) *But Malachias had learned ſong in his youth, and ſhortly after cauſed ſinging to be uſed in his own Monaſterie; when as yet, aſwell in the citie as in the whole Biſhoprick, they eyther knew not, or would not ſing.* Laſtly, the worke was brought to perfection, when *Chriſtianus* Biſhop of Liſmore, as Legate to the Pope, was Preſident in the Councell of *Caſhell*: wherein a ſpeciall order was taken for [i] *the right ſinging of the Eccleſiaſticall Office*; and a generall act eſtabliſhed, that [k] *all divine offices of holy Church ſhould from thenceforth be handled in all parts of Ireland, according as the Church of England did obſerve them.* The ſtatutes of which Councell were [l] confirmed by the Regall *authoritie* of King *Henry* the *ſecond*; [m] by whoſe *mandate*, the Biſhops that met therein were aſſembled, in the yeare of our Lord 1171. as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* witneſſeth, in his hiſtorie of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. And thus late was it, before the *Romane* uſe was fully ſettled in this Kingdome.

That the *Britons* uſed another manner in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament of *Baptiſme* than the *Romanes* did: appeareth by the propoſition made unto them by *Auſtin* the Monke; [n] *that they ſhould performe the miniſterie of baptiſme, according to the cuſtome of the Church of Rome.* That their forme of *Li-*

i Officium etiam Eccleſiaſticum ritè modulandum ſtatuerunt. *Iohan. Brampton, in Ioralanenſi hiſtoriâ. MS.*

k Omnia divina ad inſtar ſacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ, iuxta quod Anglicana obſervat Eccleſia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ amodo tractentur. *Giral. Cambr. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 1. cap. 34.*

l Concilii ſtatuta ſubſcripta ſunt, & Regiæ ſublimitatis authoritate firmata. *Id. ibid.*

m Ex ipſius tri- Vt miniſterium

umphatoris mandato, in civitate Caſſilienſi convenerunt. *Id. ibid.* n baptizandi, quo Deo renaſcimur, iuxta morem Sanctæ Romanæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ compleatis. *Bed. lib. 2. Hiſtor. cap. 2.*

turgie was the ſame with that which was received by their neighbours the *Galls*, is intimated by the Author of that ancient fragment before alledged: who alſo addeth, that the [o] *Gallican Order was received in the Church throughout the whole world.* Yet elſewhere doe I meete with a ſentence alledged out of *Gildas*; that [p] *the Britons were contrary to the whole world, and enemies to the Roman cuſtomes*, aſwell in their *Maſſe*, as in their *Tonſure*.

Where to let paſſe what I have collected touching the difference of theſe *tonſures* (as a matter of very ſmall moment eyther way) and to ſpeake ſomewhat of the *Maſſe* (for which ſo great adoe is now adayes made by our Romaniſts) wee may obſerve in the firſt place, that the publike *Liturgie* or ſervice of the Church, was of old named the *Maſſe*: even then alſo, when prayers only were ſaid, without the celebration of the holy Communion. So the laſt *Maſſe* that S. *Colme* was ever preſent at, is noted by [q] *Adamnanus* to have beene *veſpertinalis Dominicæ noctis Miſſa*. He dyed the *mid-night* following; whence the Lords day tooke his beginning (9° *viz. Iunii, Anno Dom.* 597.) according to the account of the Romanes: which the *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* ſeeme to have begunne from the *evening* going before. and then was that *evening Maſſe* ſaid: which in all likelihood, differed not from thoſe ἑσπερινὰς μίσσας mentioned by [r] *Leo* the Emperour in his *Tacticks*, that is to ſay, from that which we call *Even-ſong*, or *Evening prayer*. But the name of the *Maſſe* was in thoſe daies more ſpecially applied to the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper: & therfore in the ſame [s] *Adamnanus* we ſee that *Sacra Euchariſtia*

[o] Per univerſum orbé terrarum, in Eccleſiâ ordo curſus Gallorum diffuſus eſt. *Fragment. de Eccleſiaſticorum officiorum origine. MS. Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

[p] *Gildas ait.* Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici non ſolùm in Miſſâ, ſed etiam in tonſurâ. *Cod. Canonum. titulorum 66. MS. in eâdem Bibliothecâ.*

[q] *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 31.*

[r] *Leon. Tactic. cap. 11. ſect. 18*

[s] *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

Eucharistiæ ministeria and *Missarum solemnia*, the *sacred ministerie of the Eucharist* and *the solemnities of the Masse*, are taken for the same thing. So likewise in the[t] relation of the passages that concerne the obsequies of *Columbanus*, performed by *Gallus* and *Magnoaldus*; we finde that *Missam celebrare* and *Missas agere*, is made to be the same with *Divina celebrare mysteria* and *Salutis hostiam* (or *salutare sacrificium*) *immolare*: the saying of *Masse*, the same with the *celebration of the divine mysteries* and the *oblation of the healthfull sacrifice*. for by that terme was the administration of the *sacrament of the Lords Supper* at that time usually designed.

t *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 26. Theodor. Campidonens. vel quicunq; author fuit Vit. Magni, lib. 1. cap. 9. edit. Goldast. cap. 12. Canisii.*

For as in our [u] beneficence, and communicating unto the necessities of the poore (which are *sacrifices* wherewith God is well pleased) wee are taught to [x] give both our selves and our almes, first unto the Lord, and after unto our brethren by the will of God: so is it in this ministery of the blessed Sacrament. the service is first presented unto God, (from which, as from a most principall part of the dutie, the sacrament it selfe is called the *Eucharist*; because therein wee [y] offer a speciall sacrifice of praise and thankesgiving alwaies unto God) and then communicated unto the use of Gods people. in the performance of which part of the service, both the minister was said to *give*, and the communicant to *receive the sacrifice*: as well as in respect of the former part, they were said to *offer* the same unto the Lord. For they did not distinguish the *Sacrifice* from the *Sacrament*, as the Romanists doe now adayes: but used the name of *Sacrifice* indifferently, both of that which

u *Heb. 13. 16.*

x *2 Cor. 8. 5.*

y *Heb. 13. 15.*

was *offered* unto God, and of that which was *given* to and *received* by the communicant. Therefore wee read of *offring the sacrifice* to God: as in that speech of *Gallus* to his scholler *Magnoaldus*, [z] *My master Columbanus is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brasen vessels.* Of *giving the sacrifice* to man: as when it is said in one of the ancient Synods of *Ireland*, that [a] a Bishop by his Testament may bequeath a certaine proportion of his goods for a legacie *to the Priest that giveth him the sacrifice.* and of *receiving the sacrifice* from the hands of the minister: as in that sentence of the Synod attributed unto S. *Patrick*; [b] *He who deserveth not to receive the sacrifice in his life, how can it help him after his death?* and in that glosse of *Sedulius* upon 1. Cor. 11. 33. [c] *Tarry one for another*, that is, (saith he) *untill you doe receive the sacrifice.* and in the *Brittish* antiquities: where we reade of *Amon* a noble man in Wales (father to *Samson* the Saint of *Dole* in little Brittain) that [d] *being taken with a grievous sickness, hee was admonished by his neighbours, that according to the usuall manner he should receive the sacrifice of the communion.* Whereby it doth appeare, that the *sacrifice* of the elder times was not like unto the new *Masse* of the Romanists, wherein the Priest alone doth all; but unto our *Communion*, where others also have free libertie given unto them to [e] eat of the Altar, as well as they that serve the Altar.

Again, they that are communicants in the Romish *sacrament*, receive the Eucharist in one kinde onely:

z Præceptor meus B. Columbanus in vasis æneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

a Testamentũ Episcopi sive principis est; 10. scripuli Sacerdoti danti sibi sacrificium. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. lib. Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.*

b Qui in vitâ suâ non meretur sacrificiũ accipere: quomodo post mortem illi potest adjuvare? *Synod. Patric. cap. 12. MS.*

c Invicem expectate, id est, usque quo sacrificium accipiatis. *Sedul. in 1 Cor. 11.*

d Gravi infirmitate depressus, à suis commonitus est vicinis, ut iuxta morem susciperet sacrificium communionis, *Ex vitâ S. Samsonis MS. in libro Landavensis Ecclesiæ vocat.* Tilo.

e Hebr. 13. 10.

the Prieſt in offering of the *ſacrifice* receiveth the ſame diſtinctly, both by way of meat and by way of drinke; which they tell us [f] is chiefly done, *for the integritie of the Sacrifice and not of the Sacrament.* For in the *Sacrifice*, they ſay, [g] *the ſeverall elements be conſecrated, not into Chriſts whole perſon as it was borne of the Virgin or now is in heaven: but the bread into his body apart, as betrayed, broken, and given for us; the wine into his bloud apart, as ſhed out of his bodie for remiſsion of ſinnes and dedication of the new Teſtament, which bee conditions of his perſon as hee was in ſacrifice and oblation.* But our anceſtours, in the uſe of their *Sacrament*, received the Eucharist in both kinds: not being ſo acute as to diſcerne betwixt the things that belonged unto the integritie of the *ſacrifice* and of the *ſacrament*; becauſe in very truth, they tooke the one to be the other.

f Id fit potiſſimùm ob ſacrificii, non ob Sacramenti integritatem. *Bellarmin. de ſacrament. Euchariſt. lib. 4. cap. 22. in fine.*

g *Rhem. annotat. in Matth. 26. 26.*

Thus *Bede* relateth, that one *Hildmer*, an officer of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, intreated of *Cuthbert* [h] to ſend a Prieſt that might *miniſter the ſacraments of the Lords body and bloud* unto his wife that then lay a dying: and *Cuthbert* himſelfe, immediately before his owne departure out of this life, received the *communion of the Lords body and bloud*; as [i] *Herefride* Abbat of the monaſterie of *Lindisfarne* (who was the man that at that time miniſtred the ſacrament unto him) made report unto the ſame *Bede*. who elſewhere alſo particularly noteth, that he then taſted of the *cup*.

h Mittas preſbyterum qui illam, priuſquam moriatur, viſitet; eique Dominici corporis & ſanguinis ſacramenta miniſtret. *Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. proſ. cap. 15.*

i Acceptis à me ſacramentis ſalutaribus exitum ſuum, quem iam veniſſe cognovit, Dominici corporis & ſanguinis communione munivit. *Ibid. cap. 39.*

k Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum
Sanguine munit iter.

k Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. carm. cap. 36.

lest any man should thinke, that under the formes of *bread* alone he might be said to have been partaker of the *body* and *blood* of the Lord, by way of *Concomitance*: which is a toy, that was not once dreamed of in those daies. So that we need not to doubt, what is meant by that which wee reade in the booke of the life of *Furseus* (which was written before the time of *Bede*) that l *he received the communion of the holy body and blood*; and that hee was wished to admonish m the Pastors of the Church, that they should strengthen the soules of the faithfull *with the spirituall food of doctrine, and the participation of the holy body and blood.* or of that which *Cogitosus* writeth in the life of Saint *Brigid*, touching the place in the Church of *Kildare*; n whereunto the Abbatesse with her maidens and widowes used to resort, *that they might enjoy the banquet of the body and blood of Iesus Christ.* which was agreeable to the practice, not only of the Nunneries founded beyond the seas according to the rule of *Columbanus*; where the Virgins o *received the body of the Lord, and sipped his blood* (as appeareth by that which *Ionas* relateth of *Domna*, in the life of *Burgundofara*:) but also of S. *Brigid* her selfe, who was the foundresse of the monasterie of *Kildare*; one of whose miracles is reported, even in the later Legends, to have happened when shee was

l Petivitque & accepit sacri corporis & sanguinis communionem. *Author antiqu. Vitæ Fursei.*

m Principes & doctores Ecclesiæ Christi, animas fidelium ad pœnitentiæ lamentum post culpas provocent; & eas spirituali pastu doctrinæ, ac sacri corporis & sanguinis participatione solidas reddant. *Ibid.*

n Per alterum horum Abbatissa cum suis puellis & viduis fidelibus tantum frueretur, (sæp. intrat) ut convivio corporis & sanguinis fruantur Iesu Christi. *Cogitos. vit. Brigid.*

o Quædam cui his nomine Domna, cum jam corpus Domini accepisset, ac sanguinem libasset. *Ion. Vit. Burgundofor.*

about

about to *drinke out of the Chalice*, at the time of her receiving of the *Eucharist*. which they that list to looke after, may finde in the collections of *Capgrave*, *Surius*, and such like.

But, you will say; these testimonies that have beene alledged, make not so much for us, in proving the use of the *communion under both kindes*, as they make against us, in confirming the opinion of *Transubstantiation*: seeing they all specifie the receiving, not of *bread* and *wine*, but of the *body* and *bloud* of *Christ*. I answer, that forasmuch as *Christ* himselfe at the first institution of his holy Supper did say expresly; *This is my body*, and, *This is my bloud*: hee deserveth not the name of a *Christian*, that will question the truth of that saying, or refuse to speake in that language, which hee hath heard his Lord and Master use before him. The question onely is, in what sense, and after what manner, these things must bee conceived to bee his *body* and *bloud*. Of which there needed to be little question: if men would bee pleased to take into their consideration these two things; which were never doubted of by the ancient, and have most evident ground in the context of the Gospel. *First*, that the *subject* of those sacramentall propositions delivered by our Saviour (that is to say, the demonstrative particle THIS) can have reference to no other substance, but that which hee then held in his sacred hands, namely, *bread* & *wine*: which are of so different a nature from the *body* and *bloud* of *Christ*, that the one cannot possibly in *proper* sense be said to be the other; as the light of common reason doth force the Romanists themselves to con-

fesse. *Secondly*, that in the *Predicate*, or latter part of the same propositions, there is not mention made only of *Christs body* and *bloud*; but of his *body broken*, and his *bloud shed*: to shew, that his *body* is to be considered here apart, not *as it was borne of the Virgin, or now is in heaven*, but as it was *broken* and crucified for us; and his *bloud* likewise apart, not as running in his veines, but *as shed out of his body*; which the *Rhemists* have told us to be *conditions of his person, as hee was in sacrifice and oblation*.

And lest wee should imagine, that his body were otherwise to bee considered in the *sacrament* than in the *sacrifice*; in the one *alive*, as it is now in heaven, in the other *dead*; as it was offered upon the Crosse: the Apostle putteth the matter out of doubt, that not onely the minister in offering, but also the people in receiving, even [p] *as often as they eate this bread, and drinke this cup, doe shew the Lords death until hee come*. Our elders surely, that held the *sacrifice* to bee *given* and *received* (for so we have heard themselves speak) as well as *offered*; did not consider otherwise of *Christ* in the sacrament, than *as hee was in sacrifice and oblation*. If here therefore, *Christs body* be presented as broken and liveless, and his *bloud* as shed forth and severed from his body; and it be most certaine, that there are no such things now *really* existent any where (as is confessed on all hands:) then must it follow necessarily, that the bread and wine are not converted into these things *really*. The [q] *Rhemists* indeede tell us, that when the Church doth offer and sacrifice *Christ* daily; *hee in mysterie and sacrament dyeth*. Further than this they durst not goe: for if they

p. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

q. *Rhem. in Mat. 26. 26.*

they had ſaid, hee dyed *really*; they ſhould thereby not only make themſelves daily killers of *Chriſt*, but alſo directly croſſe that principle of the Apoſtle, Rom. 6. 9. *Chriſt being raiſed from the dead dyeth no more.* If then the body of *Chriſt* in the adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt* be propounded as *dead* (as hath been ſhewed) and dye it cannot *really*, but onely in *myſterie and ſacrament*: how can it be thought to bee contained under the outward elements, otherwiſe than *in ſacrament and myſterie?* and ſuch as in times paſt were ſaid to have received the *ſacrifice* from the hand of the Prieſt; what other *body* and *bloud* could they expect to receive therein, but ſuch as was ſutable to the nature of that ſacrifice, to wit, *myſticall and ſacramentall?*

Cœlius Sedulius (to whom *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, with his Synod of LXX. Biſhops, giveth the title of [r] *venerable Sedulius*; as *Venantius Fortunatus* of [f] *conſpicuous Sedulius*; and *Hildephonſus Toletanus* of the [t] *good Sedulius, the Evangelicall Poet, the eloquent Orator, and the Catholicke Writer*) is by *Trithemius* and others ſuppoſed to be the ſame with our [u] *Sedulius* of *Scotland* (or *Ireland*) whoſe Collections are extant upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtles: although I have forborne hitherto to uſe any of his teſtimonies, becauſe I have ſome reaſon to doubt, whether hee were the ſame with our *Sedulius* or no. But *Cœlius Sedulius* (whatſoever countryman hee was) intimateth plainly, that the things offered in the Chriſtian ſacrifice,

r Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paſchale opus, quod heroicis deſcripſit verſibus, inſigni laude præferimus. *Synod. Roman. ſub Gelaſio.*

f Hinc quoque conſpicui radiavit lingua Seduli. *Venant. Fortunat. de vitâ S. Martini, lib. 1.*

t Bonus Sedulius, poëta Evangelicus, Orator facundus, ſcriptor catholicus. *Hildephonſ. Toletan. ſerm. 5. de aſſumpt. Mariæ.*

u Sedulii Scoti Hibernienſis, in omnes epiſtolas Pauli Collectan: *excuſ. Baſil. an. 1528.*

are

are *the fruit of the corne and of the vine*:

x *Sedul. Carm. Paschal. lib. 4.*

x *Denique Pontificum princeps summusque Sacerdos*
Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libaminis author,
Ordine Melchisedech, cui dantur munera semper
Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, & gaudia vitis.)

y Triticeæ sementis cibus suavis, & amœnæ vitis potus amabilis. *Id. prosl. lib. 4. ca. 4.*

z Melchisedech vinum & panem obtulit Abraham, in figuram Christi, corpus & sanguinem suum Deo patri in cruce offerentis. *Seaul. in Heb. 5.*

a Nos verò in commemorationem Dominicæ semel passionis quotidie nostræque salutis offerimus. *Id. in Heb. 10.*

b Suam memoriam nobis reliquit: quemadmodum si quis peregrè proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat; ut quoticscunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. *Id. in 1 Cor. 11.*

c Voluit antè discipulis suis tradere sacramentum corporis & sanguinis sui, quod significavit in fractione corporis & effusione calicis; & postea ipsum corpus immolari in ara Crucis. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.*

or, as hee expresseth it in his prose; y *the sweete meate of the seede of wheate, and the lovely drinke of the pleasant vine.* Of *Melchisedek* (according to whose order *Christ*, and he onely, was Priest) our owne *Sedulius* writeth thus: z *Melchisedek offered wine & bread to Abraham for a figure of Christ, offering his body and bloud unto God his Father upon the Crosse.* Where note, that *first* hee saith, *Melchisedek* offered bread and wine to *Abraham*, not to *God*: and *secondly*, that hee was a figure of *Christ* offering his body and bloud *upon the crosse*, not in the *Eucharist*. But *we* (saith a he) *doe offer daily, for a commemoration of the Lords passion* (*once* performed) *and our owne salvation.* and elsewhere, expounding those words of our Saviour, *Doe this in remembrance of me*; hee bringeth in this similitude, used before and after him by others. b *He left a memory of himselfe unto us: even as if one that were going a farre journey, should leave some token with him whom hee loved; that as oft as hee beheld it, hee might call to remembrance his benefits and friendship.*

Claudius noteth, that our Saviours c pleasure was, first *to deliver unto his Disciples the sacrament of his bodie and bloud; and afterwards to offer up the body it selfe upon the altar of the crosse.* Where at the first sight I

did

did verily thinke, that in the words *fractione corporis* an error had beene committed in my tranſcript (*corporis* being miſwritten for *panis*) but afterwards comparing it with the originall, whence I tooke my copie, I found that the author retained the manner of ſpeaking uſed both [d] before and [e] after his time; in giving the name of the thing ſignified unto the ſigne, even there where the direct intention of the ſpeech was to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. For hee doth expreſly here diſtinguiſh *the ſacrament of the bodie*, which was delivered unto the Diſciples, from *the body it ſelfe*, which was afterwards offered upon the Croſſe: and for the ſacramentall relation betwixt them both, hee rendreth this reaſon. [f] *Becauſe bread doth confirme the body, and wine doth worke bloud in the fleſh: therefore the one is myſtically referred to the body of Chriſt, the other to his bloud.* Which doctrine of his (that the ſacrament is in it owne nature *bread* and *wine*, but the *body* and *bloud* of *Chriſt* by myſticall relation) was in effect the ſame with that which long afterwards was here in Ireland delivered by *Henry Crumpe* the Monke of *Baltinglas*, [g] that *the bodie of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar was onely a looking glaſſe to the body of Chriſt in heaven*: yea and within fifty or threeſcore yeeres of the time of *Claudius Scotus* himſelfe, was ſo fully maintained by *Iohannes Scotus* in a booke that hee purpoſely wrote of that argument; that when it was alledged and extolled by *Berengarius*, Pope *Leo* (the *ninth*) with his Biſhops aſſembled *in Synodo Vercellenſi*, an°. Domini, 1050 (which was 235. yeeres after the time that *Claudius* wrote his commentaries upon St. *Matthew*) had

d *See* Chryſoſtom, Theodoret, *and* Ephræmius Antiochenus, *in the Anſwer to the Ieſuit, pag. 66, 67. of the laſt edition.*

e Apud Rathrannum (ſive Bertramum) & Ælfricum, paſſim.

f Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum verò ſanguinem operatur in carne: hic ad corpus Chriſti myſticè, illud refertur ad ſanguinem. *Id. ibid.*

g Quòd corpus Chriſti in altaris ſacramento eſt ſolum ſpeculum ad corpus Chriſti in cœlo. *Ex actis illuſtris Andreæ Midenſis epiſcopi contra Henr. Crumpe, anno 1384. quæ MS°. habeo.*

had no other meanes to avoide it, but by flat [h] condemning of it. Of what great eſteeme this *Iohn* was with king *Alfred*, may be ſeene in *William* of *Malmeſbury*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and other writers of the Engliſh hiſtory. The king himſelfe, in the Preface before his Saxon tranſlation of St. *Gregories* Paſtorall, profeſſeth that he was holpen in that worke by [i] *Iohn* his *Maſſe-prieſt*. By whom if he did meane this *Iohn* of ours: you may ſee, how in thoſe dayes a man might be held a *Maſſe-prieſt*, who was far enough from thinking that he offered up the very *body* and *bloud* of *Chriſt* really preſent under the formes of bread and wine; which is the onely *Maſſe* that our Romaniſts take knowledge of.

h Iohannis Scoti liber de Euchariſtiâ lectus eſt, ac damnatus. *Lanfranc. de Euchariſt. contr. Berengar.*

i Iohanne mjnū mæſſepꝛeoſtę. *Ælfred. præfat. in Gregor. Paſtoral. Saxonic.*

Of which wonderfull point how ignorant our elders were, even this alſo may be one argument: that the author of the booke *of the wonderfull things of the holy Scripture* (before alledged) paſſeth this quite over, which is now eſteemed to be the wonder of all wonders. And yet doth he profeſſe, that he [k] *purpoſed to paſſe over nothing of the wonders of the Scripture, wherein they might ſeeme notably to ſwerve from the ordinary adminiſtration in other things.*

k. Præſertim cùm ex mirabilibus Scripturæ Dominicæ nil prætermiſerim diſpoſui, in quibus à miniſterio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Scriptur. cap. 21.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Chriſme, Sacramentall Confeſſion, Penance, Abſolution, Marriage, Divorces, and ſingle life in the Clergie.

THat the Iriſh [a] did baptize their infants without any conſecrated *Chriſme*, *Lanfranc* maketh complaint in his letters to *Terdeluacus* (or *Tirlagh*) the chiefe King of that country. And *Bernard* reporteth, that *Malachias* in his time (which was after the daies of *Lanfranc* and Pope *Hildebrand*) did [b] *of the new inſtitute the moſt wholeſome uſe of Confeſſion, the ſacrament of Confirmation, and the contract of marriages: all which* he ſaith the *Iriſh* before were *either ignorant of, or did neglect*. Which, for the matter of *Confeſſion*, may receive ſome further confirmation from the teſtimonie of *Alcuinus*: who writing unto the *Scottiſh* (or, as other copies read, the *Gothiſh*) and commending the religious converſation of their laity, who [c] *in the midſt of their worldly imployments were ſaid to leade a moſt chaſte life*; condemneth notwithſtanding another cuſtome, which was ſaid to have continued in that country. For [d] *it is ſaid* (quoth he) *that no man of the laity will make his confeſſion to the Prieſts; whom we beleeve to have received from the Lord Chriſt, the power of binding and looſing, together with the holy Apoſtles.*

a Quod infantes baptiſmo ſine Chriſmate conſecrato baptizantur. *Lanfranc. epiſt. MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ: & apud Baron. an. 1089. num. 16. ubi tamen* ſive *malè habetur pro* ſine.

b Vlum ſaluberrimum Confeſſionis, ſacramentum Confirmationis, contractum conjugiorum (quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo inſtituit. *Bernard. in vitâ Malachiæ.*

c Inter mundanas occupationes caſtiſſimam vitam rationabili conſideratione degere dicuntur. *Alcuin. epiſt. 26. edit. H. Caniſii, 71. Andreæ Quercetani.*

d Dicitur verò neminem ex Laicis ſuam velle Confeſſionem ſacerdotibus dare: quos à Deo Chriſto cum ſanctis Apoſtolis ligandi ſolvendiq; poteſtatem accepiſſe credimus. *Ibid.*

They

They had no reaſon indeed to hold (as *Alcuinus* did) that they ought to confeſſe unto a Prieſt all the ſinnes they could remember: but upon ſpeciall occaſions, they did (no doubt) both publikely and privately make confeſſion of their faults; aſwell that they might receive counſaile and direction for their recovery, as that they might bee made partakers of the benefit of the keyes, for the quieting of their troubled conſciences. Whatſoever the *Gothiſh* did herein (by whom wee are to underſtand the inhabitants of *Languedok* in France, where *Alcuinus* lived) ſure wee are, that this was the practice of the ancient *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh*. So wee reade of one *Fiachna* or *Fechnaus*, that being touched with remorſe for ſome offence committed by him, he fell at St. *Colmes* feet, lamented bitterly, and [e] *confeſſed his ſinnes before all that were there preſent*. Whereupon the holy man, weeping together with him, is ſaid to have returned this anſwer: [f] *Riſe up, Sonne, and bee comforted, thy ſinnes which thou haſt committed are forgiven; becauſe (as it is written) a contrite and an humbled heart God doth not deſpiſe*. We reade alſo of *Adamanus*, that being very much terrified with the remembrance of a grievous ſinne committed by him in his youth; he [g] *reſorted unto a Prieſt, by whom hee hoped the way of ſalvation might bee ſhewed unto him, hee confeſſed his guilt, and intreated that hee would give him counſell, whereby hee might flee from the wrath of God that was to come*.

e Coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata ſua confeſſus eſt. *Adamnan. vit. Columb. lib. 1. cap. 16. (vel 20. in MS.)*

f Surge fili, & conſolare: dimiſſa ſunt tua, quæ commiſiſti, peccamina. quia ſicut ſcriptum eſt; Cor contritum & humiliatum Deus non ſpernit. *Ibid.*

g Accedens ad ſacerdotem, à quo ſibi ſperabat iter ſalutis poſſe demonſtrari; confeſſus eſt reatum ſuum, petiitque ut conſilium ſibi daret, quo poſſet fugere à venturâ Dei irâ. *Bed. lib. 4. hiſtor. cap. 25.*

Now

Now the counſell commonly given unto the Penitent after Confeſſion, was; that hee ſhould [h] wipe away his ſinnes *by meet fruits of repentance:* which courſe *Bede* obſerveth to have beene uſually preſcribed by our *Cuthbert*. For *penances* were then exacted, as teſtimonies of the ſincerity of that inward repentance which was neceſſarily required for obtaining remiſſion of the ſinne: and ſo had reference to the taking away of the guilt, and not of the temporall puniſhment remaining after the forgiveneſſe of the guilt; which is the new found uſe of penances, inventedby our later Romaniſts. One old Penitentiall Canon wee finde laid downe in a Synod held in this country about the yeere our Lord CCCCL. by S. *Patrick, Auxilius*, and *Iſſerninus:* which is as followeth.

[i] *A Chriſtian who hath kild a man, or committed fornication, or gone unto a Southſayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every of thoſe crimes ſhall doe a yeere of Penance: when his yeere of penance is accompliſhed, he ſhall come with witneſſes, and afterward hee ſhall bee abſolved by the Prieſt.* Theſe Biſhops did take order (we ſee) according to the diſcipline generally uſed in thoſe times, that the penance ſhould firſt be performed; and when long & good proofe had bin given by that means of the truth of the parties repentance, they wiſhed the Prieſt to impart unto him the benefit of *Abſolution*. wheras by the new device of ſacramentall penance the matter is now far more eaſily tranſacted: by vertue of the keyes the ſinner is inſtantly of *attrite* made *contrite*, and thereupon as ſoon as hee hath made his *Confeſſion* hee preſently receiveth his *Abſolution*: after this, ſome ſorry *penance* is impoſed, which

[h] Confeſſa dignis (ut imperabat) pœnitentiæ fructibus abſtergerent. *Id. ibid. cap.* 27.

[i] Chriſtianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more Gentilium ad aruſpicem meaverit; per ſingula crimina annum pœnitentiæ agat, impleto cum teſtibus veniat anno Pœnitentiæ, & poſteà reſolvetur à ſacerdote. *Synod. Patricij, Auxilij & Iſſernini MS. in Bibliothecâ Collegii Benedict. Cantabrig.*

which upon better conſideration may bee converted into *pence*; and ſo a quicke end is made of many a foule buſineſſe.

But for the right uſe of the keyes, we fully accord with *Claudius*: that [k] *the office* of remitting and retaining ſinnes which was given unto the Apoſtles, *is now in the Biſhops and Prieſts committed unto every Church: namely, that having taken knowledge of the cauſes of ſuch as have ſinned, as many as they ſhall behold humble and truly penitent, thoſe they may now with compaſſion abſolve from the feare of everlaſting death; but ſuch as they ſhall diſcerne to perſiſt in the ſins which they have committed, thoſe they may declare to be bound over unto never ending puniſhments.* And in thus abſolving ſuch as be truly penitent, we willingly yeeld, that the Paſtors of Gods Church doe *remit ſinnes* after their manner, that is to ſay, miniſterially and improperly: ſo that the priviledge of forgiving ſinnes properly and abſolutely, bee ſtill reſerved unto God alone. Which is at large ſet out by the ſame *Claudius*; where hee expoundeth the hiſtorie of the man ſicke of the palſey, that was cured by our Saviour in the ninth of S. *Matthew*. For, following *Bede* upon that place, he writeth thus. [l] *The Scribes ſay true, that none can forgive ſinnes but God alone; who alſo forgiveth by them, to whom hee hath given the power of forgiving. And therefore is Chriſt proved to bee truely God, becauſe he forgiveth ſinnes as God. They render a true teſtimony unto God: but in denying the perſon of*

[k] Necnon etiam nunc in Epiſcopis ac Presbyteris omni Eccleſiæ officium idem committitur: ut videlicèt agnitis peccantium cauſſis, quoſcunq; humiles ac verè pœnitentes aſpexerint, hos iam à timore perpetuæ mortis ſeſerantes abſolvant, quos vero in peccatis quæ egerint perſiſtere cognoverint, illos perennibus ſuppliciis obligandos inſinuent. *Claud in Matth. lib 2.*

[l] Verum dicunt Scribæ, quia nemo dimittere peccata niſi ſolus Deus poteſt; qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit poteſtatem. Et ideò Chriſtus verè Deus eſſe probatur; quia dimittere peccata quaſi Deus poteſt. Verum Deo teſtimonium reddunt; ſed perſonam Chriſti negando falluntur. *Id. in Matth. lib. 1.*

Chriſt,

Chriſt, they are deceived. and againe: [m] *If it bee God that, according to the Pſalmiſt, removeth our ſins as far from us, as the Eaſt is diſtant from the Weſt; and the Sonne of man hath power upon earth to forgive ſinnes: therefore hee himſelfe is both God and the Sonne of man. that both the man Chriſt might by the power of his divinitie forgive ſinnes; and the ſame Chriſt being God, might by the frailtie of his humanitie dye for ſinners.* and out of S. *Hierome:* [n] Chriſt *ſheweth himſelfe to bee God, who can know the hidden things of the heart; and after a ſort holding his peace he ſpeaketh. By the ſame majeſtie and power, whereby I behold your thoughts, I can alſo forgive ſinnes unto men.* In like manner doth the author of the booke *of the wonderfull things of the Scripture* obſerve theſe [o] *divine workes* in the ſame hiſtorie: *the forgiving of ſinnes, the preſent cure of the diſeaſe, & the anſwering of the thoughts by the mouth of God who ſearcheth all things.* With whom, for the propertie of beholding the ſecret thoughts, *Sedulius* alſo doth concurre, in thoſe ſentences. [p] *God alone can know the hidden things of men.* [q] *To know the hearts of men, and to diſcerne the ſecrets of their minde, is the priviledge of God alone.*

That the *contract of Marriages*, was either unknown or neglected by the *Iriſh*, before *Malachias* did inſtitute the ſame anew among them (as *Bernard* doth ſeeme to intimate) is a thing almoſt incredible. al-

m Si & Deus eſt, iuxta Pſalmiſtam, qui quantum diſtat Oriens ab occaſu elongavit à nobis iniquitates noſtras; & filius hominis poteſtatem habet in terrâ dimittendi peccata: ergò idem ipſe & Deus & filius hominis eſt. ut & homo Chriſtus per divinitatis ſuæ potentiam peccata dimittere poſſit; & idem Deus Chriſtus per humanitatis ſuæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. *Ibid.*

n Oſtendit ſe Deum, qui poteſt cordis occulta cognoſcere; & quodam modo tacens loquitur. Eâdem maieſtate & potentiâ quâ cogitationes veſtras intueor,

poſſum & hominibus delicta dimittere. *Ibid.* o In paralytico à quatuor viris portato, quatuor divina opera cernuntur. Dum dimittuntur ei peccata, & præſentis ægritudinis plaga verbo tunc ſolvitur, & cogitationibus in ore Dei omnia ſcrutantis reſponderur. *Auth. lib. de Mirabilib. S. Scriptur. lib. 3. cap. 7.* p Deus ſolus poteſt occulta hominum ſcire. *Sedul. in Rom. 2.* q Corda hominum nôſſe ſolius Dei eſt, & mentis ſecreta agnoſcere. *Id. ibid.*

though[r] *Giraldus Cambrensis* doth complaine, that the case was little better with them after the time of *Malachias* also. The licentiousnesse of those ruder times, I know, was such, as may easily induce us to beleeve, that a great both neglect and abuse of Gods ordinance did get footing among this people. Which enormities *Malachias*, no doubt, did labour to reforme: and withall peradventure brought in some new matters, not knowne here before; as hee was very desirous his country men should generally conforme themselves unto the traditions and customes of the Church of *Rome*. But our purpose is here only to deale with the doctrine and practice of the elder times: in which, *first*, that Marriage was not held to bee a *sacrament*, may bee collected from [s] *Sedulius*, who reckoneth it among those things, which are *gifts indeed, but not spirituall.*

Secondly, for the *degrees of Consanguinitie* hinde-ring marriage, the Synod attributed unto St. *Patricke* seemeth to referre us wholly unto the Levitical law; prescribing therein [t] *neyther lesse nor more than the Law speaketh*: and particularly, against matching with *the wife of the deceased brother* (which was the point so much questioned in the case of King *Henrie* the *eighth*) this [u] Synodicall decree is there urged. *The brother may not ascend into the bed of his deceased brother*: *the Lord having said*, *They two shall bee one flesh. Therefore the wife of thy brother, is thy sister.* Whereupon we finde also, that our *Kilianus* did suf-

[r] Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt: nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestus vitant. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. distinct.* 3. *cap.* 19. *Vide etiam Lanfranci epist. ad Gothricum & Terdeluacum reges Hibern. apud Baronium, an.* 1089. *num.* 13. *&* 16.

[s] Videtur indicare, esse aliquid quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale: ut Nuptiæ. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.

[t] De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minùs nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur, nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse. *Synod. Patric. cap.* 25. *MS.*

[u] Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat: Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne unâ. Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est. *Ibid. cap.* 25. *& in Excerptis è Iure Sacerdotali Egberti archiepisc. per Hucarium Levitam. MS.*

fer

fer martyrdome for [x] diſſolving ſuch an inceſtuous marriage in *Gozbertus* Duke of Franconia: and that *Clemens Scotus* for maintaining the contrary was both by [y] *Boniface* Archbiſhop of Mentz, and the [z] Councell held at Rome by Pope *Zacharie* in the yeare DCCXLV. condemned as a bringer in of *Iudaiſme* amongſt Chriſtians. Yet how farre this condemned opinion of his prevailed afterward in this countrey, and how foule a crime it was eſteemed to be by others abroad (notwithſtanding the Pope doth now by his Buls of diſpenſation take upon him to make a faire matter of it) may eaſily be perceived by this cenſure of *Giraldus*: [a] Moreover, ſaith hee, *which is very deteſtable, and moſt contrary not only to the faith, but alſo unto common honeſty; brethren in many places throughout Ireland do, I ſay not marry, but marre rather and ſeduce the wives of their deceaſed brothers, while in this ſort they filthily and inceſtuouſly have knowledge of them: cleaving herein not to the marrow but to the barke of the Old Teſtament, and deſiring to imitate the ancient in vices more willingly than in vertues.*

Thirdly, touching *divorces*, wee reade in *Sedulius*; that [b] *it is not lawfull, according to the precept of our Lord, that the wife ſhould be put away, but for the cauſe of fornication.* and in the Synod aſcribed to St. *Pa-*

x *Vit. Kiliani, tom. 4. antiqu. lect. Henr. Canſii, pag. 633. & 644.*

y Iudaiſmum inducens, judicat juſtum eſſe Chriſtiano, ut ſi voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. epiſt. ad Zachar. tomo 3. Concil. part. 1. pag. 38. edit. Colon. An. 1618.*

z Inferens Chriſtianis Iudaiſmum, dum prædicat fratris defuncti accipere uxorem. *Concil. Roman. II. ſub. Zachar. ibid. pag. 383. e.*

a Quinimo (quod valde deteſtabile eſt, & non tantùm fidei, ſed & cuilibet honeſtati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, ſed traducunt, imo veriùs ſeducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam inceſtuosè cognoſcunt: veteris in hoc teſtamenti non medullæ ſed cortici adhærentes, veteresque libentiùs in vitiis quàm virtutibus imitari volentes. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct. 3. cap. 19.* b Non licet ſecundùm præceptum Domini ut dimittatur conjunx, niſi cauſsâ fornicationis. *Sedul. in 1 Cor. 7.*

trick. [c] *It is not lawfull for a man to put away his wife, but for the cauſe of fornication. as if he ſhould ſay; for this cauſe,* he may. *Whence if hee marry another, as it were after the death of the former, they forbid it not.* Who they were, that did not forbid this ſecond marriage, is not there expreſſed: that Saint *Patrick* himſelfe was of another minde, would appeare by this conſtitution following; which in another ancient Canon booke I found cited under his name. [d] *If any mans wife have committed adulterie with another man: he ſhall not marry another wife, as long as the firſt wife ſhall be alive. If peradventure ſhe be converted, and doe penance: he ſhall receive her; and ſhe ſhall ſerve him in the place of a maid-ſervant. Let her for a whole yeare doe penance in bread and water, and that by meaſure: neyther let them remaine in the ſame bed together.* *Fourthly,* concerning *ſingle life,* I doe not finde in any of our records, that it was generally impoſed upon the *Clergie*; but the contrary rather. For in the Synod held by St. *Patrick, Auxilius,* and *Iſſerninus*; there is a ſpeciall order taken, [e] that their *wives* ſhall not walke abroad, with their heads uncovered. And St. *Patrick* himſelfe confeſſeth (at leaſtwiſe the *Confeßion* which goeth under his name ſaith ſo; and *Probus, Iocelinus,* and others that write his life, agree therewith) that hee [f] had to his father *Calphurnius a Deacon,* and to his grandfather *Potitus a Prieſt.* For that was no new thing then among the *Britons*:

c Non licet viro dimittere uxorem niſi ob cauſſam fornicationis. ac ſi dicat, ob hanc cauſſam. Vnde ſi ducat alterum, velut poſt mortem prioris, non vetant. *Synod. Patric. cap. 26. MS.*

d Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro: non adducet aliam uxorem, quandiù viva fuerit uxor prima. Si fortè converſa fuerit, & agat pœnitentiam, ſuſcipiet eam; & ſerviet ei in vicem ancillæ: & annum integrum in pane & aquâ per menſuram pœniteat; nec in uno lecto permaneant. *Ex libro Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.*

e Quicunque Clericis, ab Oſtiario uſque ad Sacerdotem, ſine tunica viſus fuerit, &c. & uxor ejus ſi non velato capite ambulaverit: pariter à laicis contemnentur, & ab Eccleſiâ ſeparentur. *Synod. Patric. Auxil. Iſſernin.* f Patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri. *S. Patricii Confeſſio. MS.*

whoſe

whoſe Biſhops therefore *Gildas* doth reprehend (as for the ſame cauſe he did the chiefe of the Laity) that they were not content to be the husbands of *one*, but of many wives, and that they corrupted their children by their evill example: whereas g *the chaſtitie of the fathers was to be eſteemed imperfect, if the chaſtitie of their ſonnes were not added thereunto.*

Nennius, the eldeſt Hiſtoriographer of the Britons which wee have after him (who in many copies alſo beareth his owne name) wrote that booke which we have extant of his, to h *Samuel the childe of Benlanus the Prieſt, his maſter:* counting it a grace, rather than any kinde of diſparagement unto him, to bee eſteemed the ſonne of a learned Prieſt. Which maketh him in the i verſes prefixed before the worke to ſay:

*Chriſte, tribuiſti patri Samuelem, * læta matre.*

But about 60. or 70. yeares after, I finde ſome partiall eclipſe here (and the firſt, I thinke, of this kinde, that can bee ſhewed among the Britons) in the lawes of *Howel Dha:* where it is ordered, that k if a Clerk of a lower degree ſhould match with a woman, and have a ſonne by her, and that Clerke afterward having received the order of *Prieſt-hood*, ſhould have another ſonne by the ſame woman; the former ſon ſhould enjoy his fathers whole eſtate, without being bound to divide the ſame with his other brother. Yet theſe marriages for all that were ſo held out, that the fathers not content their ſonnes ſhould ſucceed them in their temporall eſtate alone, prevailed ſo

g Imperfecta eſt patrum caſtitas, ſi eidem non & filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conſpicitur caſtus? *Gildas.*

h Sic inveni, ut tibi Samuel (infans magiſtri mei Benlani presbyteri) in iſtâ paginâ ſcripſi. *Nennius in MS°. Dunelmenſi.*

i Verſus Nenniiad Samuelem filium magiſtri ſui Benlani, viri religioſi, ad quem hiſtoriam iſtam ſcripſerat. *Nenn. MS. in publicâ Cantabrigienſis academiæ Bibliothecâ.*

* *Hinc apud Balæum, Centur. 1. cap. 77. Benlani presbyteri conjux* Læta *eſt nominata.*

k Si clericus haberet fœminam datam à ſuo genere, & ſic habet filium ex eâ; & poſteà ille clericus presbyteratus ordinem accipiens, ſi poſt votum conſecrationis filium haberet de eâdem fœminâ; prior filius non debet partiri cum filio poſt nato. *Ex legib. Howel Dha, MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

far that they continued them in the succession of their spirituall promotions also. Which abuse *Giraldus Cambrensis* [l] complaineth to have been continued in Wales unto his time; & out of [m] *Hildebertus Cenomanensis* sheweth to have prevailed in little Brittaine also: whence he inferreth, [n] that *this vice was of old common to the whole Brittish nation aswell on this side as on the other side of the sea.* Whereunto for Ireland also wee may adde the letters written by Pope *Innocent* the *third* unto *Iohannes Salernitanus* the Cardinall, his legate, [o] for abolishing the custome there, whereby sonnes and grand-children did use to succeede their fathers and grand-fathers in their Ecclesiastical benefices.

l Successivè & post patres filii ecclesias obtinent, non electivè sed hæreditate possidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. quia si prælatus alium eligere & instituere fortè præsumpserit; in instituentem procùl dubiò, vel institutum, genus injuriam vindicabit.

Girald. Cambrensis Descript. Cambriæ, libro 2°. *MS.* Successionis quippe vitium non solùm in sedibus cathedralibus, verùm etiam adeò per totam in clero sicut & in populo Walliam pertinaciter invaluit; quòd & post patres filii passim ecclesias & consequenter obtineant, tanquam hæreditate possidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei, *&c. Id. in Dialogo de Ecclesiâ Menevensi, distinct.* 1. *MS.* m *Hildebert. epist.* 65. *ad Honorium II. (tomo* 12. *Bibloth. Patr. part.* 1. *pag.* 338. 339. *edit. Colon.)* n Ex quibus constare potest, utrumque vitium toti huic genti Britanniæ tam cismarinæ quàm transmarinæ ab antiquo commune fuisse. *Girald. Cambr. in utroque.* o *Alphons. Ciacon. in Vitis Pontificum & Cardinalium, pag.* 515.

Chap. VI.

Of the discipline of our ancient Monkes; and abstinence from meats.

What hath beene said of the married Clergie, concerneth the *Seculars*, and not the *Regulars*, whereof there was a very great number in *Ireland*; becausse here [a] *almost all the Prelates were wont to bee choſen*

a Ferè omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in clerum electi sunt. *Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. distinct.* 3. *cap.* 29.

choſen into the Clergie out of monaſteries. For our *monaſteries* in ancient time were the ſeminaries of the *miniſterie:* being as it were ſo many Colledges of learned divines, whereunto the people did uſually reſort for inſtruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to bee ſupplied with able miniſters. The benefit whereof was not onely contained within the limits of this Iland, but did extend it ſelfe to forraine countries likewiſe. For this was it that drew [b] *Egbert* and *Ceadda* (for example) into *Ireland*; that they might there *leade a monaſticall life in prayers and continencie and meditation of the holy Scriptures*: and hence were thoſe famous monaſteries planted in *England* by *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, and others; unto which [c] *the people flockt apace on the Lords day, not for the feeding of their body, but for the learning of the word of God*, as *Beda* witneſſeth. Yea this was the principall meanes, whereby the knowledge both of the Scriptures and of all other good learning was preſerved in that inundation of barbariſme, wherewith the whole Weſt was in a manner overwhelmed. *Hitherto* (ſaith [d] *Curio*) *it might ſeeme that the ſtudies of wiſedome ſhould quite have periſhed, unleſſe God had reſerved a ſeed in ſome corner of the world. Among the Scottiſh and the Iriſh ſomething as yet remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God and of civill honeſty; becauſe there was no terrour of armes in thoſe utmoſt ends of the world. And we may there behold and adore the great goodneſſe of God; that among the*

b Egbertus cum Ceadda adoleſcente & ipſe adoleſcens in Hiberniâ monaſticam in orationibus & continentiâ & meditatione divinarũ ſcripturarum vitam ſedulus agebat. *Bed. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 3.*

c Sed & diebus Dominicis ad eccleſiam ſive ad monaſteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, ſed erudiendi ſermonis Dei gratiâ confluebant *Id. lib. 3. cap. 26.*

d Hactenus videri poterat actum eſſe cum ſapientiæ ſtudiis; niſi ſemen Deus ſervâſſet in aliquo mundi angulo. In Scotis & Hibernis hæſerat aliquid adhuc de doctrinâ cognitionis Dei & honeſtatis civilis; quòd nullus fuerit in ultimis illis mundi finibus armorum terror, *&c.* Et ſummam poſſumus ibi conſpicere & adorare Dei bonitatem; quòd in Scotis, & locis, ubi nemo putâſſet, tam numeroſi coaluerint ſub ſtrictiſſimâ diſciplinâ cœtus. *Jacob. Curio, lib. 2 rerum Chronologic.*

Scots, and in thoſe places where no man would have thought it, ſo many great companies ſhould bee gathered together under a moſt ſtrict diſcipline.

How *ſtrict* their diſcipline was, may appeare partly by the *Rule*, and partly by the *Daily penances of Monkes*; which are yet extant of *Columbanus* his writing. In the later of theſe, for the diſobedience of Monkes theſe penances are preſcribed. [e] *If any brother bee diſobedient*; hee ſhall faſt *two dayes, with one bisket and water. If any ſay, I will not do it*; *three dayes, with one bisket and water. If any murmure*; *two dayes, with one bisket and water. If any doe not aske leave, or tell an excuſe*; *two dayes, with one bisket and water*. and ſo in other particulars. In his *Rule*, theſe good leſſons doth hee give unto his Monkes, among many others. That [f] *it profited them little, if they were virgins in body, and were not virgins in minde.* that they [g] *ſhould daily profit, as they did daily pray, and daily reade.* that [h] *the good things of the Phariſee being vainly praiſed were loſt, and the ſinnes of the Publican being accuſed vaniſhed away: and therefore that a great word ſhould not come out of the mouth of a Monke, leſt his great labour ſhould periſh.* They were not taught to vaunt of their ſtate of *perfection*, and workes of *ſupererogation*: or to argue from thence (as *Celeſtius* the *Pelagian* Monke ſometime did) that [i] *by the nature of their free will they had ſuch a poſſibility of not ſinning, that*

e Si quis frater inobediens fuerit; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis dicit, Non faciam; tres dies uno paxmatio & aquâ. Si quis murmurat; duos dies uno paxmatio & aquâ. Si quis veniam non petit, aut dicit excuſationem; duos dies uno paxmatio & aquâ. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitentiis monachor. ca.* 10. *MS. in monaſterio S. Galli.*

f Quid prodeſt, ſi virgo corpore ſit, & non ſit virgo mente? *Id. in Regulâ monachor. cap.* 8.

g Quotidie proficiendum eſt: ſicut quotidie orandum, quotidieq; eſt legendum. *Ibid. cap.* 5.

h Bona vanè laudata Phariſei perierunt: & peccata Publicani accuſata evanuerunt. Non exeat igitur verbum grande de ore Monachi: ne ſuus grandis pereat labor. *Ibid. cap.* 7.

i Tantam nos habere per naturam liberi arbitrii non peccandi poſſibilitatem: ut plus etiam quàm præceptum eſt, faciamus: quoniam perpetua ſervatur à pleriſque virginitas, quæ præcepta non eſt; cùm ad non peccandum præcepta implere ſufficiat. *Aug. de geſtis Synod. Paleſtin. contra Pelag. cap.* 13.

they

they were able alſo to doe more than was commanded; becauſe they did obſerve perpetuall virginity which is not commanded, whereas for not ſinning it is ſufficient to fulfill the precepts. It was one of the points which *Gallus* (the ſcholler of *Columbanus*) delivered in his ſermon preached at *Conſtance*; that our Saviour [k] *did ſo perſwade the Apoſtles & their followers to lay hold upon the good of virginity; that yet they ſhould know, it was not of humane induſtry, but of divine gift.* and it is a good obſervation which wee reade in *Claudius:* that [l] *not only in the ſplendour of bodily things, but alſo in mournfull abaſing of ones ſelfe, there may bee boaſting; and that ſo much the more dangerous, as it deceiveth under the name of the ſervice of God.*

Our *Monkes* were *religious* in deede, and not in name only; farre from the hypocriſie, pride, idleneſſe and uncleanneſſe of thoſe *evill beaſts* and *ſlothfull bellies* that afterward ſucceeded in their roome. Under colour of forſaking all, they did not hooke all unto themſelves; nor under ſemblance of devotion did they devoure widowes houſes: they held *begging* to bee no point of *perfection*; but [m] remembred the words of our Lord Ieſus, how he ſaid, *It is a more bleſſed thing to give rather than to take.* When king *Sigebert* made large offers unto *Columbanus* and his companions, to keep them within his dominions in *France*: hee received ſuch another anſwer from them, as [n] *Thaddæus* in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory is ſaid to have given unto *Abgarus* the governour of *Edeſſa*: [o] *Wee who have forſaken our owne, that accor-*

k Ipſis Apoſtolis & eorum ſequacibus ita bonum virginitatis arripiendum perſuaſit: ut hoc ſcirent non humanæ induſtriæ, ſed muneris eſſe divini. *S. Gallus, in ſerm. habit. Conſtant.*

l Non in ſolo rerum corporearum nitore, ſed etiam in ipſis ſordibus luctuoſis eſſe poſſe jactantiam: & eo periculoſiorem, quo ſub nomine ſervitutis Dei decipit. *Claud. lib. 1. in Matth.*

m *Act.* 20. 35.

n Εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλείποιμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια λαμβάνομεθα; Euſeb. lib. 1. hiſt. cap. ult.

o Qui noſtra reliquimus, ut ſecundùm Evangelicam juſſionem Dominum ſequeremur, non debemus alienas amplecti divitias; ne fortè prævaricatores ſimus divini mandati. *Walafrid. Strab. vit. Galli, lib. 1. cap. 2.*

ding

ding to the commandement of the Goſpel we might follow the Lord, ought not to embrace other mens riches; leſt peradventure we ſhould prove tranſgreſſors of the divine commandement. How then did theſe men live, will you ſay? *Walafridus Strabus* telleth us, that [p] *ſome of them wrought in the garden, others dreſſed the orchard; Gallus made nets* and tooke fiſh, wherewith hee not only relieved his owne company, but was helpfull alſo unto ſtrangers. So *Bede* reporteth of *Cuthbert*, that when hee retired himſelfe unto an *anchoreticall* life, he [q] *firſt indeed received a little bread from his brethren to feede upon, and dranke out of his owne well; but afterwards hee thought it more fit to live by the worke of his owne hands, after the example of the Fathers: and therefore intreated, that inſtruments might bee brought him wherewith he might till the earth, and corne that hee might ſowe.*

[r] *Quique ſuis cupiens victum conquirere palmis;*
Incultam pertentat humum proſcindere ferro,
Et ſator edomitis anni ſpem credere glebis.

The like doth hee relate of [s] *Furſeus*; and *Boniſacius* of [t] *Livinus*; and *Theodorus Campidonenſis* (or whoſoever elſe wrote that booke) of [u] *Gallus*, *Magnoaldus*, and the reſt of the followers of *Columbanus*; that they got their living by the labour of their owne hands. And the [x] *Apoſtles* rule is generally laid downe for all Monkes, in the life of *Furſeus*: [y] *They which live in Monaſteries ſhould worke with ſilence, and eate their owne bread.*

p Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. B. verò Gallus texebat retia, &c. & de eodem labore aſſiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Ibid. cap. 6.*

q Et primùm quidem permodicum ab eis panem, quo veſceretur accipiebat, ac ſuo bibebat è fonte: poſtmodùm verò proprio manuum labore juxta exempla patrum vivere magis aptum ducebat. Rogavit ergo afferri ſibi inſtrumenta quibus terram exerceret, & triticum quod ſereret. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. proſ. cap. 19. Vid. li. 4. hiſt. eccleſ. cap. 28.*

r *Id. in Carm. de vit. Cuthbert. cap. 17.* s *Id. lib. 3. hiſt. eccleſ. cap. 19.* t *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini, pag. 240.* u *Theod. Campid. vit. Magni, lib. 1. cap. 5. edit. Goldaſti, 6. Canifii.* x *2 Theſ. 3. 12.* y Qui in monaſteriis degunt, cum ſilentio operantes, ſuum panem manducent. *Vit. Furſei.*

But

But now there is ſtart up a new generation of men, that refuſe to *eate their own bread*, and count it a high point of ſanctity to live by *begging of other mens bread*; if yet the courſe they take may rightly bee termed *begging*. For as *Richard Fitz-Ralphe*, that famous Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, objected to their faces, before the Pope himſelfe and his Cardinals in [z] his time (and the matter is little amended, I wiſſe, in ours) *ſcarce could any great or meane man of the Clergie or the Laitie eate his meate, but ſuch kinde of beggers would be at his elbowe: not like other poore folkes humbly craving almes at the gate or the doore (as Francis did cammand and teach them in his Teſtament) by begging; but without ſhame intruding themſelves into courts or houſes, and lodging there. where, without any inviting at all, they eate and drinke what they doe finde among them: and not with that content, carry away with them eyther wheate, or meale, or bread, or fleſh, or cheeſes (although there were but two in an houſe) in a kinde of an extorting manner; there being none that can deny them, unleſſe he would caſt away naturall ſhame.*

This did that renowned *Primate* (whoſe anniverſary memory is ſtill celebrated in *Dundalke*, where hee was borne and buried, by the name of *Saint Richard*) publickly deliver in the yeere 1357. at the Conſiſtory of *Avinion:* where he ſtoutly maintained againſt the whole rabble of the Friars, what hee had preached the yeere before at *Pauls Croſſe* unto the people.

z Iam enim iſtis in temporibus non poterit magnus aut mediocris in clero & populo aut vix cibum ſumere, ubi tales non affuerint mendicantes: non more paupe-rum petentes ad portas vel oſtia humiliter eleemoſynam (ut Franciſcus in Teſtamento præcepit & docuit) mendicando; ſed curias, ſive domos, ſine verecundiâ penetrantes, & inibi hoſpitantes, nullatenùs invitati, edunt & bibunt quæ apud eos reperiunt. ſecum nihilominùs aut grana, aut ſimilam, aut panes, aut carnes, ſeu caſeos (etiamſi in domo non fuerint niſi duo) ſecum extorquendo reportant: nec eis quiſquam poterit denegare, niſi verecundiam naturalem abjiciat. *Rich. Armachanus, in Defenſorio Curatorum, pag. 56. 57. edit. Pariſ. an. 1625. (collat. cum vetere editione Aſcenſianâ.)*

people. namely, [a] *that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, although in his humane converſation hee was alwayes poore,* [b] *yet did hee never voluntarily begge himſelfe,* [c] *nor taught others ſo to doe,* [d] *but taught the plaine contrary:* and [e] *that no man could prudently & holily take upon himſelf the perpetuall obſervation of voluntary beggary; foraſmuch as ſuch kinde of begging, as well by Chriſt, as by his Apoſtles and Diſciples, by the Church and by the holy Scriptures, was both diſſwaded and alſo reproved.*

His Countryman *Henry Crumpe* (a Monke of the Ciſtercian order in *Baltinglas*) not long after, treading in his ſteps, was accuſed for delivering in his Determinations at *Oxford*: that [f] *the Friars of the foure Mendicant orders are not, nor ever were inſtituted by Gods inſpiration, but that contrary to the generall Councell of Lateran, held under Innocent the third* (which prohibited the bringing in of any more new religious orders into the Church) *and by feigned and falſe dreames, Pope Honorius being perſwaded by the Friars, did confirme them.* and [g] that *all the Doctors which did*

a Prima concluſio erat, quòd Dominus Ieſus Chriſtus in converſatione ſuâ humanâ ſemper pauper erat, non quia propter ſe paupertatem dilexit aut voluit. *Ibid. pag.* 104, 105.

b Secunda concluſio erat, quòd Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus nunquam ſponte neè mendicavit. *Ib. pag.* 107.

c Tertia concluſio fuit; quòd Chriſtus nunquam docuit ſponteneè mendicare. *Ib. pag.* 121.

d Quarta concluſio fuit; quòd Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus docuit non debere homines ſponteneè mendicare. *Ibid. pag.* 123. e Quinta concluſio erat; quod nullus poteſt prudenter & ſanctè ſponteneam mendicitatem ſuper ſe aſſumere perpetuò aſſervandam. quoniam ex quo talis mendicitas vel mendicatio eſt diſſuaſa à Chriſto, à ſuis Apoſtolis & Diſcipulis, & ab Eccleſiâ ac ſacris Scripturis, ac etiam reprobata: conſequitur quòd non poteſt prudenter & ſanctè aſſumi hoc modo. *Ibid. pag.* 131. *Vide juſd. Richardi ſermonem* 3. *apud Cruecm Londin. edit. Pariſ. an.* 1512. f Quòd fratres de quatuor ordinibus Mendicantium non ſunt nec fuerunt Domino inſpirante inſtituti; ſed contra Concilium generale Lateranenſe ſub Innocentio tertio celebratum, ac per ficta & falſa ſomnia, Papa Honorius ſuaſus à fratribus eos confirmavit. *Act. contra Henr. Crumpe, in Thomæ Waldenſis Faſciculo Zizaniorum, quem MS^um. habeo.* g Quòd omnes Doctores determinantes pro parte fratrum è capitulo *Dudum*, vel timuerunt veritatem dicere, ne eorum libri per fratres Inquiſitores hæreticæ pravitatis damnarentur; vel dixerunt, ut videtur, vel ſolùm diſputativè & non determinativè proceſſerunt: quia ſi planè veritatem pro Eccleſiâ dixiſſent, perſecuti eos fuiſſent Fratres, ſicut perſequebantur ſanctum Doctorem Armachanum. *Ibid.*

determine

determine for the Friars ſide, were eyther affraid to ſpeak the truth, leſt their books ſhould be condemned by the Friars that had gotten to be Inquiſitors; or ſaid, As it ſeemeth, or proceeded onely by way of diſputation and not of determination: becauſe if they had ſpoken the truth plainly in the behalfe of the Church, the Friars would have perſecuted them, as they did perſecute the holy Doctor Armachanus. Which *Crumpe* himſelfe found afterwards to be too true by his owne experience. for hee was forced to deny and abjure theſe aſſertions in the houſe of the Carmelite Friars at *Stanford*, before *William Courtney* Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and then ſilenced, that hee ſhould not exerciſe publickly any act in the Schooles, either by reading, preaching, diſputing, or determining; untill hee ſhould have a ſpeciall licence from the ſaid Archbiſhop ſo to doe.

But to leave the *begging Friars* (being a kinde of creatures unknowne to the Church for twelve hundred yeers after Chriſt) and to return to the *labouring Monkes*: wee finde it related of our *Brendan*: that he [h] *governed three thouſand ſuch Monkes, who by their owne labours and handy-worke did earne their living.* which agreeth well with that ſaying aſcribed to him by the writer of his life: [i] *A Monke ought to bee fed and clothed by the labour of his owne hands.* Neither was there any other order obſerved in that famous Monaſterie of *Bangor* among the Britons, [k] *wherein*

h Tribus monachorum (qui ſuis, ſibi ipſi laboribus victum, manibus operando ſuppeditabant) millibus præfuiſſe creditur. *Nicol. Harpſfield. hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 25.* i Monachum oportet labore manuum ſuarum veſci & veſtiri. *Vit. S. Brendani.* k In quo tantus fertur fuiſſe numerus monachorum; ut cùm in ſeptem portiones eſſet cum præpoſitis ſibi rectoribus monaſterium diviſum, nulla harum portio minus quàm trecentos homines haberet: qui omnes de labore manuum ſuarum vivere ſolebant. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 2.*

there

there is ſaid to have beene ſo great a number of Monkes, that the Monaſtery being divided into ſeven portions (together with the Rectors appointed over them) none of all thoſe portions had leſſe than three hundred perſons in them: all which (ſaith *Bede*) *were wont to live by the labour of their owne hands.* From the deſtruction of which Monaſtery, unto the erection of *Tuy Gwyn*, or *White-houſe* (which is ſaid to have beene about the yeere 1146.) the ſetter forth of the * Welſh Chronicle obſerveth, that there were no Abbeyes among the Britons.

* *Chronicle of Wales, pag. 253, 254.*

Here in Ireland Biſhop *Colman* founded the Monaſtery of *Magio* (in the † county of *Limrick*) for the entertainment of the *Engliſh*: where they [l] *did live according to the example of the reverend Fathers* (as *Bede* writeth) *under a rule and a canonicall Abbot, in great continency and ſincerity, with the labour of their owne hands.* Like whereunto was the monaſtery of *Mailros* alſo, planted by Biſhop *Aidan* and his followers in *Northumberland*; where St. *Cuthbert* had his education: who affirmed, that [m] *the life of ſuch Monkes was juſtly to bee admired, which were in all things ſubject to the commands of their Abbot; and ordered all the times of their watching, praying, faſting, and working, according to his direction.*

† *Vid. Annal. Hibern. à Camdeno edit. ad an. 1370.*

l Ad exemplum venerabilium patrum, ſub regulâ & Abbate canonico, in magnâ continentiâ & ſinceritate proprio labore manuum vivunt. *Bed. lib. 4. hiſt. eccleſ. cap. 4.*

m Iure, inquit, eſt cœnobitarũ vita miranda, qui Abbatis per omnia ſubjiciuntur imperiis; ad ejus arbitrium cuncta vigilandi, orandi, jejunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. proſ. cap. 22.*

[n] *Excubiaſque, famemque, preces, manuumq; laborem*
Ad votum gaudent proni frænare regentis.

As for their *faſting* (for of their *watching* and *praying* there is no queſtion made; and of their *working* wee have already ſpoken ſufficiently) by the

n *Id. Carm. cap. 20.*

rule

rule of *Columbanus*, they were [o] *every day to faſt, and every day to eate*: that by this meanes, [p] *the enabling of them for their ſpirituall proficiency might bee retained, together with the abſtinence that did macerate the fleſh.* Hee would therefore have them [q] *every day to eate, becauſe they were every day to profit*; and becauſe [r] *abſtinence, if it did exceed meaſure, would prove a vice and not a vertue.* and he would have them to faſt everie day too, that is, not to eate any meate at all (for other faſts were not knowne in thoſe dayes) untill evening. [s] *Let the food of Monkes* (ſaith he) be *meane, and taken at evening; flying ſatiety and exceſſe of drink: that it may both ſuſtaine them and not hurt them.* This was the daily *faſting* and *feeding* of them that lived according to *Columbanus* his rule. although the ſtrictneſſe of the faſt ſeemeth to have beene kept on *Wedneſdayes* and *Fridayes* onely: which were the dayes of the weeke, wherein the ancient Iriſh (agreeable to the cuſtome of the *Grecian* rather than the *Roman* Church) were wont to obſerve abſtinence both from meate and from the * marriage bed. Whence in the booke before alledged, of the *Daily Penances of Monkes*, we finde this order ſet downe by the ſame *Columbanus*: that [t] *if any one, unleſſe he were weake, did upon the Wedneſday or Friday eate before the ninth houre* (that is to ſay, before *three* of the clocke in the afternoone, according unto our account) hee ſhould be puniſhed with faſting *two dayes in bread and water.*

o Quotidie jejunandum eſt, ſicut quotidie reficiendum eſt. *Columb. Regul. c. 5.*

p Quia hæc eſt vera diſcretio, ut poſſibilitas ſpiritalis profectus cum abſtinentiâ carnem macerante retentetur. *Ibid.*

q Ideò quotidie edendum eſt, quia quotidie proficiendum eſt. *Ibid.*

r Si enim modum abſtinentia exceſſerit, vitium non virtus erit. *Ibid.*

s Cibus ſit vilis & veſpertinus Monachorum, ſatietatem fugiens & potus ebrietatem; ut & ſuſtineat, & non noceat. *Ibid.*

* Synodus Hibernienſium dicit. In tribus quadrageſimis anni, in die Dominico & in quartâ feriâ & ſextâ, conjugales continere ſe debent. *Canonum Collectio, cujus initium*; Sancta Synodus bis in anno decrevit habere Concilia. *MS. in Bibliothecâ Cotton.*

t Si quis ante horam nonam quartâ ſextaq; feriâ manducat, niſi infirmus; duos dies in pane & aquâ. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitent. monachor. cap.* 13.

2r-1

and in *Bedes* Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie; that [u] ſuch as followed the information of *Aidan*, did upon the ſame dayes obſerve their faſt, untill the ſame houre. in which hiſtory we alſo reade of Biſhop *Cedd* (who was brought up at *Lindisfarne* with our *Aidan* and *Finan*) that keeping a ſtrict faſt, upon a ſpeciall occaſion, in the time of *Lent*, hee did [x] *every day, except the Lords day, continue his faſt, (as the manner was) untill the evening; and then alſo did eate nothing but a ſmall pittance of bread, and one egge, with a little milke mingled with water.* Where by the way you may note, that in thoſe daies *egges* were eaten in Lent, and the *Sundayes* excepted from faſting, even then when the abſtinence was preciſely and in more than an ordinarie manner obſerved.

But generally for this point of the *difference of meats*, it is well noted by *Claudius* out of S. *Auguſtin*, that [y] *the children of wiſedome doe underſtand, that neither in abſtaining nor in eating is there any vertue; but in contentednesſe of bearing the want, and temperance of not corrupting a mans ſelfe by abundance, and of opportunely taking or not taking thoſe things, of which not the uſe but the concupiſcence is to be blamed.* and in the life of *Furſeus*, the hypocriſie of them is juſtly taxed, that being [z] *aſſaulted with ſpirituall vices, doe yet omit the care of them, and afflict their body with abſtinence:*

u Cujus exemplis informati, tempore illo, religioſi quiq; viri ac fœminæ, conſuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, (exceptâ remiſsione quinquageſimæ Paſchalis) quartâ & ſextâ ſabbati iciunium ad nonam uſque horam protelare. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. eccleſ. cap. 5.*

x Quibus diebus cunctis, exceptâ Dominicâ, iciunium ad veſperam iuxta morem protelans; nec tunc niſi panis permodicum, & unum ovum gallinaceum, cum parvo lacte aquâ mixto percipiebat. *Ibid. cap. 23.*

y Oſtendens evidenter, filios ſapientiæ intelligere, nec in abſtinendo nec in manducando eſſe iuſtitiam; ſed in æquanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non ſe corrumpendi, atque opportunè ſumendi vel non ſumendi ea, quorum non uſus ſed concupiſcentia reprehendenda eſt. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

z Sunt nonnulli, qui ſpiritualibus vitiis impugnantur; ſed his omiſſis, corpus in abſtinentiâ affligunt. *Vit. S. Furſei.*

who

who [a] *abſtaining from meates, which God hath created to be receiued with thankeſgiving, fall to wicked things, as if they were lawfull*; *namely to pride, couetouſneſſe, enuy, falſe witneſſing, backbiting.* Of whom *Gildas* giueth this good cenſure, in one of his Epiſtles which now are loſt. [b] *Theſe men, while they doe feed on bread by meaſure, for this ſame very thing doe glory without meaſure*; *while they uſe water, they are withall drenched with the cup of hatred*; *while they feed on dry meates, they uſe detractions*; *while they ſpend themſelues in watchings, they diſprayſe others that are oppreſſed with ſleepe*; *preferring faſting before charitie, watching before juſtice, their owne inuention before concord, ſeueritie before humilitie, and laſtly, man before God. Such mens faſting, unleſſe it be proceeded unto by ſome vertues, profiteth nothing at all: but ſuch as accompliſh charitie, doe ſay with the harpe of the holy Ghoſt*; *All our righteouſneſſes are as the cloth of a menſtruous woman.* Thus *Gildas*: who upon this ground layeth downe this ſound concluſion; wherewith wee will ſhut up this whole matter. [c] *Abſtinence from corporall meats is unprofitable without charitie. They are therefore the better men, who doe not faſt much, nor abſtaine from the creature of God beyond meaſure, but carefully keepe their*

a Multi enim cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione creavit, abſtinentes, hæc nefanda quaſi licita ſumunt; hoc eſt, ſuperbiam, avaritiam, invidiam, falſum teſtimonium, blaſphemiam. *Ibid.*

b *Gildas in epiſtolis ſuis.* Hi dum pane ad menſuram veſcuntur, pro hoc ipſo ſine menſurâ gloriantur, dum aquâ utuntur, ſimul odii poculo potantur; dum ſiccis ferculis veſcuntur, detractionibus utuntur; dum vigiliis expendunt, alios ſomno preſſos vitupe-

rant: ieiunium caritati, vigilias iuſtitiæ, propriam adinventionem concordiæ, clauſulam Eccleſiæ (al. Cellæ,) ſeveritatem humilitati, poſtremò hominem Deo anteponunt. Horum ieiunium, niſi per aliquas virtutes adfectatur, nihil prodeſt. qui verò caritatem perficiunt, cum citharâ Spiritus ſancti dicunt: Quaſi pannus menſtruatæ, omnes iuſtitiæ noſtræ ſunt. *Ex libro Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.* c Abſtinentia corporalium ciborum ſine charitate inutilis eſt. Meliores ergo ſunt, qui non magnoperè ieiunant, nec ſupra modum à creaturâ Dei abſtinent, cor intrinſecùs nitidum coram Domino ſollicitè ſervantes, à quo ſciunt exitum vitæ: quàm illi qui carnem non edunt, nec prandiis ſecularibus delectantur, neque vehiculis & equis vehuntur, pro his quaſi ſuperiores cæteris ſe putantes; quibus mors ingravit per feneſtras elationis. *Gildas, ibid.*

heart within pure before God, from whence they know commeth the iſſue of life: than they who eate no fleſh, nor take delight in ſecular dinners, nor ride with coaches or horſes, thinking themſelves hereby to bee as it were ſuperiour to others; upon whom death hath entred through the windows of haughtineſſe.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Church, and various ſtate thereof, eſpecially in the dayes of Antichriſt: of Miracles alſo, and of the Head of the Church.

CONcerning the *Catholike Church*, our Doctors taught with S. *Gregory*; that God [a] *hath a vineyard, to wit, the univerſall Church, which from juſt Abel untill the laſt of the elect that ſhall be borne in the end of the world, as many Saints as it hath brought forth, ſo many branches (as it were) hath it budded.* that [b] *the congregation of the juſt is called the kingdome of heaven; which is the Church of the juſt.* that [c] *the ſonnes of the Church bee all ſuch as from the beginning of mankinde untill now, have attained to be juſt and holy.* that [d] what is ſaid of the *body*, may bee ſaid alſo of the *members*; and that in this reſpect, *as well the Apoſtles and all beleevers, as the Church it ſelfe, have the title of*

a Habet vineam, univerſam ſcilicèt Eccleſiam; quæ ab Abel iuſto uſque ad ultimum electum qui in fine mundi naſciturus eſt, quot ſanctos protulit, quaſi tot palmites miſit. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

b Congregatio quippe iuſtorum, regnum cœlorum dicitur; quod eſt Eccleſia iuſtorum. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.* c Eccleſiæ filii ſunt omnes ab inſtitutione generis humani uſque nunc, quotquot iuſti & ſancti eſſe potuerunt. *Id. lib. 2. in Matth.* d His & cæteris inſtruimur, tam Apoſtolos omneſque credentes, quàm ipſam quoque Eccleſiam, columnam in Scripturis appellari; & nihil intereſſe de corpore quid dicatur in membris, cùm & corpus dividatur in membra, & membra ſint corporis. *Id. in Gal. 2. ex Hieronymo.*

a pillar

a pillar given them in the Scriptures. that [e] the *Church* may be conſidered *two* manner of wayes: both that which *neyther hath ſpot nor wrinkle and is truely the body of Chriſt, and that which is gathered in the name of Chriſt without full and perfect vertues*; which notwithſtanding by the warrant of the Apoſtle, may have the name of the *Church* given unto it, although it be *depraved with errour.* that [f] *the Church is ſaid not to have ſpot or wrinkle, in reſpect of the life to come.* that when the Apoſtle ſaith; *In a great houſe there are not only veſſels of gold,* &c. but *ſome to honour and ſome to diſhonour:* (2 Tim. 2. 20.) by this [g] *great houſe he doth not underſtand the Church (as ſome have thought) which hath not ſpot nor wrinkle: but the world, in which the tares are mingled with the wheate.* that yet in [h] *the holy Church* alſo, *the evill are mingled with the good, and the reprobate with the elect:* and that in this reſpect it is reſembled unto *the wiſe and fooliſh virgins*; as alſo to [i] *the Kings marriage, by which this preſent Church is deſigned, wherein the good and the bad doe meet together.* So that [k] *in this Church, neyther the bad can bee without the good, nor the good without the bad: whom the holy Church notwithſtanding doth both now receive indifferently, and ſeparate afterwards at their going from hence.*

The number of the good, *Gildas* complaineth to

e Eccleſias vocat, quas poſtea errore arguit depravatas. Ex quo noſcendum, dupliciter Eccleſiam poſſe dici: & eam, quæ non habeat maculam aut rugam, & verè corpus Chriſti ſit; & eam quæ in Chriſti nomine abſque plenis perfectiſque virtutibus congregetur. *Id. in Galat. 1. ex eodem.*

f Eccleſiam non habituram maculam neq; rugam dicitur, reſpectu futuræ vitæ. *Sedul. in Epheſ. 1.*

g Magnam domum non Eccleſiam dicit (ut quidam putant) quæ non habet maculam neque rugam: ſed mundum, in quo zizania ſunt mixta tritico. *Id. in 2 Tim. 2.* h Sancta Eccleſia decem Virginibus ſimilis denuntiatur: in quâ quia mali cum bonis & reprobi cum electis admixti ſunt; rectè ſimilis virginibus prudentibus & fatuis eſſe perhibetur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.* i Per has regis nuptias præſens Eccleſia deſignatur; in quâ cum bonis & mali conveniunt. *Id. lib. eod.* k In hâc ergo Eccleſiâ, nec mali eſſe ſine bonis, nec boni eſſe ſine malis poſſunt: quos tamen ſancta Eccleſia & nunc indiſcretè ſuſcipit, & poſtmodum in egreſſione diſcernit. *Id. ibid.*

have beene [l] ſo exceeding ſhort in his time among the Britons, in compariſon of the other; that their *mother the Church in a manner did not ſee them lying in her own lap*, albeit *they were the onely true ſonnes which ſhe had.* And for externall preſſures, our Doctors havè delivered, that [m] *the Church ſometimes is not only afflicted, but alſo defiled with ſuch oppreſſions of the Gentiles; that if it were poſſible, her redeemer might ſeeme for a time utterly to have forſaken her*: and that, in the raging times of *Antichriſt*, [n] *the Church ſhall not appeare; by reaſon that the wicked perſecutors ſhall then exerciſe their cruelty beyond all meaſure.* that in thoſe [o] *times of Antichriſt, not onely more often and more bitter torments ſhall be put upon the faithfull, than before were wont to be; but (which is more grievous) the working of miracles alſo ſhall accompany thoſe that inflict the torments: as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, ſaying; Whoſe comming is after the working of Satan, with all ſeduction, ſignes, and lying wonders.* namely, [p] *juggling* ones: *as it was foretold before; They ſhall ſhew ſuch ſignes that, if it were poſſible, the very elect ſhould bee deceived: by ſuch a phantaſticall power, as Iamnes and Mambres wrought withall before Pharao.* [q] *What unbeleever therefore*

l Exceptis paucis, & valdè paucis, qui (ob amiſſionè tantæ multitudinis, quæ quotidiè prona ruit ad tartara) tam brevis numeri habentur; ut eos quodammodò venerabilis mater Eccleſia in ſuo ſinu recumbentes non videat, quos ſolos veros filios habet. *Gild. epiſt.*

m Nonnunquam Eccleſia tantis gentilium preſſuris, non ſolùm afflicta, ſed & fœdata eſt; ut, ſi fieri poſſit, redemptor ipſius eam prorſus deſeruiſſe ad tempus videretur. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

n Eccleſia non apparebit, impiis tunc perſecutoribus ultra modum ſævientibus. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.*

o Temporibus Antichriſti non ſolùm tormenta crebriora & acerbiora, quàm priùs conſueverant, ingerenda ſunt fidelibus; ſed (quod gravius eſt) ſignorum quoq; operatio eos qui tormenta ingerunt, comitabitur: teſte Apoſtolo, qui ait; Cujus eſt adventus ſecundùm operationem Satanæ, in omni ſeductione, ſignis, & prodigiis mendacii. *Id. lib. eod.*

p Præſtigioſis: ſicut antè prædictum eſt; Dabunt ſigna, ita ut ſeducantur, ſi fieri poteſt, etiam electi, per phantaſticam virtutem: ſicut Iamnes & Mambres coram Pharaone fecerunt. *Sedul. in 2 Theſ. 2.*

q Quis ergo ad fidem convertitur incredulus? cujus jam credentis non pavet & concutitur fides? quando perſecutor pietatis ſit etiam operator virtutis: idemq; ipſe qui tormentis ſævit ut Chriſtus negetur, provocat miraculis ut Antichriſto credatur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.*

therefore (ſay they) will then *bee converted unto the faith? and who is hee that alreadу beleeveth, whoſe faith trembleth not and is not ſhaken? when the perſecuter of piety is the worker of wonders: and the ſame man that exerciſeth cruelties with torments, that Chriſt may be denyed; provoketh by miracles, that Antichriſt may bee beleeved?* And [r] *what a pure and a ſingle eye is there need of, that the way of wiſedome may be found; againſt which ſo great deceivings and errours of evill and perverſe men, doe make ſuch a noyſe? all which notwithſtanding men muſt paſſe through; and ſo come to moſt certaine peace, and the unmoveable ſtabilitie of wiſedome.*

Hence concerning *Miracles*, they give us theſe inſtructions. Firſt, that [s] *neyther if an Angel ſhould ſhew himſelfe unto us to ſeduce us, being ſuborned with the deceits of his father the divell, ought he to prevaile againſt us; neither if a miracle ſhould be done by any one, as it is ſaid of Simon Magus that he did flye in the ayre:* [t] *neyther that ſignes ſhould terrifie us, as done by the Spirit; becauſe that our Saviour alſo hath given us warning of this before-hand.* (Matth. 24. 24, 25.) Secondly, that [u] *the faith having increaſed, miracles were to ceaſe; forаſmuch as they are declared to have beene given for their ſakes that beleeve not.* and therefore that [x] *now when the number of the faithfull is growne, there bee many within the holy Church that retaine the life of vertues,*

r Quàm ergo mundo & ſimplici oculo opus eſt, ut inveniatur via ſapientiæ, cui tantæ malorum & perverſorum hominum deceptiones erroreſque obſtrepunt? quas omnes neceſſe eſt evadere, hoc eſt, venire ad certiſſimam pacem, & immobilem ſtabilitatem ſapientiæ. *Id. lib. 1. in Matth.*

s Nec ſi ſe Angelus nobis oſtendat, ad ſeducendos nos ſubornatus fallaciis patris ſui Diaboli, prævalere debebit

adverſum nos: neq; ſi virtus ab aliquo facta fiet, ſicut dicitur à Simone Mago in aëre volaſſe. *Sedul. in Rom. 8.* t Neque ſigna vos terreant, tanquam per Spiritum facta: quia hoc & Salvator præmonuit. *Id. in 2 Theſſ. 2.* u Hic oſtenditur, creſcente fide ſigna ceſſare: quando fidelium cauſsâ danda eſſe prædicantur. *Id. in 1 Corinth. 14.* x Vnde nunc cùm fidelium numeroſitas excrevit, intra ſanctam Eccleſiam multi ſunt qui vitam virtutum tenent, & ſigna virtutum non habent: quia fruſtrà miraculum foris oſtenditur, ſi deeſt quod intùs operetur. Nam iuxta Magiſtri Gentium vocem: Linguæ in ſignum ſunt, non fidelibus ſed in fidelibus. *Claud. lib. 1. in Matth.*

and yet have not thoſe ſignes of vertues: becauſe a miracle is to no purpoſe ſhewed outwardly, if that bee wanting which it ſhould worke inwardly. For according to the ſaying of the Maſter of the Gentiles; Languages are for a ſigne, not to the faithfull but to infidels. (1 Cor. 14. 22.) Thirdly, that the working of miracles is no good argument to prove the holineſſe of them that bee the inſtruments thereof: and therefore [y] *when the Lord doth ſuch things for the convincing of infidels, he yet giveth us warning that we ſhould not bee deceived thereby, ſuppoſing inviſible wiſedome to bee there, where we ſhall behold a viſible miracle.* For hee ſaith: *Many ſhall ſay unto me in that day, Lord, Lord; have wee not propheſied in thy name, and in thy name caſt out Divels, and in thy name done many miracles?* (Matth. 7. 22.) Fourthly, that [z] *he tempteth God, who for his own vaine glory will make ſhew of a ſuperfluous and unprofitable miracle.* ſuch as that (for example) was, whereunto the Divel tempted our Saviour, Matth. 4. 6. to come downe headlong from the pinnacle of the Temple unto the plaine, [a] *every miracle being vaine, which worketh not ſome profit unto mans ſalvation.* Whereby wee may eaſily diſcerne, what to judge of that infinite number of idle miracles, wherewith the lives of our Saints are every where ſtuffed: many whereof wee may juſtly cenſure (as [b] *Amphilochius* doth the tales that the Poets tell of their Gods) for

Μύθους γέλωτος ἀξίους καὶ δακρύων,

Fables, of laughter worthy, and of teares;

y Qualia propter infideles cùm fecerit Dominus, monuit tamen ne talibus decipiamur, arbitrantes ibi eſſe inviſibilem ſapientiam, ubi miraculum viſibile viderimus. Adiungit ergo & dicit, Multi dicent mihi in illâ die, Domine, Domine: nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, & in tuo nomine dæmonia eiecimus, & in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus? *Id. lib. eod.*

z Ille Deum tentat, qui iactantiæ ſuæ vitio, ſuperfluam & inutilem vult oſtentare virtutem. Quid enim utilitatis habet, quid commodi confert, ſi præceps hinc in plana deſcendero? *&c. Id. lib. eod.* a Inane eſt enim omne miraculum, quod utilitatem ſaluti non operatur humanæ. *Ibid.* b *Amphiloch. in Iambis ad Seleucum.*

Yea

Yea ſome of them alſo we may rightly brand, as

Μύθους ἀσέμνους, δαιμόνων διδάγματα.

Vnſeemely fables, and Divels documents.

For what (for example) can be more *unſeemely*, and tend further to the advancement of the *doctrine of divels*, than that which *Cogitoſus* relateth in the life of S. *Brigid*? that ſhe, for ſaving the credit of a Nunne that had beene gotten with childe, [c] *bleſſed her faithfully* forſooth (for ſo the author ſpeaketh) and ſo cauſed her conception to *vaniſh away, without any delivery and without any paine*. which for the ſaving of St. *Brigids* owne credit, eyther [d] *Hen. Caniſius* or the friars of *Aichſtad* (from whom he had his copie of *Cogitoſus*) thought fit to ſcrape out, and rather to leave a blanke in the booke, than to ſuffer ſo lewd a tale to ſtand in it. But I will not ſtirre this puddle any further: but proceed on, unto ſome better matter.

c *Cogitoſ. Vit. Brigid. in exemplaribus MS. antiquiſſ. Bibliothec. Cottoniana, & Eccleſiæ Sariſburienſis.*

d *Tom. 5. Antiqu. lection. in lacunâ, ſub finem, pag. 629.*

And now are wee come at laſt to the great Point, that toucheth the *Head* and the *foundation* of the Church. Concerning which *Sedulius* obſerveth, that the title of [e] *foundation* is attributed both to *Chriſt*, and to the *Apoſtles and Prophets*. that where it is ſaid, Eſay 28.16. *Behold, I lay in Sion a ſtone*, &c. [f] *it is certaine that by the rocke or ſtone Chriſt is ſignified.* that, in Epheſ. 2.20. [g] *the Apoſtles are the foundation, or Chriſt rather the foundation of the Apoſtles. For Chriſt* (ſaith hee) *is the foundation, who is alſo called the corner ſtone, joyning and holding together the two wals.*

e Fundamenta.] Chriſtum, & Apoſtolos, & Prophetas. *Sedul. in Hebr.* 11.

f Compertum eſt in petrâ vel lapide Chriſtum eſſe ſignificatum. *Id. in Rom.* 9.

g Apoſtoli fundamentum ſunt, vel Chriſtus fundamentum eſt Apoſtolorum. " Chriſtus eſt fundamentum, qui etiam lapis dicitur angularis, duos conjungens & continens parietes. Ideò hic fundamentum & ſummus eſt lapis; quia in ipſo & fundatur, & conſummatur Eccleſia. *Id. in Epheſ.* 2.

Therefore is hee the foundation and chiefe ſtone; becauſe in him the Church is both founded and finiſhed. and we are to account the Apoſtles [h] *as Miniſters of Chriſt, and not as the foundation.* The famous place, Matthew 16.18. (whereupon our Romaniſts lay the maine foundation of the Papacie) *Claudius* expoundeth in this ſort. [i] *Vpon this rocke will I build my Church, that is to ſay, upon the Lord and Saviour, who granted unto his faithfull knower, lover, and confeſſor the participation of his owne name; that from petra (the rocke) hee ſhould be called Peter. The Church is builded* upon him: *becauſe onely by the faith and love of Chriſt, by the receiving of the Sacraments of Chriſt, by the obſervation of the commandements of Chriſt, wee come to the inheritance of the elect and eternall life, as witneſſeth the Apoſtle, who ſaith; Other foundation can no man lay beſide that which is laid, which is Chriſt Ieſus.*

Yet doth the ſame *Claudius* acknowledge, that [k] St. *Peter* received a kinde of *primacy for the founding of the Church* (in reſpect whereof hee termeth him [l] *Eccleſiæ principem*, and [m] *Apoſtolorum principem*, the *prince of the Church*, and the *prince* or chiefe *of the Apoſtles*) but hee addeth withall, that Saint *Paul alſo was choſen in the ſame manner, to have the primacy in founding the Churches of the Gentiles.* and that hee [n] *received this gift from God, that hee ſhould bee worthy*

h Vt miniſtros Chriſti: non ut fundamentum. *Id. in 1 Cor. 4.*

i Super hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam, id eſt, ſuper Dominũ ſalvatorem, qui fideli ſuo cognitori, amatori, confeſſori, participium ſui nominis donavit, ut ſcilicet à petrâ Petrus vocaretur. Ædificatur Eccleſia: quia non niſi per fidem & dilectionem Chriſti, per ſuſceptionem ſacramentorum Chriſti, per obſervantiam mandatorum Chriſti, ad ſortem electorum & æternam pertingitur vitam, Apoſtolo atteſtante qui ait; Fundamentum enim aliud nemo poteſt ponere præter id quod poſitum eſt, qui eſt Chriſtus Ieſus. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.* k Petrum ſolum nominat, & ſibi comparat: quia primatum ipſe accepit ad fundandam Eccleſiam: ſe quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis Gentium Eccleſiis. *Id. in Galat. 2.* l *Id. in Galat. 5.* m *Id. in Galat. 2.* n Ab his itaque probatum dicit donum quod accepit à Deo, ut dignus eſſet habere primatum in prædicatione Gentium, ſicut & habebat Petrus in prædicatione Circumciſionis. *Id. in Gal. 2.*

to have the primacie in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had it in the preaching of the Circumciſion. and therefore that [o] St. *Paul challengeth this grace as granted by God to him alone, as it was granted to Peter alone among the Apoſtles.* and that hee eſteemed himſelfe [p] *not to be inferiour unto St. Peter, becauſe both of them were by one ordained unto one and the ſame miniſtery.* and that writing to the *Galatians*, [q] he did in the *title name himſelfe an Apoſtle of Chriſt, to the end that by the very authority of that name hee might terrifie his readers; judging, that all ſuch as did beleeve in Chriſt, ought to be ſubject unto him.*

It is furthermore alſo obſerved by *Claudius*, that [r] *as when our Saviour propounded the queſtion generally unto all the Apoſtles, Peter did anſwer as one for all; ſo what our Lord anſwered unto Peter, in Peter he did anſwer unto all.* and therefore [s] *howſoever the power of looſing and binding might ſeeme to be given by the Lord unto Peter alone, yet without all manner of doubt it is to be knowne, that it was given unto the reſt of the Apoſtles alſo: as himſelfe doth witneſſe, who appearing unto them after the triumph of his paſſion and reſurrection, breathed on them, and ſaid unto them all; Receive the holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whoſe ſins ye retaine they are retained.* *Gildas* the Briton goeth further, affirming that [t] *to the true Prieſt*

o Gratiam ſibi ſoli primus vendicat conceſſam à Deo, ſicut & ſoli Petro conceſſa eſt inter Apoſtolos. *Id ibid.*

p Non illi ſum inferior; quia ab uno ſumus ambo in unum miniſterium ordinati. *Id. ibid.*

q Apoſtolum ſe Chriſti titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipſâ lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret; judicans omnes, qui in Chriſto crederent, debere ſibi eſſe ſubjectos. *Id. in Gal. 1.*

r Nam ſicut interrogatis generaliter omnibus, Petrus reſpondit unus pro omnibus: ita quod Petro Dominus reſpondit, in Petro omnibus reſpondit. *Id. lib. 2. in Matth.*

s Quæ ſolvendi ac ligandi poteſtas, quamvis ſoli Petro data videatur à Domino; abſque ullâ tamen dubietate noſcendum eſt, quia & cæteris Apoſtolis datur: ipſo teſte, qui poſt paſſionis reſurrectioniſque ſuæ triumphum apparens eis inſufflavit, & dixit omnibus: Accipite Spiritum ſanctum, quorum remiſeritis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta ſunt. *Id. lib. eod.*

t Vero ſacerdoti dicitur: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo eccleſiam meam. *Gild. epiſt.*

it is ſaid; Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke I will build my Church. that [u] *to Peter and his ſucceſſors our Lord ſaith; And unto thee will I give the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven.* and conſequently, that [x] *unto every holy Prieſt it is promiſed: Whatſoever thou ſhalt binde on earth, ſhalbe bound likewiſe in heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhalbe looſed likewiſe in heaven.* Whereupon hee pronounceth of the good Prieſts of Brittaine; that they [y] *doe lawfully obtaine the Apoſtolicall ſtate*, and [z] *lawfully ſit in the chaire* of St. *Paul*: and on the other ſide of the bad, that [a] *with uncleane feete they uſurpe the ſeate of the Apoſtle Peter, but by the demerit of their covetouſneſſe fall into the peſtilent chaire of the traytor Iudas*; and ſo the ordainers of ſuch, place [b] *after a ſort Iudas the betrayer of our Lord, in the ſeate of Peter.*

Laſtly, as *Claudius* noteth, that [c] *the foundation of the Church was laid* not onely upon St. *Peter*, but alſo upon St. *Iohn*: ſo in a certaine *Hymne* ſuppoſed to be written by *Secundinus* (knowne in this country commonly by the name of St. *Scachlin*) in the yeere of our Lord CCCCXLVIII. St. *Patrick* alſo is thus commended. [d] *He is conſtant in the feare of God and unmovable in the faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon Peter; whoſe Apoſtleſhip alſo he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevaile againſt him.* yea [e] *Chriſt* is there ſaid to have *choſen him for his Vicar upon earth.* His See likewiſe of *Armagh*, is by one

u Petro ejuſq; ſucceſſoribus dicit Dominus: Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum. *Ibid.*

x Itemque omni ſancto ſacerdoti promittitur: Et quæcunque ſolveris ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta & in cœlo; & quæcunq; ligaveris ſuper terram, erunt ligata & in cœlo. *Ibid.*

y Apoſtolicam ſedem legitimè obtinent. *Ibid.*

z Si hunc vos Apoſtoli retinetis in omnibus affectum; ejus quoque cathedræ legitimè inſidere noſcatis. *Ibid.*

a Sedem Petri Apoſtoli immundis pedibus uſurpantes; ſed merito cupiditatis in Iudæ traditoris peſtilentem cathedram decidentes. *Ibid.*

b Iudam quodammodo in Petri cathedrâ Domini traditorem ſtatuunt. *Ibid.*

c Super ipſos Eccleſiæ ſit poſitum fundamentum. *Claud. in Gal.* 2.

d Conſtans in Dei timore, & fide immobilis, ſuper quem ædificatur ut Petrum Eccleſia: cujuſque Apoſtolatum à Deo ſortitus eſt, & inferni portæ adverſus eum non prævalebunt. *Hymn. in laud. S. Patricij.*

e Chriſtus illum ſibi elegit in terris Vicarium. *Ibid.*

Calvus

Calvus Perennis in the dayes of *Brian* king of Ireland (who was ſlaine, as appeareth by [f] *Marianus* in the yeere 1014.) termed [g] *the Citie* Apoſtolick. So *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Cahors* in France, is by our countryman *Gallus* ſaluted both [h] *Papa* and *Apoſtolicus*: and the Biſhop of *Kildare* in Ireland, honoured by *Cogitoſus*, with the ſtile of [i] *Summus Sacerdos*, and [k] *Summus Pontifex*, the *higheſt Prieſt* and the *higheſt Biſhop*. thoſe titles and prerogatives, which the *Pope* now peculiarly challengeth unto himſelfe, as enſignes of his *Monarchy*, being heretofore uſually communicated unto other Biſhops, when the univerſall Church was governed by way of *Ariſtocratie*.

f Brianus rex Hiberniæ, Paraſceve Paſchæ, ſextâ feriâ, IX. Calend. Maii, manibus & mente ad Deum intentus necatur. *Marian. Scot.* *See Caradoc of Lhancarran, in the Chronicle of wales, pag.* 80.

g Sanctus Patricius iens ad cœlum, mandavit totum fructum laboris ſui (tam baptiſmi, tam cauſarum, quàm eleemoſynarum) deſerendum eſſe Apoſtolicæ Vrbi, quæ Scoticè nominatur Arddmacha. Sic repperi in Bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego ſcripſi, id eſt, Calvus Perennis, in conſpectu Briani Imperatoris Scotorum. *Ex. Vet. Cod. Eccleſiæ Armachanæ.* h Domino ſemper ſuo, & Apoſtolico Patri, Deſiderio Papæ, *Gallus peccator.* i *Cogitoſ. in vit. Brigid. tom. 5. antiqu. lect. Henr. Caniſii, pag. 625. lin. ult.* k *Ibid. pag. 640. lin. 2.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Popes ſpirituall Iuriſdiction; and how little footing it had gotten at firſt within theſe parts.

MAſter *Campion* telleth us; that [a] *when Ireland firſt received Chriſtendome, they gave themſelves into the Iuriſdiction both ſpirituall and temporall of the See of Rome.* But herein he ſpeaketh without booke; of the *ſpirituall* juriſdiction untruly, of the *temporall* abſurdly. For from the firſt legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius*, who were ſent to plant the faith in this country,

a *Edm. Camp. Hiſtory of Ireland. lib. 2. ca. 2.*

country, it cannot bee ſhewed out of any monument of antiquity, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did ever ſend any of his *Legats* to exerciſe ſpirituall juriſdiction here (much leſſe any of his *Deputies* to exerciſe juriſdiction temporall) before *Gillebertus, quem aiunt primâ functum legatione Apoſtolicæ ſedis per univerſam Hiberniam*; ſaith one that lived in his own time, even *Bernard* himſelfe in the life of *Malachias*. One or two inſtances peradventure may be alledged out of ſome obſcure authors, whoſe names, and times, and authority no man can tell us newes of: but unleſſe that which is delivered by *Bernard*, as the tradition that was current in his time, can bee controlled by ſome record that may appeare to have beene written before his dayes; we have ſmall reaſon to detract any thing from the credit of ſo cleere a teſtimony.

This country was heretofore, for the number of holy men that lived in it, termed the *Iland of Saints*: of that innumerable company of Saints, whoſe memory was reverenced here; what one received any ſolemne canonization from the *Pope*, before *Malachias* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, & *Laurence* of *Dublin*? who lived, as it were, but the other day. We reade of ſundry *Archbiſhops* that have beene in this land: betwixt the dayes of Saint *Patrick* and of *Malachias*, what one of them can be named, that ever ſought for a *Pall* from *Rome*? *Ioceline* indeed a late Monke of the Abbey of *Furneſſe*, writeth of St. *Patrick*; that the Biſhop of *Rome* [b] conferred the *Pall* upon him, together with the execution of legatine power in his

[b] Pallio decoravit, illique vices ſuas committens atq; legatum ſuum conſtituens, quæcunque in Hibernia geſſerat, conſtituerat, diſpoſuerat, auctoritatis ſuæ munimine confirmavit. *Iocelin. vit. Patric. cap. 166.*

roome,

roome. But he is well knowne to be a moſt fabulous author: and for this particular, *Bernard* (who was his ancient) informeth us farre otherwiſe; that [c] *from the very beginning untill his time, the metropoliticall See of Armagh wanted the uſe of the Pall.* with whom the author of the Annales of *Mailros* doth fully accord; noting that [d] *in the yeere* 1151. *Pope Eugenius* (the ſame to whom *Bernard* did write his bookes *de Conſideratione*) *did by his Legate Iohn Papiron tranſmit foure Pals into Ireland; whither a Pall before had never beene brought.* And therefore *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, howſoever he acknowledgeth that Saint *Patrick* did [e] *chooſe Armagh for his ſeate, and did appoint it to be as it were a metropoliticall See, and the proper place of the primacie of all Ireland*; yet doth hee affirme withall, that in very deed [f] *there were no Archbiſhops in Ireland, but that Biſhops only did conſecrate one another, untill Iohannes Papirio* (or *Paparo*) *the Popes Legate brought foure Pals thither.* whereupon ſome of our Chroniclers after him, give this note concerning *Gelaſius*, who was at that time Archbiſhop of *Armagh*; that [g] *hee is ſaid to have beene the firſt Archbiſhop, becauſe hee uſed the firſt Pall:* and that *others before him were called Archbiſhops and Primates in name only, for the reverence of Saint Patrick, as the Apoſtle of that Nation.*

And indeed it might ſeeme, that the complaint

c Metropoliticæ ſedi decrat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio pallii uſus. *Bernard. vit. Malach.*

d Anno 1151. Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum ſuum Iohannem Papirum tranſmiſit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Cœnobij Melroſ. MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

e Apud Ardmacham ſibi ſedem elegit; quam etiam quaſi metropolim conſtituit & proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct. 3. cap. 16.*

f Archiepiſcopi verò in Hiberniâ nulli fuerant; ſed tantùm ſe Epiſcopi invicem conſecrabant: donec Iohannes Papyrio Romanæ ſedis legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, *&c. Ibid. cap. 17.* g Hic primus Archiepiſcopus dicitur, quia primo pallio uſus eſt. Alii verò ante ipſum ſolo nomine Archiepiſcopi & Primates vocabantur; ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apoſtoli illius gentis. *Pembrigius, author. Annal. Hibern. à Guil. Camdeno edit. Thomas Caſeus in Chronic. Hibern. MS. ad ann. 1174.*

made

made by *Anselme* in his letters to *Muriardach* King of Ireland, that [h] Bishops here *were consecrated by Bishops alone*, might somewhat justifie the truth of *Giraldus* his relation; if we did not find a further complaint there also, that they were often [i] *ordained by one Bishop onely*. But as this latter argueth, not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the land (for, as we shall heare presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the Canon provided by the *Nicene* Fathers in that behalfe: so can it not rightly bee inferred out of the former, that wee had no Archbishops here at that time, but that the Bishops rather did faile much in the Canonicall respect which they ought to shew unto their Metropolitane. For that the Irish had their Archbishops (beside many other pregnant testimonies that might bee produced) Pope *Hildebrands* owne Briefe doth sufficiently manifest; which is directed [k] to *Terdeluachus* (or *Tirlagh*) *the illustrious King of Ireland, the* ARCHBISHOPS, *Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland*. And for the Archbishops of *Armagh* in particular; it appeareth most evidently by *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates *in name onely*; that they exercised much greater authority before they were put to the charges of fetching Pals from Rome, than ever they did afterward: and that they did not onely consecrate Bishops, but erected also new *Bishopricks*, and *Archbishopricks* too sometimes, according as they thought fitting.

We reade in *Nennius*, that at the beginning St. *Patrick*

h Episcopi quoq; (qui debent esse forma & exemplum aliis Canonicæ religionis) inordinatè, sicut audivimus, aut à solis Episcopis, aut in locis ubi ordinari non debent, consecrantur. *Anselm. lib. 3. epist. 142.*

i *Dicitur*, ab uno Episcopo Episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum, ordinari. *Id. ibid. epist. 147.*

k Terdeluacho inclyto Regi Hiberniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Proceribus, omnibusq; Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus. *Gregor. VII. epist. ad Hibern. MS. in Bibliothecâ Cotton.*

trick[l] founded here 365. Churches, and ordained 365. Biſhops, beſide 3000. Presbyters. In proceſſe of time the number of Biſhops was daily [m] *multiplyed according to the pleaſure of the Metropolitan*, (whereof *Bernard* doth much complaine) and that, not onely *ſo farre, that every Church almoſt had a ſeverall Biſhop:* but alſo that in ſome [n] *Townes or Cities there were ordained more* than one; yea and oftentimes [o] *Biſhops were made without any certaine place at all* aſſigned unto them. And as for the erecting of new *Archbiſhoprickes:* if we beleeve our Legends, [p] *King Engus and S. Patrick, with all the people, did ordaine, that in the City and See of Albeus* (which is *Emelye*, now annexed to *Caſhell*) *ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of the whole Province of Mounſter.* in like manner alſo, [q] *Brandubh King of the Lagenians, with the conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergie, did appoint that in the Citie of Fernes* (which was the See of *Moedog*, otherwiſe called *Edanus*) *ſhould bee the Archbiſhopricke of all the Province of Leinſter.* But *Bernards* teſtimony, wee have no reaſon not to beleeve, relating what was knowne to be done in his owne very time: that [r] *Cel-*

l Eccleſias fundavit CCCLXV. Ordinavit Epiſcopos eodem numero CCCLXV. Presbyteros autem uſq; ad tria millia ordinavit. *Neun. hiſtor. Brit. MS.*

m Mutabantur & multiplicabantur Epiſcopi pro libitu metropolitani; ita ut unus Epiſcopatus uno non eſſet contentus, ſed ſingulæ penè Eccleſiæ ſingulos haberent Epiſcopos. *Bernard. vit. Malach.*

n Quòd in villis, vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. *Lanfranc. epiſt. ad Terdeluachum regem Hibern. apud Baron. ann. 1089. num. 16.*

o Dicitur, Epiſcopos in terrâ veſtrâ paſſim eligi, & ſine certo Epiſcopatus loco conſtitui. *Anſelm. lib. 3. epiſt. 147. ad Murtardachum regem Hibern.*

p Rex Engus & S. Patricius, cum omni populo, ordinaverunt Archiepiſcopatum Mumeniæ in civitate & in ſede ſancti Albei, qui tunc ab eiſdem Archiepiſcopus ordinatus eſt, per ſeculum. *Ex vitâ S. Declani.* Rex Engus & Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate & cathedrâ ſancti Albei eſſet Archiepiſcopatus omnium Memonenſium ſemper. *Ex vitâ S. Albei.*

q Factâ Synodo magnâ in terrâ Laginenſium, decrevit rex Brandubh, & tam laici quàm clerici, ut Archiepiſcopatus omnium Laginenſium ſemper eſſet in ſede & cathedrâ ſancti Moedog. Et tunc ſanctus Moedog à multis catholicis conſecratus eſt Archiepiſcopus. *Ex vit. S. Edani.* A rege jam Laginenſium Brandubh filio Eathach conſtitutum eſt, ut Archiepiſcopatus Laginenſium in civitate ſancti Moedog eſſet. Ipſa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ eſt in terrâ gentis Kenſelach. *Ex vit. S. Molyng.*

r Erat & altera Metropolitica ſedes, quem de novo conſtituerat Celſus, primæ tamen ſedi & illius Archiepiſcopo ſubdita tanquam primati. *Bernard. in vitâ Malachiæ.*

ſus

ſus the Archbiſhop of *Armagh, had of the new conſtituted another Metropoliticall See, but ſubiect to the firſt See, and to the Archbiſhop thereof.* By which wee may ſee that in the erection of new Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks, all things were here done at home, without conſulting with the See of Rome for the matter.

As for the nomination and confirmation of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops themſelves: wee finde the manner of advancing Saint *Livinus* to his Archbiſhoprick thus laid downe by *Boniface* in the deſcription of his life. [r] When *Menalchus the Archbiſhop was dead, Calomagnus the King* of Scots, *and the troope of his Officers with the under-courtiers, and the concourſe of all that countrey, with the ſame affection of heart cryed out, that the holy Prieſt Livinus was moſt worthily to bee advanced unto the honour of this order. The King (more devout than all of them) conſenting thereunto, three or foure times placed the bleſſed man in the chaire of the Archbiſhoprick with due honour, according to the will of the Lord.* In like manner alſo did [t] King *Ecgfrid* cauſe our *Cuthbert* to be ordained Biſhop of the Church of *Landisfarne*; and King *Pipin* [u] granted the Biſhoprick of *Salzburg* to our *Virgilius*: and Duke *Gunzo* would have [x] conferred the Biſhoprick of *Conſtance* upon our *Gallus*; but that he refuſed it, and [y] cauſed another upon his recommendation to be preferred thereunto.

[r] Illo defuncto, Rex Calomagnus, & eius Palatinorum chorus cum ſuis ſubaulicis, totiuſque regionis illius confluentiâ, pari cordis affectu conclamaverunt, ſanctum Sacerdotem Livinum in honorem huius ordinis digniſſimè ſublimandum fore. His Rex omnibus devotior conſentiens, ter quaterque beatum virum in cathedrâ Archiepiſcopatus debito honore, Domino jubente, collocavit. *Bonifac. Vit. Livin.* t Rex Ecgfridus Epiſcopum fecit ordinari Lindisfarnenſium eccleſiæ virum ſanctum & venerabilem Cudbertum. *Bed. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 27. & Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 24.* u Epiſcopatum Salzburgenſem, pro debito regiæ magnificentiæ, ſancto conceſſit Virgilio. *Vit. Epiſc. Salisburgenſ. tom. 2. Antiqu. lect. Henr. Caniſ. pag. 259. & tom. 6. pag. 1174.* x *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 16, 17, 19, 20.* y *Theodor. Campidonenſ. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni. lib. 1. cap. 8. edit. Goldaſti, 10. Caniſii.*

In the booke of *Landaffe*, which is called *Tilo*

(eyther

(eyther from *Teliau* the second Bishop of that place, whose life is largely there described; or rather from the place it selfe, which of old was called * *Teilo*) we reade that *Germanus* and *Lupus* [z] did consecrate chiefe Doctor over all the Britons inhabiting the right side of Britanie, S. *Dubricius*, being chosen Archbishop by the King and all the Dioceſſe: and that by the graunt of *Mouric* the King, the Nobilitie, Clergie, and people, they appointed his Episcopall See to bee at *Landaff*. that [a] *Oudoceus*, the third Bishop after him, being elected by King *Mouric*, and the chiefe of the Clergie and Laitie of the whole Dioceſſe, was by them sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his consecration. that [b] *Gucaunus* (the 26th. Bishop of that Church) was consecrated by *Dunstan* Archbishop of Canterbury; the pastorall staffe being given him in the Court by *Edgar* chiefe King of the English. that next after him, [c] in the year

* *In the Lawes of Howel Dha it is named* Ecclesia Teilau: *and so in Caradoc of Lhancarvans Chronicle of wales, pag.* 94. *Ioseph is called Bishop of* Teilo, *or* Landaff.

z Super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britanniæ B. Dubricium summum Doctorem, à Rege & ab omni parochiâ electum Archiepiscopum, consecraverunt. Hâc dignitate ei

à Germano & Lupo datâ; constituerunt ei Episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici Regis, Principum, Cleri & populi, apud Podium Lantavi. *Lib. Ecclesiæ Landavensis, MS.* a Electione Cleri & populi succedit in episcopatu Landavensis Ecclesiæ. electione cleri Merceguini & Elgoreti & Gunnuini magistri; & trium Abbatum, Catgen abbatis Ilduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cetnig abbatis Docguinni; laicorum, Regis Mourici, & filiorum Athruis & Idnerth, Guidgen & Cetiau, Brogmail, Gendoc, Louhonerd, Catgualatyr, & omnium principum totius parochiæ. Missus est S. Oudoceus cum clericis suis prædictis (Merchui & Elguoret & Gunubui) cum legatis trium Abbatum & Regis & Principum, ad Dorobornensem civitatem ad beatum Archiepiscopum; ubi sacratus est ecclesiæ Landaviæ in honore S. Petri fundatæ. *Ibid.* b DCCCCLXXXII. (vel DCCCLXXII. potiùs) Incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus episcopus Landaviæ consecratus à metropolitano Dunstano Dorobornensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, datâ sibi virgâ pastorali in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum Ætgaro. *Ibid.* c DCCCCLXXXIII. anno, electione factâ regum Morcannuc, Ouein videlicèt & Idguallaun, Catell & Cinuin filiorum Morcanthen, Rotri & Grifud filiorum Elired, & totius Cleri & populi Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi positi: & dato sibi baculo in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum Adelredo, & à metropolitano Dorobornensis Ecclesiæ Albrico archiepiscopo, Bledri episcopus Landaviæ consecratus est; & 1022°. anno Incarnationis Domini, ordinationis suæ autem 39°. anno, migravit ad Dominum. *Ibid.*

983. election being made by the Kings and the whole Clergie and people of *Glamorgan*, and the paſtorall ſtaffe given in the Court by *Ethelred* chiefe King of the Engliſh; *Bledri* was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who is there named *Albricus*. (though in truth, at the yeare here aſſigned, *Dunſtan* did ſtill hold the place.) and that after his deceaſe in the yeare 1022. [d] by the election of the people and Clergie of Landaff and the Kings of the Britons (namely King *Riderch* that reigned at that time through all Wales, and *Hivel* the ſubſtitute of the King of Glamorgan) *Ioſeph* was conſecrated Biſhop by *Ælnod* Archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the word of *Cnut* King of England, in whoſe Court the Paſtorall ſtaffe was given unto him.

Here in Ireland much after the ſame manner, M^r. *Campion* himſelfe ſetteth down, that [f] *to the Monarch was granted a negative in the nomination of Biſhops at every vacation: the Clergie and Laity of the Dioceſſe recommending him to their King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* although this laſt clauſe bee wrongly extended by him to the Biſhops of the whole land, which properly belonged to the *Oſtmann* ſtrangers, that poſſeſſed the [g] three cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limrick*. For theſe being a Colonie of the Norwegians and Livonians, and ſo country-men to the Normans, when they had ſeene England ſubdued by the Conquerour, and Normans advanced to the

d MXXII. anno Incarnationis Domini, conſecratus eſt Ioſeph epiſcopus Landaviæ, Cantuariæ à metropolitano Dorobornenſis eccleſiæ Ælnod archiepiſcopo, in Kalendis Octobris, & in primo (vel XVI°. potiùs) anno Cycli decennovennalis, verbo Regis Anglorum Cnut, & dato ſibi baculo in Curiâ illius: electione populi & cleri Landaviæ, & Regum Britanniæ, regis videlicèt Riderch regnantis per totam Gualiam tunc tempore, & Hivel ſubreguli regis Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi regnantis. *Ibid.* f Edm. *Campion. Hiſtor. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. ult. ad annum* 948. g *Giral. Cambrenſ. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct. 3. cap. 43.*

chiefe

chief archbiſhoprick there; would needs now aſſume to themſelves the name of [h] *Normans* alſo, and cauſe their Biſhops to receive their conſecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And foraſmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities: the Biſhops which they made had no other dioceſſe to exerciſe their juriſdiction in, but onely the bare circuit of thoſe cities. Whereupon we finde a Certificate made unto Pope *Innocent* the *third* in the yeare 1216. by the Archbiſhop of *Tuam* and his ſuffraganes; that [i] *Iohn Papiron the Legate of the Church of Rome comming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a Biſhop, but ſuch a one as did exerciſe his Epiſcopall office within the wals onely.*

The firſt Biſhop which they had in *Dublin* (as it appeareth by the Records of that Church) was one *Donatus*, or *Dunanus*, as others call him: upon whoſe death, in the yeare 1074. [k] *Gothric* their King, with the conſent of the Clergie and people of Dublin, choſe one *Patrick* for their Biſhop, and directed him into England to bee conſecrated by *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of Canterbury: who ſent him backe with commendatory [l] letters aſwell to the ſaid *Gothric* King of the Oſtmans, as to *Terdeluacus* the chiefe King or Monarch of the Iriſh. Hereupon, after the deceaſe of this *Patrick*, [m] in the yeare 1085. the ſame

h Eodem tempore Norwagenſes ſive Oſtmanni, qui civitates Hiberniæ & maritima occupaverunt, Normanni vocati ſunt. *Annal. Dublin. ad ann.* 1095.

i Dominus Iohannes Papiron legatus Romanæ Eccleſiæ veniens in Hiberniam, invenit Dublin Epiſcopum habentem, qui tantùm intra muros Epiſcopale officium exercebat. *Teſtimon. Tuamenſ. archiepiſc. in Regiſtro Dublin. archiepiſc. & nigro libro Eccleſiæ S. Trinitatis.*

k Ad regimen Dublinenſis Eccleſiæ Lanfrancus archiepiſcopus Cantuariæ, petente Goderico rege, Dublinienſis Eccleſiæ populo & clero conſentientibus & eligentibus, in Eccleſiâ ſancti Pauli Londin. Patricium ſacravit Antiſtitem. *Annal. Dublin. ad annum* 1074.

l *Habentur apud Baron. ann.* 1089. *num.* 12. & 15.

m Anno Dom. 1085. Lanfrancus Archiepiſcopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinenſis Eccleſiæ ſacravit Donatum monaſterii ſui monachum in ſede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus eum Terdeluaco Hiberniæ rege, & epiſcopis Hiberniæ regionis, atque clero & populo præfatæ civitatis. *Annal. Dublin.*

Terdeluacus and the Biſhops of Ireland joyned with the Clergie and people of Dublin, in the election of *Donatus*, one of *Lanfrancs* owne Monkes in Canterbury: who was by him there alſo conſecrated. Then when he dyed, in the yeare 1095. his nephew *Samuel*, a monke of St. Albans but borne in Ireland, was [n] choſen Biſhop in his place by *Murierdach* King of Ireland, and the Clergie and people of the Citie: by whoſe common decree he was alſo ſent unto *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of Canterbury for his conſecration. Not long after, the *Waterfordians*, following the example of the *Dublinians*, erected a Biſhoprick among themſelves; [o] and ſent their new Biſhop to Canterburie for his conſecration. the manner of whoſe election *the Clergie and people of Waterford* in the letters which they wrote at that time unto *Anſelme*, doe thus intimate. [p] *We and our King Murchertach, and Dofnald the Biſhop, and Dermeth our Captain the Kings brother, have made choice of this Prieſt Malchus, a monke of Walkeline Biſhop of Wincheſter.* the ſame man, without doubt, who was afterward promoted to the Biſhopricke of *Liſmore*; ſo much commended by *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*.

The laſt Biſhop of *Dublin* in the yeare 1122. was ſent unto *Anſelmes* next ſucceſſor for his conſecration: touching which I have ſeene this writ of King *Henry* the firſt, directed unto him:

Henricus Rex Angliæ, Radulpho Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, ſalutem. Mandavit mihi Rex Hiberniæ per*

n A Rege Hiberniæ, Murierdach nomine, necnon à clero & populo in Epiſcopatum ipſius civitatis electus eſt; atq; ad Anſelmum, iuxta morem antiquum, ſacrandus cum communi decreto directus. *Eadmer. Hiſtor. Novor. lib. 2. pag. 34.*

o *Ibid. pag. 36.*

p Nos & Rex noſter Murchertachus, & Epiſcopus Dofnaldus, & Dermeth Dux noſter frater Regis, elegimus hunc Presbyterum Malchum, Walkelini Wintonienſis Epiſcopi monachum, nobis ſufficientiſſimè cognitum, &c.

* *Vt apud Græcos* κελεύω, *non eſt ſemper* δεσποτικὴ λέξις, *quemadmodum ad Iliad.* λ *notatum eſt ab Euſtathio (pag. 884. & 831. edit. Roman.) ſed aliquando reſpondet* τῷ αἰτῶ καὶ τῷ σημαίνω: *ita & vox* Mando, *apud Latinos mediæ ætatis ſcriptores. ut apud Vincentium, verbi gratiâ, lib. 30. Specul. Hiſtorial. cap. 130.* (humiliter ei mandaverunt.) *& hoc in loco.*

Breve

Breve ſuum, & Burgenſes Dublinæ, quòd elegerunt hunc Gregorium in Epiſcopum, & eum tibi mittunt conſecrandum. Vndè tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum ſatisfaciens, ejus conſecrationem ſine dilatione expleas. Teſte Ranulpho Cancellario apud Windelſor.

Henry King of England, to Ralphe Archbiſhop of Canterbury, greeting. The King of Ireland hath intimated unto mee by his writ, and the Burgeſſes of Dublin, that they have choſen this Gregory for their Biſhop, and ſend him unto you to be conſecrated. Wherfore I wiſh you, that ſatisfying their requeſt, you performe his conſecration without delay. Witneſſe Ranuph our Chancellour at Windſor.

All the Burgeſſes of Dublin likewiſe, and the whole aſſembly of the Clergie, directed their joint letters to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie the ſame time: wherein among other things they write thus. ¶ *Know you for verity, that the Biſhops of Ireland have great indignation toward us, and that Biſhop moſt of all that dwelleth at Armagh: becauſe we will not obey their ordination, but will alwaies bee under your governement.* Whereby we may ſee, that as the *Oſtmans* were deſirous to ſever themſelves from the *Iriſh*, and to bee eſteemed *Normans* rather: ſo the Iriſh Biſhops on the other ſide, howſoever they digeſted in ſome ſort the recourſe which they had to *Lanfranc* and *Anſelme* (who were two of the moſt famous men in their times, and with whom they themſelves were deſirous to hold all good correſpondence) yet could they not well brooke this continuation of their dependance

¶ Sciatis vos reverâ, quòd Epiſcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent, & maximè ille Epiſcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ: quia nos noluimus obedire eorum ordinationi, ſed ſemper ſub veſtro dominio eſſe volumus. *MS. ad calcem Collectionis Ifodori Mercatoris in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.*

pendance upon a Metropolitan of another kingdome; which they conceived to be ſomewhat derogatorie to the dignitie of their owne Primate. But this jealouſie continued not long. for this ſame *Gregorie* being afterwards made *Archbiſhop* of Dublin, and the Biſhopricks here ſettled by *Iohannes Paparo*: aſwell they of *Dublin*, as the others of *Waterford* and *Limrick* (for they alſo had one *Patricke* conſecrated Biſhop unto them by *Theobald* Archbiſhop of Canterbury) did ever after that time ceaſe to have any relation unto the See of Canterbury.

And now to goe forward: as the Kings and people of this land in thoſe elder times kept the nomination of their Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their own hands, and depended not upon the *Popes* proviſions that way: ſo doe wee not finde by any approved record of antiquitie, that any *Viſitations* of the clergie were held here in the *Popes* name; much leſſe that any *Indulgences* were ſought for by our people at his hands. For, as for the [r] *Charter of S. Patrick*, (by ſome intituled, *De antiquitate Avalonicâ*) wherein [ſ] *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus* are ſaid to have purchaſed *ten* or *thirtie* yeares of Indulgences from Pope *Eleutherius*; and St. *Patrick* himſelfe to have procured *twelve* yeares in his time from Pope *Celeſtinus*: it might eaſily bee demonſtrated (if this were a place for it) that it is a meere figment, deviſed by the Monkes of *Glaſtenbury*. Neyther doe I well know, what credit is to bee given unto that ſtragling ſen-

r Charta S. Patricii, *in Guilelmi Malmeſburienſis libello, de Antiquitate Glaſtonienſis Eccleſiæ, MS.*

ſ In ſcriptis recentioribus inveni, quòd ſancti Phaganus & Deruvianus perquiſierant ab Eleutherio Papâ, qui eos miſerat, X. (*al.* XXX.) annos indulgentiæ. Et ego frater Patricius à piæ memoriæ Celeſtino Papâ XII. annos tempore meo acquiſivi. *Ibid.*

tence,

tence, which I finde aſcribed unto the ſame authour.

s *If any queſtions doe ariſe in this Iland, let them bee referred to the See Apoſtolick.* or that other decree, attributed to *Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus* and *Benignus.* t *Whenſoever any cauſe that is very difficult, and unknown unto all the Iudges of the Scottiſh nations, ſhall ariſe; it is rightly to bee referred to the See of the Archbiſhop of the Iriſh (to wit, Patrick) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wiſe men, a cauſe of this nature cannot eaſily be made up: wee have decreed, it ſhall bee ſent to the See Apoſtolick; that is to ſay, to the chaire of the Apoſtle Peter, which hath the authoritie of the City of Rome.* Onely this I will ſay, that as it is moſt likely, that St. *Patrick* had a ſpeciall regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was ſent for the converſion of this Iland: ſo if I my ſelfe had lived in his daies, for the reſolution of a doubtful queſtion I ſhould as willingly have liſtened to the judgement of the Church of *Rome*, as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; ſo reverend an eſtimation have I of the integritie of that Church, as it ſtood in thoſe good daies. But that St. *Patrick* was of opinion, that the Church of *Rome* was ſure ever afterward to continue in that good eſtate, and that there was a perpetuall priviledge annexed unto that See, that it ſhould never erre in judgment, or that the Popes ſentences were alway to bee held as infallible Oracles; that will I never beleeve:

s Patricius ait. Siquæ queſtiones in hâc inſulâ oriantur, ad ſedem Apoſtolicam referantur. *Vet. Collect Canonum, Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ.* cujus initium: Synodicorum exemplariorum innumeroſitatẽ conſpiciens. t Quæcunque cauſa valdè difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judiciis; ad Cathedram Archiepiſcopi Hibernenſium (id eſt, Patricii) atque huius antiſtitis examinationem rectè referenda. Si verò in illâ, cum ſuis ſapientibus, facile ſanari non poterit talis cauſa prædictæ negotiationis: ad ſedem Apoſtolicam decrevimus eſſe mittendam; id eſt, ad Petri Apoſtoli Cathedram, auctoritatem Romæ Vrbis habentem. Hi ſunt qui de hoc decreverunt: id eſt, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. *Vet. Codex Eccleſiæ Armachanæ.*

ſure I am, that my countrey-men after him were of a farre other beleefe; who were ſo farre from ſubmitting themſelves in this ſort to whatſoever ſhould proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes ſtood out againſt it, when they had little cauſe ſo to doe. For proofe whereof I need to ſeeke no further, than to thoſe very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the ſupremacie of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Countrey.

First, Mr. *Coppinger* commeth upon us, with this wiſe queſtion.[x] *Was not Ireland among other Countries abſolved from the Pelagian hereſie by the Church of Rome, as Ceſar Baronius writeth ?* then hee ſetteth downe the copie of S. *Gregories*[y] epiſtle, in anſwer unto the *Iriſh* Biſhops that ſubmitted themſelves unto him. and concludeth in the end, that *the Biſhops of Ireland being infected with the Pelagian errour, ſought abſolution firſt of Pelagius the Pope : but the ſame was not effectually done, untill S. Gregory did it.* But in all this, hee doth nothing elſe but bewray his owne ignorance. For neyther can hee ſhew it in *Ceſar Baronius* or in any other author whatſoever, that the *Iriſh* Biſhops did ever ſeeke abſolution from Pope *Pelagius*; or that the one had to deale in any buſineſſe at all with the other. Neyther yet can hee ſhew that ever they had to doe with Saint *Gregory* in any matter that did concerne the *Pelagian* hereſie. for theſe bee dreames of *Coppingers* owne idle head. The epiſtle of S. *Gregory* dealeth onely with the controverſie of the *three chapters*, which were condemned by the *fifth* generall Councell; whereof *Baronius* writeth thus.

x *Copping. Nemoſynum to the Catholicks of Ireland, lib. 2. cap. 3.*

y *Gregor. lib. 2. epiſt. 36. Indict. 10.*

thus. [z] *All the Biſhops that were in Ireland, with moſt earneſt ſtudy, roſe up jointly for the defence of the Three Chapters. And when they perceived that the Church of Rome did both receive the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and ſtrengthen the fifth Synod with her conſent: they departed from her, and clave to the reſt of the ſchiſmatickes, that were eyther in Italy, or in Africke, or in other countries, animated with that vaine confidence, that they did ſtand for the Catholicke faith, while they defended thoſe things that were concluded in the Councell of Chalcedon.* [a] And *ſo much the more fixedly* (ſaith he) *did they cleave to their error, becauſe whatſoever Italy did ſuffer by commotions of warre, by famine or peſtilence, all theſe unhappy things they thought did therefore befall unto it, becauſe it had undertaken to fight for the fifth Synod againſt the Councell of Chalcedon.*

Thus farre *Baronius*: out of whoſe narration this may bee collected, that the Biſhops of *Ireland* did not take all the reſolutions of the Church of *Rome* for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reaſon on their ſides, they preferred the judgement of other Churches before it. Wherein how peremptory they were, when they wrote unto St. *Gregory* of the matter; may eaſily be perceived by theſe parcels of the anſwer, which hee returned unto their letters. [b] *The firſt entry of your epiſtle*

z Ardentiſſimo ſtudio pro trium capitulorum defenſione, junctis animis omnes qui in Hibernia erant Epiſcopi, inſurrexere. Addiderunt & illud nefas, ut cùm percepiſſent Romanam Eccleſiam æquè ſuſcepiſſe Trium damnationum capitulorum, atque ſuo conſenſu Quintam Synodum roborâſſe: ab eâdem pariter reſilierint, atque reliquis qui vel in Italiâ, vel in Africâ, aliiſve regionibus erant ſchiſmaticis inhæſerint; fiduciâ illâ vanâ erecti, quòd pro fide Catholicâ ſtarent, cùm quæ eſſent in Concilio Chalcedonenſi ſtatuta

defenderent. *Baron. Annal. tom. 7. an. 566. num. 21.* a Sed eo fixiùs inhærent errori, cùm quæcunq; Italia paſſa ſit bellorum motibus, fame, vel peſtilentiâ, eâ ex cauſsâ illi cuncta infauſta accidiſſe putarent, quòd pro Quintâ Synodo adverſus Chalcedonenſe Concilium prælium ſuſcepiſſet. *Ibid.* b Prima itaq; epiſtolæ veſtræ frons, gravem vos pati perſecutionem innotuit. Quæ quidem perſecutio dum non rationabiliter ſuſtinetur, nequaquam proficit ad ſalutem. *Gregor. Regeſt. lib. 2. epiſt. 36.*

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hath notified, that you suffer a grievous persecution which persecution indeed, when it is not sustained for a reasonable cause, doth profit nothing unto salvation. and [c] *therefore it is very unfit, that you should glory of that persecution, as you call it, by which it is certaine you cannot be promoted to everlasting rewards.* [d] *And whereas you write, that since that time among other provinces Italy hath beene most afflicted; you ought not to object that unto it as a reproach: because it is written: Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every sonne that he receiveth.* Then having spoken of the booke that Pope *Pelagius* did write of this controversie (which indeed was penned by *Gregory* himselfe) hee addeth. [e] *If after the reading of this booke, you will persist in that deliberation, wherein now you are; without doubt you shew, that you give your selves to bee ruled not by reason, but by obstinacie.* By all which you may see, what credit is to be given unto the man, who would beare us in hand, that this epistle of St. *Gregory* was sent as an answer unto the Bishops of *Ireland*, that did submit themselves unto him: whereas (to say nothing of the [f] copies, wherein this epistle is noted to have beene written to the Bishops of *Iberiâ*, and not, in *Hiberniâ*) the least argument of any submission doth not appeare in any part of that epistle; but the whole course of it doth cleerly manifest the flat contrary.

In the next place steppeth forth *Osullevan Beare*; who in his *Catholick history of Ireland*, would have us

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f *Vid. Roman. Correct. in Gratian. De conſecrat. diſtinct. 4. cap. 144.* Ab antiqua.

IRREGU
PAGINA

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he,

he, *is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland.* But who is he that reporteth so, beside *Philip Osullevan?* a worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon: who in relating the matters that fell out in his owne time, discovereth himselfe to bee as egregious a lyar, as any (I verily thinke) that this day breatheth in Christendome. The *Apostolicke letters* he speaketh of, were written (as before hath bin touched) in the yeere of our Lord DCXXXIX. during the vacancie of the Romane See, upon the death of *Severinus.* Our Countryman *Kilianus* repayred to *Rome* 47. yeeres after that, and was ordained Bishop there by Pope *Conon* in the yeere DCLXXXVI. The reason of his comming thither, is thus laid downe by *Egilwardus* or who ever else was the author of his life. [i] *For Ireland had beene of old defiled with the Pelagian heresie, and condemned by the Apostolicall censure, which could not bee loosed but by the Romane judgement.* If this be true: then that is false which *Osullevan* reporteth of the effect of his *Apostolicall Epistle,* that it did so presently quash the *Pelagian* heresie, as it durst not once peepe up within this Iland.

[i] Hibernia siquidem olim Pelagianâ fœdata fuerat hæresi, Apostolicaque censurâ damnata, quæ nisi Romano judicio solvi non poterat. *Author antiqu. Vit. Kilian.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the controversie which the Britons, Picts, and Irish maintained against the Church of Rome, touching the celebration of Easter.

THe difference betwixt the *Romanes* and the *Irish* in the celebration of *Easter,* consisted in this. The

The *Romanes* kept the memoriall of our Lords reſurrection upon that Sunday, which fell betwixt the xv. and the xxi. day of the Moone (both termes included) next after the xxi. day of March; which they accounted to bee the ſeat of the *Vernall æquinoctium*, that is to ſay, that time of the Spring wherein the day and the night were of equall length. and in reckoning the age of the Moone they followed the *Alexandrian* cycle of xix. yeeres (whence our *golden number* had his originall) as it was explained unto them by *Dionyſius Exiguus*: which is the account that is ſtill obſerved, not onely in the Church of *England*, but alſo among all the Chriſtians of *Greece*, *Ruſsia*, *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, and *Æthiopia*; and was (ſince the time that I my ſelfe was borne) generally received in all Chriſtendome, untill the late change of the Kalendar was made by Pope *Gregory the* xiii^th^. The Northren *Iriſh* and *Scottiſh*, together with the *Picts*, obſerved the cuſtome of the *Britons*: [a] keeping their *Eaſter* upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the xiiii. and the xx. day of the Moone; and following in their account thereof, not the xix. yeeres computation of *Anatolius*, [b] but *Sulpicius Severus* his circle of lxxxiiii. yeeres. for howſoever they extolled *Anatolius* [c] for appointing (as they ſuppoſed) the bounds of *Eaſter* betwixt the xiiii. and the xx. day of the Moone; yet *Wilfride* in the

a Non enim Paſchæ diem Dominicum ſuo tempore, ſed à decimaquartâ uſque ad viceſimam Lunam obſervabant. Quæ computatio 84. annorum circulo contine-

tur. *Bede lib. 2. hiſt cap. 2.* b Porrò iſti ſecundùm decennem novemque Anatolii computatum, aut potiùs juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui lxxxiv. annorum curſum deſcripſit, xiv. Lunâ cum Iudæis Paſchale ſacramentum celebrant: cùm neutrum Eccleſiæ Romanæ Pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem ſequantur. *Aldelm. epiſt. ad Geruntium regem & Dumnonios inter epiſtolas Bonifacy, num. 44.* c *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 3. & 25. Vid. Dionyſii Petavii notas in Epiphan. pag. 194. 195.*

Synod

Synod of *Strenſhal* chargeth them utterly to have rejected his cycle of XIX. yeeres: from which therefore *Cummianus* draweth an argument againſt them; that [d] *they can never come to the true account of Eaſter, who obſerve the cycle of* LXXXIIII. *yeeres.*

To reduce the *Iriſh* unto conformity with the Church of *Rome* in this point, Pope *Honorius* (the *firſt* of that name) directed his letters unto them: [e] *Exhorting them, that they would not eſteeme their own paucity, ſeated in the utmoſt borders of the earth, more wiſe than the ancient or moderne Churches of Chriſt through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another Eaſter contrary to the Paſchall computations, and the Synodall decrees of the Biſhops of the whole world.* and ſhortly after, the Clergie of *Rome* (as wee have ſaid) upon the death of *Severinus*, wrote other letters unto them to the ſame effect. Now where *Oſullevan* avoucheth, that *the common cuſtome uſed by the Church in celebrating the feaſt of the Lords reſurrection was alwaies obſerved by the Southerne Iriſh*; and now *embraced alſo by the Northren, together with the Picts and Britons (who received the faith from Iriſh Doctors) when they had knowledge given them of the rite of the Church of Rome*: in all this (according to his common wont) he ſpeaketh never a true word. For neyther did the *Southerne Iriſh* alwayes obſerve the celebration of Eaſter commonly received abroad: neyther did the *Northren Iriſh*, nor the *Picts*, nor the *Britons*, many yeeres after this admonition given by the Church of *Rome*, admit that obſervation among them. to ſpeake nothing of his folly in ſaying, that the *Britons* received the faith from the *Iriſh*: when the

d Ad veram Paſchæ rationem nunquam pervenire eos, qui cyclum LXXXIIII. annorum obſervant. *Cummian. epiſt. ad Segienum abbat. de Diſputatione Lunæ. MS. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.*

e Exhortans, ne paucitatem ſuam in extremis terræ finibus conſtitutã, ſapientiorem antiquis ſive modernis, quæ per Orbem terræ erant, Chriſti Eccleſiis æſtimarent: neve contra Paſchales computos, & decreta ſynodalium totius Orbis Pontificum aliud Paſcha celebrarent. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſt. cap. 19.*

the contrary is ſo well knowne, that the *Iriſh* rather received the ſame from the * *Britons*.

* S. Patrick, & his followers.

That the common cuſtome of celebrating the time of *Easter* was not alwaies obſerved by the *Southerne Iriſh*, may appeare by thoſe words of *Bede*, in the *third* booke of his hiſtory and the *third* chapter. *Porrò gentes Scottorum, quæ in auſtralibus Hiberniæ inſulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apoſtolicæ ſedis antiſtitis Paſchacanonico ritu obſervare didicerunt.* For if (as this place cleerly proveth) *the nations of the Scots, that dwelt in the Southern parts of Ireland, did learne to obſerve Eaſter after the canonicall manner, upon the admonition of the Biſhop of Rome:* it is evident, that before that admonition they did obſerve it after another manner. The word *jamdudum*, which *Bede* here uſeth, is taken among authors oftentimes in contrary ſenſes: either to ſignifie *a great while ſince*, or elſe, *but lately*, or *erewhile*. In the former ſenſe it muſt bee here taken, if it have relation to the time wherein *Bede* did write his book: and in the latter alſo it may be taken, if it be referred to the time whereof he treateth, (which is the more likely opinion) namely to the comming of Biſhop *Aidan* into *England*; which fell out about halfe a yeere, after that *Honorius* had ſent his admonitorie letters to the *Iriſh*. who, as hee was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome* we can reade of, that admoniſhed them to reforme their rite of keeping the time of *Easter*: ſo that the *Iriſh* alſo much about the ſame time conformed themſelves herein to the *Romane* uſage, may thus be manifeſted.

When Biſhop *Aidan* came into *England* from the Iland *Hy*, now called *Y-Columkille*; [f] the Colledge of

[f] Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 5.

of Monkes there was governed by *Segenius*, who in the [g] inſcription of the epiſtle of the clergie of *Rome* ſent unto the *Iriſh*, is called *Segianus*. Now there is yet extant in Sir *Robert Cottons* worthy Librarie, an epiſtle of *Cummianus* directed to this *Segienus* (for ſo is his name there written) Abbot of *Y-Columkille*: wherein he plainly declareth, that the great cycle of DXXXII. yeeres, and the *Romane* uſe of celebrating the time of *Eaſter* according to the ſame, was then newly brought in into this country. [h] *For the firſt yeere* (ſaith he) *wherein the cycle of* DXXXII. *yeeres began to bee obſerved by our men; I received it not, but held my peace, daring neither to commend it nor to diſpraiſe it.* That yeere being paſt, he ſaith he conſulted with his ancients; who were the ſucceſſors of *Biſhop Ailbeus, Queranus Colonienſis, Brendinus, Neſſanus* and *Lugidus*. who being gathered together *in Campo-lene*, concluded to celebrate *Eaſter* the yeere following together with the univerſall Church. [i] *But not long after* (ſaith hee) *there aroſe up a certaine whited wall, pretending to keepe the tradition of the Elders; which did not make both one, but divided them, and made voide in part that which was promiſed: whom the Lord (as I hope) will ſmite, in whatſoever manner he pleaſeth.*

To this argument drawne from *the tradition of the elders*, hee maketh anſwer: that [k] *they did ſimply and faithfully obſerve that which they knew to bee beſt in their dayes, without the fault of any contradiction or animoſity, and did ſo recommend it to their poſterity.* and

g *Id lib. 2. cap. 19.*

h Ego enim primo anno quo cyclus DXXXII. annorum à noſtris celebrari orſus eſt; non ſuſcepi, ſed ſilui, nec laudare nec vituperare auſus. *Cummian. epiſt. ad Segienum.*

i Sed non poſt multum ſurrexit quidam paries dealbatus, traditionem ſeniorem ſervare ſe ſimulans; qui utraque non fecit unum ſed diviſit, & irritum ex parte fecit quod promiſſum eſt: quem Dominus ut ſpero, percutiet quoquo modo voluerit. *Ibid.*

k Seniores verò, quos in velamine repulſionis habetis, quod optimum in diebus ſuis eſſe noverunt ſimpliciter & fideliter ſine culpa contradictionis ullius & animoſitatis obſervaverunt, & ſuis poſteris ſic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

oppoſeth

oppoſeth thereunto [n] *the unanimous rule of the Vniverſall Catholicke Church*: deeming this to be a very harſh concluſion. [o] *Rome erreth, Ieruſalem erreth, Alexandria erreth, Antioch erreth, the whole world erreth: the Scottiſh onely and the Britons doe alone hold the right.* but eſpecially hee urgeth the authority of the firſt of theſe *Patriarchicall* Sees, which now (ſince the advancement thereof by the Emperour *Phocas*) began to bee admired by the inhabitants of the earth, as *the place which God had choſen; wherevnto, if greater cauſes did ariſe, recourſe was to bee had, according to the Synodicall decree, as unto the head of cities.* and therefore he ſaith, that they ſent ſome unto *Rome*: who returning backe in the third yeere, informed them, that they met there with a *Grecian*, and an *Hebrew*, and a *Scythian*, and an *Ægyptian* in one lodging; and that they all, and the whole world too, did keep their *Eaſter* at the ſame time, when the *Iriſh* were diſ-joyned from them by the ſpace of a whole * moneth. [p] *And wee have proved* (ſaith *Cummianus*) *that the vertue of God was in the relicks of the holy Martyrs, and the Scriptures which they brought with them. For we ſaw with our eyes, a mayde altogether blinde opening her eyes at theſe relickes, and a man ſicke of the palſie walking, and many divels caſt out.* Thus farre he.

The *Northren Iriſh* and *Albanian Scottiſh* on the other ſide, made little reckoning of the authority, either of the Biſhop or of the Church of *Rome*. And therefore

n Vniverſalis Eccleſiæ Catholicæ unanimem regulam. *Ibid.*

o Roma errat, Hieroſolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat: ſoli tantùm Scoti & Britones rectum ſapiunt. *Ibid.*

* *This ſeemeth to have fallen out, either in the yeere 634. or 645. wherein Eaſter was ſolemnized at Rome the 24. day of April. and it appeareth by our Annals, that Segenius was abbot of* Y Columkille *from the yeere 624. until 652.*

p Vidimus oculis noſtris puellam cæcam omnino ad has reliquias oculos aperientem, & paralyticum ambulantem, & multa dæmonia ejecta. *Cummian.*

therefore *Bede*, ſpeaking of *Oſwy* king of *Northumberland*, ſaith that q *notwithſtanding he was brought up by the Scottiſh, yet he underſtood that the Roman was the Catholicke and Apoſtolike Church* (or, *that the Roman Church was Catholike and Apoſtolike*) intimating therby, that the *Scottiſh*, among whom he received his education, were of another minde. And long before that, *Laurentius*, *Mellitus* and *Iuſtus* (who were ſent into *England* by Pope *Gregory* to aſſiſt *Auſtin*) in a letter which they ſent unto the *Scots that did inhabite Ireland* (ſo *Bede* writeth) complained of the diſtaſte given unto them by their country-men, in this manner. r *Wee knew the Britons, wee thought that the Scots were better than they. But wee learned by Biſhop Daganus comming into this Iland, and Abbot Columbanus comming into France; that the Scots did differ nothing from the Britons in their converſation. For Daganus the Biſhop comming unto us, would not take meate with us, no not ſo much as in the ſame lodging wherein we did eate.*

And as for *miracles*, wee finde them as rife among them that were oppoſite to the *Romane* tradition, as upon the other ſide. If you doubt it, reade what *Bede* hath written of Biſhop *Aidan* (s *who of what merit hee was, the inward Iudge hath taught, even by the tokens of miracles*; ſaith hee) and *Adamnanus* of the life of S. *Colme* or *Columkille*. Whereupon Biſhop *Colman* in the Synod at *Strenſhal* frameth this con-

q Intellexerat enim veraciter Oſwi, quamvis educatus à Scotis, quia Romana eſſet Catholica & Apoſtolica Eccleſia. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 29.*

r Sed cognoſcentes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos verò per Daganum Epiſcopum in hanc inſulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil diſcrepare à Britonibus in eorum converſatione didicimus. Nam Daganus epiſcopus ad nos veniens, non ſolùm cibum nobiſcum, ſed nec in eodem hoſpitio quo veſcebamur, ſumere voluit. *Laurent. epiſt. apud Bed. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

s Qui cuius meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum ſignis internus arbiter edocuit. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 15. item 16. & 17.*

cluſion.

cluſion. [t] *Is it to be beleeved, that Colme our moſt reverend father, and his ſucceſſors, men beloved of God, which obſerved Eaſter in the ſame manner that wee doe, did hold or doe that which was contrary to the holy Scriptures? ſeeing there were very many among them, to whoſe heavenly holineſſe the ſignes and miracles which they did, bare teſtimony: whom nothing doubting to bee Saints, I deſiſt not to follow evermore their life, maners, and diſcipline.* What *Wilfride* replied to this, may be ſeene in *Bede*: that which I much wonder at, among the many wonderfull things related of St. *Colme* by *Adamnanus*, is this. that where hee ſaith, that this Saint, during the time of his abode in the abbay of *Clone* (now called *Clonmacnoſh*) did [u] *by the revelation of the holy Ghoſt propheſie of that diſcord, which after many dayes aroſe among the Churches of Scotland* (or *Ireland*) *for the diverſity of the feaſt of Eaſter*: yet hee telleth us not, that the holy Ghoſt revealed unto him, that he himſelfe (whoſe example animated his followers to ſtand more ſtiffely herein againſt the *Romane* rite) was in the wrong, and ought to conforme his judgment to the tradition of the Churches abroad. as if the holy Ghoſt did not much care, whether of both ſides ſhould carry the matter away in this controverſie: for which (if you pleaſe) you ſhall heare a very pretty tale out of an old Legend, concerning this ſame diſcord whereof S. *Colme* is ſaid to have propheſied.

[x] *Vpon a certaine time* (ſaith my Author) *there was a*

t Nunquid reverendiſſimum patrem noſtrum Columbam, & ſu ceſſores ejus, viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo Paſcha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria ſapuiſſe vel egiſſe credendum eſt? cùm plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum ſanctitati cœleſti ſigna & virtutem quæ fecerunt miracula, teſtimonium præbuerunt: quos ut ipſe ſanctos eſſe non dubitans ſemper eorum vitam, mores & diſciplinam ſequi non deſiſto. *Colman apud Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 19.*

u Revelante Spiritu Sancto prophetavit de illâ quæ poſt dies multos ob diverſitatem Paſchalis feſti orta eſt inter Scotiæ Eccle-

ſias diſcordiâ. *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 1. cap. 3.* x Quodam tempore erat magnum Concilium populorum Hiberniæ in Campo albo: inter quos erat contentio circa ordinē Paſchæ. Laſreanus enim abbas monaſterii Leighlinne, cui ſuberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat qui nuper de Româ venit: alii verò veterem defendebant. *Vit. S. E[illegible] abbatis MS.*

great Councell of the people of Ireland in the white field: among whom there was contention about the order of Easter. For Lasreanus, the abbot of the monasteric of Leighlin, unto whom there were subject a thousand & five hundred monkes, defended the new order that lately came from Rome: but others defended the old. This *Lasreannus* or *Lazerianus* is the man, who in other Legends (of no other credit than this we now have in hand) is reported to have been the Bishop of *Romes* Legate in *Ireland*; and is commonly accounted to have beene the first Bishop of the Church of *Leighlin*. His principall antagonist at this meeting was one *Munna*, founder of the monasterie which from him was called *Teach-munna*, that is, the house of *Munna* (in the Bishoprick of *Meath*:) who would needs bring this question to the same kinde of triall here, that *Austin* the monke is said to have done in *England*. In defence of the *Roman* order, *Bede* telleth us that *Austin* made this motion to the *Brittish* Bishops, for a finall conclusion of the businesse. [y] *Let us beseech God, which maketh men to dwell of one mind together in their fathers house; that hee will vouchsafe by some heavenly signes to make knowne unto us, what tradition is to be followed, and by what way wee may hasten to the entry of his kingdome. Let some sicke man be brought hither; and by whose prayers he shall bee cured, let his faith and working be beleeved to be acceptable unto God, and to bee followed by all men.*

[y] Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare fecit unanimes in domo patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare cœlestibus signis dignetur, quæ sequenda traditio, quibus sit viis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis æger; & per cujus preces fuerit curatus, hujus fides & operatio Deo devota atque omnibus sequenda credatur. Beda lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.

Now *Munna*, who stood in defence of the order formerly used by the *Brittish* and *Irish*, maketh a more liberall proffer in this kinde, and leaveth *Las-*

reanus to his choyce. [z] *Let us diſpute briefly* (ſaith he) *but in the name of God let us give judgement. Three things are given to thy choyce, Laſreanus. Two bookes ſhall be caſt into the fire, a booke of the old order and of the new; that we may ſee whether of them both ſhall be freed from the fire. Or let two Monkes, one of mine and another of thine, be ſhut up into one houſe: and let the houſe be burnt, and wee ſhall ſee which of them will eſcape untouched of the fire. Or let us goe unto the grave of a juſt Monke that is dead, and raiſe him up againe: and let him tell us, after what order wee ought to celebrate Eaſter this yeare.* But *Laſreanus* being wiſer than ſo, refuſed to put ſo great a matter to that hazzard: and therefore returned this grave anſwer unto *Munna*; if all be true that is in the Legend. [a] *We will not goe unto thy judgement: becauſe we know that, for the greatneſſe of thy labour and holineſſe, if thou ſhouldeſt bid that mount Marge ſhould bee changed into the place of the White field, and the White field into the place of mount Marge; God would preſently doe this for thy ſake.* So prodigall doe ſome make God to be of *miracles*, and in a manner careleſſe how they ſhould fall; as if in the diſpenſing of them, he did reſpect the gracing of *perſons* rather than of *cauſes*.

In what yeare this Councel of the *White field* was held, is not certainely knowne: nor yet whether S. *Munna* be that *whited wall*, of whom wee heard *Cummianus* complaine. The Synod of *Strenſhal* (before mentioned) was aſſembled long after, at *Whitby* (called by the Saxons *Streaneſheale*) in *Yorkeſhire*, the

z Breviter diſputemus: ſed in nomine Domini agamus judicium. Tres optiones dantur tibi, Laſreane. Duo libri in ignem mittentur, liber veteris ordinis & novi; ut videamus, quis eorum de igne liberabitur. Vel duo monachi, unus meus alter tuus, in unam domum recludantur, & domus comburatur: & videbimus, quis ex eis evadat intactus igne. Aut eamus ad ſepulchrum mortui iuſti monachi, & reſuſcitemus eum; & indicet nobis, quo ordine debemus hoc anno Paſcha celebrare. *Vit. S. Munnu.*

a Non ibimus ad iudicium tuum, quoniam ſcimus quòd, pro magnitudine laboris tui & ſanctitatis, ſi diceres ut mons Marge commutaretur in locum Campi albi & Campus albus in locum montis Marge; hoc propter te Deus ſtatim faceret. *Ibid.*

b yeare of our Lord DCLXIIII. for the deciſion of the ſame queſtion. Concerning which, in the life of *Wilfrid* (written by one *Æddi* an acquaintance of his, ſurnamed *Stephen*; at the commandement of *Acca*, who in the time of *Bede* was Biſhop of *Hanguſtald* or *Hexham*, in *Northumberland*) we reade thus. c *Vpon a certaine time in the daies of Colman metropolitan Biſhop of the citie of Yorke, Oſwi and Alhfrid his ſonne being Kings; the Abbots and Prieſts and all the degrees of Eccleſiaſticall orders meeting together at the monaſtery which is called Streaneſhel, in the preſence of Hilde the moſt godly mother of that abbey, in preſence alſo of the Kings and the two Biſhops Colman and Aegelberht, inquiry was made touching the obſervation of Eaſter, what was moſt right to bee held: whether Eaſter ſhould bee kept according to the cuſtome of the Brittons and the Scots and all the Northren part, upon the Lords day that came from the* XIIII. *day of the Moone untill the* XX. *or whether it were better, that Eaſter Sunday ſhould bee celebrated from the* XV. *day of the Moone untill the* XXI. *after the manner of the See Apoſtolick. Time was given unto Biſhop Colman in the firſt place, as it was fit, to de-*

b *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 26.*

c Quodam tempore in diebus Colmanni Eboracæ civitatis epiſcopi metropolitani, regnantibus Oſwi & Alhfrido filio eius, Abbates & Presbyteri omneſque Eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ gradus ſimul in unum convenientes, in cœnobio quæ Streaneſhel dicitur; præſente ſanctimoniale matre pliſſimâ Hilde, præſentibus quoque Regibus & duobus Colmanno & Ægilberhto Epiſcopis, de Paſchali ratione conquirebant, quid eſſet rectiſſimum. utrum more Brittonum & Scottorum omniſque Aquilonalis partis à XIIII. Lunâ Dominicâ die veniente uſq; ad XXII. (*leg* XX.) Paſcha agendum; an melius ſit ratione Sedis Apoſtolicæ, à XV. Lunâ uſque XXI. Paſchalem Dominicam celebrandam. Tempus datum eſt Colmanno epiſcopo primum, ut dignum erat, audientibus cunctis reddere rationem. Ille autem intrepidâ mente reſpondens, dixit. Patres noſtri & anteceſſores eorum manifeſtè Spiritu ſancto inſpirati, ut erat Columcille, XIIII. Lunâ die Dominicâ Paſcha celebrandum ſanxerunt: exemplum tenentes Iohannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliſtæ, qui ſupra pectus Domini in Cœnâ recubuit, & amator Domini dicebatur. Ille XIIII. Lunâ Paſcha celebravit; & nos, ſicut diſcipuli eius Polycarpus & alii, celebramus: nec hoc audemus pro patribus (*fort.* partibus) noſtris, nec volumus mutare. *Stephanus presbyter (qui & Æddi, apud Bedam, lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 2.) in Vitâ Wilfrid. cap. 10. MS. in Bibliothecâ Sarisburienſis Eccleſiæ, & D. Roberti Cottoni.*

liver

liver his reaſon in the audience of all. Who with an undaunted minde made his anſwer, and ſaid. Our fathers and their predeceſſors, who were manifeſtly inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, as Columkille was, did ordaine that Eaſter ſhould be celebrated upon the Lords day that fell upon the XIIII. *Moone; following the example of Iohn the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, who leaned upon the breaſt of our Lord at his laſt Supper, and was called the lover of the Lord. Hee celebrated Eaſter upon the* XIIII. *day of the Moone: and wee with the ſame confidence celebrate the ſame, as his Diſciples Polycarpus and others did; neyther dare wee for our parts, neyther will wee change this.*

Bede relateth his ſpeech thus. [d] *This Eaſter which I uſe to obſerve, I received from my elders, who did ſend me Biſhop hither: which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are knowne to have celebrated after the ſame manner. Which that it may not ſeeme unto any to bee contemned and rejected: it is the ſame which the bleſſed Evangeliſt Iohn, the diſciple ſpecially beloved by our Lord, with all the Churches which he did overſee, is read to have celebrated. Fridegodus* (who wrote the life of *Wilfrid* at the command of *Odo* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) expreſſeth the ſame Verſe, after this manner.

[c] *Nos ſeriem patriam, non frivola ſcripta tenemus,*
Diſcipulo euſebii Polycarpo dante Iohannis.*
Ille etenim bis ſeptenæ ſub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Paſcha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, ſi quis contraria ſentit.

On the contrary ſide *Wilfrid* objected unto *Colman*

d Paſcha hoc quod agere ſoleo, à maioribus meis acceepi, qui me huc Epiſcopum miſerunt: quod omnes patres noſtri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrâſſe noſcuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum & reprobandum eſſe videatur, ipſum eſt quod beatus Iohannes Evangeliſta, diſcipulus ſpecialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus quibus præerat Eccleſiis, celebrâſſe legitur. *Colman. apud Bedam, lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 25.* c *Fridegod. Vit. wilfrid. MS. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.* * *i. Sancti vel Beati.*

and his Clerkes of *Ireland*; that they with their complices, the *Pictes* and the *Brittons*, [f] *out of the two utmoſt Iles, and thoſe not whole neyther, did with a fooliſh labour fight againſt the whole world.* [g] *And if that Columb of yours* (ſaith he) *yea and ours alſo if hee were Chriſts, was holy and powerfull in vertues: could hee bee preferred before the moſt bleſſed Prince of the Apoſtles? unto whom the Lord ſaid: Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevaile againſt it; and I will give unto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven.* Which laſt words wrought much upon the ſimplicitie of King *Oſwy*; who feared, that [h] when hee ſhould *come to the doores of the kingdome of heaven, there would bee none to open, if hee were diſpleaſed who was proved to keepe the keyes*: but prevailed nothing with Biſhop *Colman*; who [i] *for the feare of his countrey* (as *Stephen* in the life of *Wilfrid* writeth) *contemned the tonſure and the obſervation of Eaſter* uſed by the *Romanes*; and [k] *taking with him ſuch as would follow him; that is to ſay, ſuch as would not receive the Catholike Eaſter and the tonſure of the crown* (*for of that alſo there was then no ſmall queſtion*) *returned back againe into Scotland.*

f Cum quibus de duabus ultimis Oceani inſulis, his non totis, contra totum Orbem ſtulto labore pugnant. *Wilfrid. apud Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25.*

g Et ſi ſanctus erat aut potens virtutibus ille Columba veſter, imo & noſter ſi Chriſti erat: num præferri potuit beatiſſimo Apoſtolorum principi? cui Dominus ait: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meã, & portæ inferi non prævalebunt adverſus eam; Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum. *Ibid.*

h Neforte me adveniente ad fores regni cœlorum, non ſit qui reſeret, averſo illo qui claves tenere probatur. *Ibid.*

i Tonſuram & Paſchæ rationem propter timorem patriæ ſuæ contempſit. *Steph. presbyter, in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 10.*

k Colman videns ſpretam ſuam doctrinam, ſectamque eſſe deſpectam; aſſumptis his qui ſe ſequi voluerunt, id eſt, qui Paſcha catholicum & tonſuram coronæ (nam & de hoc quæſtio non minima erat) recipere nolebant, in Scotiam regreſſus eſt. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 26. Vide etiam lib. 4. cap. 4.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the height that the oppoſition betwixt the Romane party and that of the Brittiſh and Scottiſh grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the Scottiſh and Iriſh ſide have beene ever accounted moſt eminent men in the Catholike Church, notwithſtanding their diſ-union from the Biſhop of Rome.

IN *Colmans* roome *Wilfrid* was choſen Archbiſhop of *Yorke*: who had learned at *Rome* from Archdeacon *Boniface*, [a] *the courſe of Eaſter, which the ſchiſmaticks of Brittaine and Ireland did not know* (ſo goe the words of *Stephen*, the ancient writer of his life:) and afterward did brag, [b] *that hee was the firſt which did teach the true Eaſter in Northumberland* (*having caſt out the Scots*) *which did ordaine the Eccleſiaſticall ſongs to bee parted on ſides, and which did command S. Benets rule to be obſerved by Monkes.* But when he was named to the Archbiſhopricke, [c] he refuſed it at the firſt (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relateth) *leſt he ſhould receive his conſecration from the Scottiſh Biſhops, or from ſuch as the Scots had ordained, whoſe communion the Apoſtolike See had rejected.* The ſpeech which he uſed to this purpoſe, unto the Kings that had choſen him, is thus laid downe by *Stephen* the writer of his life.

a Paſchalem rationem, quam ſchiſmatici Britanniæ & Hiberniæ non cognoverunt; & alias multas Eccleſiaſticæ diſciplinæ regulas Bonifacius archidiaconus quaſi proprio filio ſuo diligenter dictavit. *Steph. presb. vit. wilfrid. cap. 5. See alſo Bede, lib. 5. cap. 20.*

b Se primum fuiſſe, qui verum Paſcha in Northanimbriâ Scotis electis docuerit, qui cantus Eccleſiaſticos antiphonatim inſtituerit, qui ſanctiſſimi Benedicti regulam à monachis obſervari juſſerit. *Gulielm. Malmesbur. lib. 3. de geſt. Pontific. Angl.* c Sed perſtitit ille negare; ne ab Epiſcopis Scottis, vel ab iis quos Scoti ordinaverant, conſecrationem ſuſciperet, quorum communionem ſedes aſpernaretur Apoſtolica. *Id. ibid.*

life.

life. [d] *O my honourable Lords the Kings; it is necessary for us by all meanes providently to consider, how with your election I may (by the helpe of God) come to the degree of a Bishop, without the accusation of catholike men. For there be many Bishops here in Brittaine, none of whom it is my part to accuse, ordained within these foureteene yeares by the Brittons and Scots, whom neyther the See Apostolicke hath received into her communion, nor yet such as consent with the schismaticks. And therefore in my humility I request of you, that you would send me with your warrant beyond the Sea, into the countrey of France, where many Catholike Bishops are to be had; that without any controversie of the Apostolike See I may be counted meet, though unworthy, to receive the degree of a Bishop.*

While [e] *Wilfrid* protracted time beyond the Seas, King *Oswy* ledde by the advice of the *Quartadecimans* (so they injuriously nicknamed the *Brittish* and *Irish*, that did celebrate *Easter* from the *fourteenth* to the *twentieth* day of the moone) appointed [f] *a most religious servant of God and an admirable Doctor that came from Ireland*, named *Ceadda*, to be ordained Bishop of *Yorke* in his roome.

Constituunt etenim perverso canone Cæddam,

d O Domini venerabiles Reges; omnibus modis nobis necessarium est providè considerare, quomodo cum electione vestrâ, sine accusatione catholicorum virorum, ad gradum Episcopalem cum Dei adiutorio venire valeam. Sunt enim hîc in Brytanniâ multi episcopi, quorũ nullum meum est accusare, quamvis veraciter sciam, quòd aut quatuordecim anni sunt, ut Brytones & Scotti ab illis sunt ordinati, quos nec Apostolica sedes in communionem recepit, neque eos qui schismaticis consentiunt. Et ideò in meâ humilitate à vobis posco, ut me mittatis cum vestro præsidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici episcopi multi habentur: ut sine controversiâ Apostolicæ sedis, licèt indignus, gradum Episcopalem merear accipere. *Steph. Presb. Vit. wilfrid. cap.* 12.

e Quo ultra mare moras nectente, Oswius Rex, præventus consiliis Quartadecimanorum (qui vocabantur ita, quia Pascha in quartadecima Lunâ cum Iudæis celebrabant) Ceddam virum sanctissimum, tamen contra regulas, intrusit tribunali Eboracensi. *Gulielm. Malmesb. lib.* 3. *de gest. Pontif. Angl.*

f Ordinantes servum Dei religiosissimum & admirabilem Doctorem, de Hiberniâ insulâ venientem nomine Cœodda, adhuc eo ignorante, in sedem Episcopalem Euroicæ civitatis indoctè contra canones constituerunt. *Steph. presb. Vit. wilfrid cap.* 14.

Moribus

Moribus acclinem, doctrinæ robore fortem,
Præſulis eximij ſervare cubilia: ſicque
Audacter vivo ſponſam rapuere marito,

ſaith *Fridegodus*. This *Ceadda*, being the ſcholler of Biſhop *Aidan*, was far otherwiſe affected to the *Brittiſh* and *Iriſh* than *Wilfrid* was: and therefore was content to receive his ordination from [g] *Wini* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and two other *Brittiſh* Biſhops that were of the *Quartadeciman* partie. For at that time (as *Bede* noteth) *there was not in all Brittaine any Biſhop canonically ordained* (that is to ſay, by ſuch as were of the communion of the Church of *Rome*) except that *Wini* only.

But ſhortly after, the oppoſition betwixt theſe two ſides grew to be ſo great, that our *Cuthbert* (Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*) upon his death-bed required his followers; that they ſhould [h] *hold no communion with them which did ſwerve from the unity of the Catholicke peace, eyther by not celebrating Eaſter in his due time, or by living perverſly*: and that they ſhould rather take up his bones and remove their place of habitation, than any way condeſcend to *ſubmit their neckes unto the yoke of ſchiſmatickes*. For the further maintaining of which breach alſo, there were certaine decrees made both by the *Romanes*, and by the *Saxons* that were guided by their inſtitution. One of the inſtructions that the *Romans* gave them, was this: [i] *You muſt beware, that cauſes bee not referred to other*

g Ab illo eſt conſecratus antiſtes, aſſumptis in ſocietatem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente Epiſcopis, qui Dominicum Paſchæ diem ſecus morem canonicum à XIIII. uſque ad XXI. Lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini, in totâ Brittanniâ canonicè ordinatus epiſcopus. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. ca. 28.*

h Cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholicæ pacis, vel Paſcha non ſuo tempore celebrando, vel perverſè vivendo aberrant, vobis

ſit nulla communio, *&c. Id. in Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 39.* i *Inſtitutio dicit Rom.* Cavendum eſt ne ad alias provincias aut eccleſias referantur cauſæ, quæ alio more & aliâ religione utantur: ſive ad Iudæos, qui umbræ legis magis quàm veritati deſerviunt; aut Britones, qui omnibus contrarii ſunt, & à Romano more & ab unitate Eccleſiæ ſe abſciderunt; aut Hæreticos, quamvis ſint in Eccleſiaſticis cauſis docti, & ſtudioſi fuerint. *Ex Codice Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.*

Provinces

Provinces or Churches, which uſe another manner and another religion: whether to the Iewes, which doe ſerve the ſhadow of the Law rather than the truth; or to the Britons, who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themſelves off from the Romane manner, and the unitie of the Church; or to Heretickes, although they ſhould bee learned in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and well ſtudied.

And among the *decrees* made by ſome of the *Saxon* Biſhops (which were to bee ſeene in the Library of Sir *Thomas Knevet* in *Northfolke*, and are ſtill, I ſuppoſe, preſerved there by his heire) this is laid downe for one. [k] *Such as have received ordination from the Biſhops of the Scots or Brittaines, who in the matter of Eaſter and Tonſure are not united unto the Catholicke Church, let them bee againe by impoſition of hands confirmed by a Catholicke Biſhop. In like manner alſo let the Churches that have beene ordered by thoſe Biſhops, be ſprinkled with exorcized water, and confirmed with ſome ſervice. Wee have no licence alſo to give unto them Chriſme or the Euchariſt, when they require it; unleſſe they doe firſt profeſſe, that they will remaine with us in the unity of the Church. And ſuch likewiſe as eyther of their nation, or of any other, ſhall doubt of their baptiſm, let them be baptized.* Thus did they.

On the other ſide, how averſe the *Britiſh* and the *Iriſh* were from having any communion with thoſe of the *Romane* party; the [l] complaint of *Laurentius*, *Mellitus*, and *Iuſtus* before ſpecified, doth ſufficiently manifeſt. And the anſwer is well knowne, which

k Qui ordinati ſunt à Scottorum vel Brittannorum Epiſcopis, qui in Paſchâ vel Tonſurâ Catholicæ non ſunt adunati Eccleſiæ; iterùm à Catholico Epiſcopo manus impoſitione confirmentur. Similiter & Eccleſiæ quæ ab illis Epiſcopis ordinantur, aquâ exorcizatâ aſpergantur, & aliquâ collectione confirmentur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poſcentibus Chriſmam vel Euchariſtiam dare, ni antè confeſſi fuerint velle ſe nobiſcum eſſe in unitate Eccleſiæ. Et qui ex horum ſimiliter gente, vel quacunque, de baptiſmo ſuo dubitaverint, baptizentur. *Decret. Pontific. MS. cap.* 9. De communicatione Scottorum & Brittonum, qui in Paſchâ & Tonſurâ catholici non ſunt.

l *Bed. lib.* 2. *hiſt. cap.* 4.

* the

* *the ſeven Brittiſh Biſhops, and many other moſt learned men* of the ſame nation, did return unto the propoſitions made unto them by *Auſtin* the Monk (who was ſent unto their parts with authority from Rome:) that [m] *they would perform none of them, nor at all admit him for their Archbiſhop.* The Welſh Chroniclers do further relate, that *Dinot* the Abbot of *Bangor* produced diverſe arguments at that time, to ſhew that they did owe him no ſubjection: and this among others. [n] *Wee are under the government of the Biſhop of Kaer-leon upon Vske, who under God is to overſee us, and cauſe us to keepe the way ſpirituall.* and *Gotcelinus Bertinianus* in the life of *Auſtin*: [o] that for the *authority of their ceremonies* they did alledge, *that they were not onely delivered unto them by Saint Eleutherius the Pope their firſt inſtructer at the firſt infancie almoſt of the Church, but alſo hitherto obſerved by their holy fathers who were the friends of God and followers of the Apoſtles*: and therefore *they ought not to change them for any new dogmatiſts.* But above all others, the *Brittiſh* Prieſts that dwelt in *Weſt-wales* abhorred the communion of theſe *new dogmatiſts* above all meaſure: as *Aldhelme* Abbot of *Malmesbury* declareth at large in his Epiſtle ſent to *Geruntius* King of *Cornwall*, where among many other particulars hee ſheweth, that [p] if any of the *Catholickes* (for ſo he calleth thoſe

* Septem Britonum Epiſcopi, & plures viri doctiſſimi, maximè de nobiliſſimo eorum monaſterio, quod vocatur linguâ Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui Dinoot abbas præfuiſſe narratur. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſt. cap. 2.*

m Illi nihil horum ſe facturos, neq; illum pro Archiepiſcopo habituros eſſe reſpondebant. *Id. ibid.* Tam ipſum quàm ejus ſtatuta, ſtatim reverſi ſpreverunt: nec ipſum pro Archiepiſcopo ſe habituros publicè proclamabant. *Girald. Cambrenſ. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. 2. cap. 1.*

n *In a welſh Manuſcript, ſometime belonging unto*

P. Moſtein *Gentleman.* o Auctorizabant ſuas ceremonias non ſolùm à ſancto Eleutherio Papâ primo inſtitutore ſuo ab ipſâ penè infantiâ Eccleſiæ dicatas, verùm à ſanctis patribus ſuis Dei amicis & Apoſtolorum ſequacibus hactenùs obſervatas; quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatiſtas. *Gotcelin. monachus, in vitâ Auguſtini, cap. 32. MS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.* p Si quilibet de noſtris, id eſt, Catholicis ad eos habitandi gratiâ perrexerint; non priùs ad conſortium ſodalitatis ſuæ adſciſcere dignantur, quàm quadraginta dierum ſpatia in pœnitendo peragere compellantur. *Aldhelm. epiſt. ad Dumnonios.*

of

of his owne ſide) did goe to dwell among them; *they would not vouchſafe to admit them unto their company and ſociety, before they firſt put them to forty daves penance.* Yea,q *even to this day* (ſaith *Bede*, who wrote his hiſtory in the yeere DCCXXXI.) *it is the manner of the Britons, to hold the faith and the religion of the Engliſh in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in any thing more than with Pagans.*

q Quippe cùm utique hodie moris ſit Britonum, fidē religionemq; Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quàm paganis. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſt. cap. 20.*

Whereunto thoſe Verſes of *Talieſſyn* (honoured by the *Britons* with the title of *Ben Beirdh*, that is, *the chiefe of the Bardes* or *Wiſemen*) may bee added: (which ſhew, that hee wrote after the comming of *Auſtin* into *England*, and not 50. or 60. yeeres before, as others have imagined.)

* *Chronicle of Wales, pag. 254.*

* Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys engreifftia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail
Ac ef yn vigail,
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie, Rhufeniaid
A'i ffon gnwppa.
Wo be to that Prieſt yborne,
That will not cleanly weed his corne
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that ſhepheard (I ſay)
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong:

We

Wo be to him that doth not keepe
From Romiſh wolves his ſheepe
With ſtaffe and weapon ſtrong.

As alſo thoſe others of *Mantuan*; which ſhew that ſome tooke the boldneſſe to taxe the Romans of *folly, impudencie*, and *ſtolidity*, for ſtanding ſo much upon matters of humane inſtitution, that for the not admitting of them they would breake peace there, where the Law of God and the Doctrine firſt delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles was ſafely kept and maintained.

r *Adde quod & patres auſi taxare Latinos;*
Cauſabantur eos ſtultè, imprudenter, & æquo
Duriùs, ad ritum Romæ voluiſſe Britannos
Cogere, & antiquum tam præcipitanter amorem
Tam ſtolido temerâſſe auſu. Concedere Roma
Debuit, aiebant, potiùs quàm rumpere pacem
Humani quæ juris erant; modò ſalva maneret
Lex divina, fides, Chriſti doctrina, Senatus
Quam primus tulit ore ſuo; quia tradita ab ipſo
Chriſto erat, humanæ doctore & lumine vitæ.

r Baptiſt. Mantuan. Faſtor. lib. 1.

By all that hath been ſaid, the vanity of *Oſullevan* may be ſeene, who feigneth the *Northren Iriſh*, together with the *Picts* and the *Britons*, to have beene ſo obſequious unto the Biſhop of *Rome*; that they reformed the celebration of *Eaſter* by them formerly uſed, as ſoone as they underſtood what the rite of the *Romane* Church was. Whereas it is knowne, that after the declaration thereof made by Pope *Honorius* and the Clergie of *Rome*; the *Northren Iriſh* were nothing moved therewith, but continued ſtill their owne

owne tradition. And therfore *Bede* findeth no other excuſe for Biſhop *Aidan* herein; but that [r] *eyther hee was ignorant of the canonicall time, or if he knew it, that he was ſo overcome with the authority of his owne nation, that he did not follow it*: that he did it, [t] *after the manner of his owne nation*; and that [u] *hee could not keepe Eaſter contrary to the cuſtome of them which had ſent him.* His ſucceſſor *Finan* [x] contended more fiercely in the buſineſſe with *Ronan* his countryman; and declared himſelfe *an open adverſary* to the *Romane* rite. *Colman* that ſucceeded him, did tread juſt in his ſteps: ſo farre, that being put downe in the Synod of *Streanſhal*, yet *for feare of his country* (as before we have heard out of *Stephen*, the writer of the life of *Wilfrid*) he refuſed to conforme himſelfe; and choſe rather to forgoe his Biſhoprick, than to ſubmit himſelfe unto the *Romane* lawes,

Colmanuſque ſuas inglorius abjicit arces,
Malens Auſonias victus diſſolvere leges:

ſaith *Fridegodus*. Neither did hee goe away alone: but [y] tooke with him all his countrymen that he had gathered together in *Lindisfarne* or *Holy Iland*: the *Scottiſh* monks alſo that were at *Rippon* (in *Yorkſhire*) [z] making choice rather to quit their place, than to admit the obſervation of *Eaſter* and the reſt of the rites according to the cuſtome of the Church of *Rome*. And ſo did the matter reſt among the *Iriſh* about *forty* yeeres after that: untill their own countryman [a] *Adamnanus* perſwaded moſt of them to yeeld

[r] Quòd autem Paſcha non ſuo tempore obſervabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel ſuæ gentis auctoritate, ne agnitum ſequeretur, devictus; non approbo nec laudo. *Bed. lib.3.hiſt.cap.17.*

[t] More ſuæ gentis. *Ibid. cap.3.*

[u] Paſcha contra morem eorum qui ipſum miſerant, facere non potuit. *Ibid.cap.25.*

[x] *Id.ibid.*

[y] Colmanus qui de Scotiâ erat Epiſcopus, relinquens Britanniam, tulit ſecum omnes quos in Lindisfarorum inſulâ congregaverat Scotos. *Bede lib.4.cap.4.*

[z] Optione datâ, maluerunt loco cedere, quàm Paſcha catholicum, cæteroſque ritus canonicos juxta Romanæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem recipere. *Id.lib.5.cap.21. See alſo lib.3.cap.25. where* Humpum *is miſprinted for* Hripum.

[a] *Ibid.cap.16.& 22.*

yeeld to the cuſtome received herein by all the Churches abroad.

The *Picts* did the like not long after, under King *Naitan*: who [b] *by his regall authority commanded Eaſter to be obſerved throughout all his provinces according to the cycle of* XIX. *yeeres (aboliſhing the erroneous period of* LXXXIIII. *yeeres* which before they uſed) and cauſed *all Prieſts and Monkes to bee ſhorne croune-wiſe*, after the *Romane* manner. The monkes alſo of the Iland of *Hy* or *Y-Columkille*, [c] by the perſwaſion of *Ecgbert* (an *Engliſh* Prieſt, that had been bred in *Ireland*) in the yeere of our Lord DCCXVI. forſooke the obſervation of *Eaſter* and the *Tonſure* which they had received from *Columkille* a hundred and fiftie yeeres before, and followed the *Romane* rite; about LXXX. yeeres after the time of Pope *Honorius*, and the ſending of Biſhop *Aidan* from thence into *England*. The *Britons* in the time of [d] *Bede* retained ſtill their old uſage: untill [e] *Elbodus* (who was the chiefe Biſhop of *Northwales*, and dyed in the yeere of our Lord DCCCIX. as *Caradoc* of *Lhancarvan* recordeth) brought in the *Romane* obſervation of *Eaſter*. which is the cauſe, why [f] his diſciple *Nennius*, deſigneth the time wherein he wrote his hiſtory, by the character of the [g] XIX. yeeres cycle, and not of the other of LXXXIV. But howſoever *North-wales* did; it is very probable that *Weſt-wales* (which of all other parts

b Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regiâ autoritate perfecit. Statim namq; juſſu publico mittebantur ad tranſcribendum, diſcendum, obſervandum per univerſas Pictorum provincias circuli Paſchæ decennovennales; obliteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta & quatuor annorum circulis. Attondebantur omnes in coronam miniſtri altaris ac monachi. *&c. Ibid. ca.* 22.

c *Id. lib.* 3. *ca.* 4. *& lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

d *Id. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23. & 24.

e *See the Chronicle of Wales, pag.* 17. 18. *and Humfr. Lhuyd. fragment. Britan. Deſcript. fol.* 55. *b.*

f Ego Nennius ſancti Elbodi diſcipulus, aliqua excerpta ſcribere curavi. *Nenn. MS. in publicâ Cantabrig. academ. Bibliothecâ, ubi alia exemplaria habent: Ego* Nennius (*vel* Ninnius) Elvodugi diſcipulus.

g Ab adventu Patricii in jam dictam inſulam (*Hiberniam ſc.*) uſque ad cyclum decennovennalem in quo ſumus, 22. ſunt cycli, id eſt, 421. & ſunt duo anni in Ogdoade uſque in hunc annum. *Id.*

was moſt eagerly bent againſt the traditions of the *Romane* Church) ſtood out yet longer. For we finde in the *Greeke* writers of the life of *Chryſoſtome*, that *certaine Clergie men which dwelt in the Iles of the Ocean*, repaired *from the utmoſt borders* of the habitable world unto *Conſtantinople*, in the dayes of *Methodius* (who was Patriarch there, from the yeer DCCCXLII. to the yeere DCCCXLVII.) to enquire of [h] *certaine Eccleſiaſticall traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Eaſter*. Whereby it appeareth, that theſe queſtions were kept ſtill a foot in theſe Ilands; and that the reſolution of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* was ſought for from hence, as well as the determination of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who is now made the only Oracle of the world.

h Ἔυενα τινῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παραδόσεων, τελείας τε τῆς παχαλὴς καὶ ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως. Tom. 8. Chryſoſt. edit. Henr. Savil. pag. 321. 6. & in Notis, col. 966. 5.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that whatſoever broyles did paſſe betwixt our *Iriſh* that were not ſubject to the See of *Rome*, and thoſe others that were of the *Romane* communion: in the ſucceeding ages, they of the one ſide were eſteemed to be *Saints*, as well as they of the other; *Aidan* for example and *Finan*, who were counted ringleaders of the *Quartadeciman* party, as well as *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert*, who were ſo violent againſt it. Yet now adayes men are made to beleeve, that out of the communion of the Church of *Rome* nothing but Hell can bee looked for; and that ſubjection to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as to the viſible Head of the Univerſall Church, is required as a matter neceſſary to ſalvation. Which if it may goe currant for good Divinity: the caſe is like to goe hard, not onely with the [i] *twelve hundred*

i Bed. lib. 2. hiſt. cap. 2.

Britiſh

Britiſh Monkes of *Bangor*, who were martyred in one day by *Edelfride* king of *Northumberland* (whom our *Annals* ſtyle by the name of [k] *the Saints*;) but alſo with St. *Aidan* and St. *Finan*, who deſerve to bee honoured by the *Engliſh* nation with as venerable a remembrance, as (I doe not ſay, *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert*; but) *Auſtin* the Monke and his followers. For by the miniſtery of [l] *Aidan* was the kingdome of *Northumberland* recovered from paganiſme: (whereunto belonged then, beſide the ſhire of *Northumberland* and the lands beyond it unto *Edenborrow*, *Frith*, *Cumberland* alſo and *Weſtmoreland*, *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, and the *Biſhopricke of Durham*:) and by the meanes of [m] *Finan*, not onely the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons* (which contained *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and halfe of *Hertfordſhire*) regained, but alſo the large Kingdome of *Mercia* converted firſt unto Chriſtianity; which comprehended under it, *Glocesterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Lincolneſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and the other halfe of *Hertfordſhire*.

k Ann. Dom. 612. (*vel* 613.) Bellum Cairelegion, ubi Sancti occiſi ſunt. *Annal. Vlton. MS.*

l *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 3. & 6.*

m *Ibid. cap. 21. 22. 24.*

The *Scottiſh* that profeſſed no ſubjection to the Church of *Rome*, were they, that ſent preachers for the converſion of theſe countries; and ordained Biſhops to governe them: namely, [n] *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman* ſucceſſively for the kingdome of *Northumberland*; [o] for the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Cedd* brother to *Ceadda* the Biſhop of *Yorke* before mentioned; [p] for

n *Ibid. cap. 3. 5. 17. 25. 26.*

o *Ibid. cap. 22. 25.*

p *Ibid. cap. 21. 24.*

the *Middle-Angles* (which inhabited *Leiceſterſhire*) and the *Mercians*, *Diuma* (for [q] *the paucity of Prieſts*, ſaith *Bede*, *conſtrained one Biſhop to bee appointed over two people*) and after him *Cellach* and *Trumhere*. And theſe with their followers, notwithſtanding their diviſion from the See of *Rome*, were for [r] their extraordinary ſanctity of life and painfulneſſe in preaching the Goſpel (wherein they went farre beyond thoſe of the other ſide, that afterward thruſt them out and entred in upon their labours) exceedingly reverenced by all that knew them: *Aidan* eſpecially, who [ſ] *although hee could not keepe Eaſter* (ſaith *Bede*) *contrary to the manner of them which had ſent him; yet he was carefull diligently to performe the workes of faith, and godlineſſe, and love, according to the manner uſed by all holy men. Whereupon hee was worthily beloved of all, even of them alſo who thought otherwiſe of Eaſter than he did: and was had in reverence not only by them that were of meaner ranke, but alſo by the Biſhops themſelves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the Eaſt-Angles.* Neither did *Honorius* and *Felix* any other way carry themſelves herein, than their predeceſſors *Laurentius*, *Mellitus* & *Iuſtus* had done before them: who writing unto the Biſhops of *Ireland*, that diſſented from the Church of *Rome* in the celebration of *Eaſter* and many other things; made no ſcruple to prefixe this loving and reſpectfull ſuperſcription to their letters. [t] *To our Lords and moſt deare brethren,*

q Paucitas enim Sacerdotum cogebat unum antiſtitem duobus populis præfici. *Ibid. cap.* 21.

r *Ibid. cap.* 3. 4. 5. 17. 26.

ſ Etſi Paſcha contra morem eorum qui ipſum miſerant, facere non potuit; opera tamen fidei, pietatis & dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus ſanctis conſuetum diligenter exequi curavit. Vnde ab omnibus etiam his qui de Paſcha aliter ſentiebant, meritò diligebatur: nec ſolùm à mediocribus, verùm ab ipſis quoq; epiſcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum & Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus eſt. *Ibid. cap.* 25.

t Dominis chariſſimis fratribus, Epiſcopis vel Abbatibus per univerſam Scotiam; Laurentius, Mellitus, & Iuſtus Epiſcopi, ſervi ſervorum Dei, *Ibid. lib.* 2. *cap.* 4.

the

the Biſhops or Abbots throughout all Scotland; Laurentius, Mellitus and Iuſtus Biſhops, the ſervants of the ſervants of God. For howſoever *Ireland* at that time [u] received not the ſame *lawes* wherewith *other nations* were governed: yet it ſo *flouriſhed in the vigour of Chriſtian doctrine,* (as Abbot *Ionas* teſtifieth) that *it exceeded the faith of all the neighbour nations*; and in that reſpect was generally had in honour by them.

[u] Gens quamquam abſque reliquarum gentium legibus; tamen in Chriſtiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. *Ion. Vit. Columban. cap. 1.*

CHAP. XI.

Of the temporall power, which the Popes followers would directly intitle him unto over the Kingdome of Ireland: together with the indirect power which he challengeth in abſolving ſubjects from the obedience which they owe to their temporall Governours.

IT now remaineth that in the laſt place wee ſhould conſider the Popes power in diſpoſing the *temporall* ſtate of this Kingdome: which eyther *directly* or *indirectly*, by hooke or by crooke, this grand Uſurper would draw unto himſelfe. Firſt therefore Cardinall *Allen* would have us to know, that [c] *the Sea Apoſtolike hath an old claime unto the ſoveraigntie of the countrey of Ireland; and that before the Covenants paſſed betweene King Iohn and the ſame Sea. Which challenges* (ſaith he) *Princes commonly yeeld not up, by what ground ſoever they come.* What Princes uſe to yeeld or not yeeld, I leave to the ſcanning of thoſe, unto whom Princes matters doe belong: for the Cardi-

[c] *Allen. Anſwer to the Execution of Iuſtice in England. pag. 140.*

nals *Prince* I dare be bold to ſay, that if it bee not his uſe to play faſt and looſe with other Princes, the matter is not now to doe; whatſoever right he could pretend to the *temporall* ſtate of *Ireland*, hee hath transferred it (more than once) unto the Kings of *England*. and when the ground of his claime ſhall be looked into; it will bee found ſo frivolous and ſo ridiculous, that we need not care three chippes, whether he yeeld it up or keep it to himſelfe. For whatſoever become of his idle challenges: the Crowne of *England* hath otherwiſe obtained an undoubted right unto the ſoveraigntie of this countrey; partly by *Conqueſt*, proſecuted at firſt upon occaſion of a Sociall warre, partly by the ſeverall *ſubmiſſions* of the chiefetaines of the land made afterwards. For [d] *whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quitt from all ſubjection, to renounce their owne right: yet now in theſe our daies* (ſaith *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, in his hiſtorie of the *Conqueſt of Ireland*) *all the Princes of Ireland did voluntarily ſubmitt, and binde themſelves with firme bonds of faith and oath, unto Henry the ſecond King of England*. The like might be ſaid of the generall ſubmiſſions made in the dayes of King *Richard* the *ſecond* and King *Henry* the *eighth*: to ſpeake nothing of the *preſcription* of divers hundreds of yeares poſſeſſion; which was the plea that [e] *Iephte* uſed to the *Ammonites*, and is indeed the beſt evidence that the Biſhop of *Romes* own [f] Proctors do produce for their Maſters right to *Rome* it ſelfe.

d Cùm juri ſuo renuntiare liberum ſit cuilibet (quanquam ſubjectionis cujuſlibet hactenus immunes) his tamen hodiè noſtris diebus, Anglorum Regi Henrico ſecundo omnes Hiberniæ principes firmis fidei ſacramentique vinculis ſe ſponte ſubmiſerunt. *Girald. Cambrenſ. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 2 cap. 7. de Roman. Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 9. in fine.*

e *Iudg. 11. 26.* f *Genebrard. Chronograph. lib. 3. in Sylveſt. I. Bellarmin.*

For

For the Popes direct dominion over *Ireland*, two titles are brought forth; beſide thoſe *covenants of King Iohn* (mentioned by *Allen*) which hee that hath any underſtanding in our ſtate, knoweth to be clearly voide and worth nothing. The one is taken from a ſpeciall grant ſuppoſed to bee made by the inhabitants of the countrey, at the time of their firſt converſion unto Chriſtianitie: the other from a right which g the Pope challengeth unto himſelfe over all Ilands in generall. The former of theſe was deviſed of late by an *Italian*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the *eighth*; the later was found out in the daies of King *Henry* the *ſecond*: before whoſe time not one foote-ſtep doth appeare in all antiquitie of any claime that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould make to the dominion of *Ireland*; no not in the Popes owne records, which have beene curiouſly ſearched by *Nicolaus Arragonius*, and other miniſters of his, who have purpoſely written of the particulars of his temporall eſtate. The *Italian* of whom I ſpake, is *Polydore Vergil*; he that compoſed the booke *De inventoribus rerum*, of the firſt *Inventers of things*: among whom hee himſelfe may challenge a place for this invention; if the *Inventers of lyes* bee admitted to have any roome in that companie. This man being ſent over by the Pope into *England* h for the collecting of his *Peter-pence*, undertooke the writing of the hiſtorie of that nation, wherein he forgat not by the way to doe the beſt ſervice hee could to his Lord that had imployed him thither. There hee telleth an idle tale; how the *Iriſh* being moved to accept *Henry* the *ſecond* for

g Inſulas omnes ſibi ſpeciali quodam iure vendicat. *Girald. Cambr. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

h Nos hanc olim quæſturam aliquot per annos geſſimus; eiuſque muneris obeundi cauſſâ, primùm in Angliam venimus. *Polyder. Vergil. Anglic. hiſtor. lib. 4.*

their King, [i] *did deny that this could be done otherwise than by the Bishop of Romes authoritie: because* (forsooth) *that from the very beginning, after they had accepted Christian Religion, they had yeelded themselves and all that they had into his power. and they did constantly affirme* (saith this fabler) *that they had no other Lord, beside the Pope: of which also they yet doe bragge.*

The *Italian* is followed herein by two *Englishmen*, that wished the Popes advancement as much as hee; *Edmund Campian* and *Nicholas Sanders*. the one whereof writeth, that [k] *immediately after Christianitie planted here, the whole Iland with one consent gave themselves not onely into the spirituall, but also into the temporall Iurisdiction of the See of Rome*. the other in *Polydores* owne words (though hee name him not) that [l] *the Irish from the beginning, presently after they had received Christian Religion, gave up themselves and all that they had into the power of the Bishop of Rome*; and that untill the time of King *Henry* the *second*, they did *acknowledge no other supreme Prince of Ireland, beside the Bishop of Rome alone*. For confutation of which dreame, we need not have recourse to our owne Chronicles: the Bull of *Adrian* the *fourth*, wherein hee giveth libertie to King *Henry* the *second* to enter upon *Ireland*, sufficiently discovereth the vanitie thereof. For, hee there shewing what right the Church of *Rome* pretended unto *Ireland*, maketh no mention at all of this (which had beene the faireſt and cleareſt title that could bee alledged, if any such had been then existent *in rerum naturâ*) but is faine to

[i] Id Hiberni posse fieri, nisi autoritate Romani Pontificis negabant; quòd iam indè ab initio, post Christianam religionem acceptam, sese ac omnia sua in eius ditionem dedidissent: atque constanter affirmabant, non alium habere se Dominum, præter ipsum Pontificem: id quod etiam nunc iactitant. *Id. lib. 13. eius d. histor.*

[k] *Camp. History of Ireland lib. 2. cap. 1.*

[l] Hiberni initio statim post Christianam religionem acceptam, se suaq; omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederant; nec quenquam alium supremum Hiberniæ Principem ad illud usque tempus præter unum Romanum Pontificem agnoverunt. *Sander. de schism. Anglican. lib. 1. ad ann. 1542.*

flie unto a farre-fetcht intereſt which hee ſaith the Church of *Rome* hath unto all Chriſtian Ilands. [m] *Truly* (ſaith he to the King) *there is no doubt, but that all Ilands unto which Chriſt the Sunne of Righteouſneſſe hath ſhined, and which have received the inſtructions of the Chriſtian faith, doe pertaine to the right of Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome: which your Nobleneſſe alſo doth acknowledge.*

If you would further underſtand the ground of this ſtrange claime, whereby all Chriſtian Ilands at a clap are challenged to bee parcell of St. *Peters* patrimonie: you ſhall have it from *Iohannes Sariſburienſis*, who was moſt inward with Pope *Adrian*, and obtained from him this very grant whereof now wee are ſpeaking. [n] *At my requeſt* (ſaith he) *he granted Ireland to the illuſtrious King of England Henry the ſecond, and gave it to bee poſſeſſed by right of inheritance: as his owne letters doe teſtifie unto this day. For all Ilands, of ancient right, are ſaid to belong to the Church of Rome, by the donation of Conſtantine, who founded & endowed the ſame.* But will you ſee, what a goodly title here is, in the meane time? *First*, the Donation of *Conſtantine* hath been long ſince diſcovered to be a notorious forgerie, and is rejected by all men of judgment as a ſenſleſſe fiction. *Secondly*, in the whole context of this forged *Donation* I find mention made of *Ilands* in one place only: [o] where no more power

m Sanè omnes Inſulas, quibus Sol iuſtitiæ Chriſtus illuxit, & quæ documenta fidei Chriſtianæ ſuſceperunt, ad ius S. Petri & ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ (quod tua etiam Nobilitas recognoſcit) non eſt dubium pertinere. *Bull. Adrian. IV. ad Henr. II. Angl. reg.*

n Ad preces meas illuſtri Regi Anglorum Henrico ſecundo conceſſit & dedit Hiberniam iure hæreditario poſſidendam: ſicut literæ ipſius teſtantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes inſulæ, de iure antiquo, ex donatione Conſtantini, qui eam fundavit & dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Eccleſiam pertinere. *Iohan. Sariſburienſ. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42.*

o Per noſtram Imperialem iuſſionem ſacram, tam in Oriente quàm in Occidente, vel etiam ſeptentrionali & meridianâ plagâ, videlicèt in Iudæâ, Græciâ, Aſiâ, Thraciâ, Aphricâ & Italiâ, vel diverſis Inſulis noſtrâ largitate eis libertatem conceſsimus: eâ prorſus ratione, ut per manus beatiſsimi patris noſtri Sylveſtri Pontificis ſucceſſorumque eius omnia diſponantur. *Edict. Conſtantin.*

is given to the Church of *Rome* over them, than in generall over the whole Continent (by *East* and by *West*, by *North* and by *South*) and in particular over *Iudæa*, *Græcia*, *Asia*, *Thracia*, and *Aphrica*; which use not to passe in the account of St. *Peters* temporall patrimonie. *Thirdly*, it doth not appeare, that *Constantine* himselfe had any interest in the Kingdome of *Ireland*: how then could hee conferre it upon another? Some words there be in an oration of [p] *Eumenius* the Rhetorician, by which peradventure it may bee collected, that his father *Constantius* bare some stroke here: but that the Iland was ever possessed by the *Romanes*, or accounted a parcell of the *Empire*, cannot be proved by any sufficient testimonie of antiquitie. *Fourthly*, the late writers that are of another mind, as *Pomponius Lætus*, *Cuspinian*, and others, doe yet affirme withall, [q] that in the division of the Empire after *Constantines* death, *Ireland* was assigned unto *Constantinus* the eldest sonne: which will hardly stand with this donation of the Ilands supposed to bee formerly made unto the Bishop of Rome and his successors. Pope *Adrian* therefore, and *Iohn* of *Salisbury* his sollicitor, had need seeke some better warrant for the title of *Ireland*, than the Donation of *Constantine*.

p Vltra Oceanum verò quid erat præter Britanniam? Quæ à vobis ita recuperata est; ut illæ quoque nationes terminis eiusdem insulæ cohærentes vestris nutibus obsequantur. *Eumen. Panegyric. ad Constant.*

q *Pomp. Læt. in Roman. histor. Compend. Io. Cuspian. in Cæsarib. Seb. Munster. in lib. 2. Cosmograph.*

Iohn Harding in his Chronicle saith, that the Kings of *England* have right

[r] *To Ireland also, by King Henry (le fitz*
Of Maude, daughter of first King Henry)
That conquered it, for their great heresie.

r *Harding. Chronic. cap. 241.*

which in another place he expresseth more at large, in this manner:

[s] *The*

[s] *The King Henry then, conquered all Ireland*
By Papall dome, there of his royaltee
The profits and revenues of the land
The domination, and the ſoveraigntee
For errour which agayn the ſpiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of hereſies, with which they were infect.

[s] *Ibid. cap.* 132.

Philip Oſullevan on the other ſide, doth not only deny [t] that *Ireland* was infected with any *hereſie*: but would alſo have us beleeve, [u] that the Pope never intended to conferre the Lordſhip of *Ireland* upon the Kings of *England*. For where it is ſaid in Pope *Adrians* Bull; [x] *Let the people of that land receive thee, and reverence thee as a Lord*: the meaning thereof is, ſaith this Glozer, [y] Let them reverence thee, *as a Prince worthy of great honour; not as Lord of Ireland, but as a Deputie appointed for the collecting of the Eccleſiaſticall tribute*. It is true indeed that King *Henry* the *ſecond*, to the end hee might the more eaſily obtaine the Popes good wil for his entring upon *Ireland*, did voluntarily offer unto him *the payment of a yearely penſion of one penny out of every houſe* in the countrey: which (for ought that I can learne) was the firſt *Eccleſiaſticall tribute* that ever came unto the Popes coffers out of *Ireland*. But that King *Henry* got nothing elſe by the bargaine but the bare office of collecting the Popes *Smoke-ſilver* (for ſo wee called it here, when wee payed it) is ſo dull a conceit; that I doe ſomewhat wonder how *Oſullevan* himſelfe could be ſuch a blocke-head, as not to diſcerne the ſenſeleſneſſe of it.

[t] *Oſullevan. Hiſtor. Catholic. Iberniæ, tom.* 2. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.
[u] *Ibid. cap.* 4. 5. 9. *& lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.
[x] Illius terræ populus te recipiat, & ſicut Dominum veneretur. *Bull. Adrian. IV.*
[y] Sicut Dominum veneretur, id eſt, ut Principem dignum magno honore; non Dominum Iberniæ, ſed præfectum cauſâ colligendi tributi Eccleſiaſtici. *Oſullevan. Hiſt. Ibern. fol.* 59. *b. in margine.*

What the King ſought for and obtained, is ſufficiently

ently declared by them that writ the historie of his reigne. [z] In the yeare of our Lord MCLV. the first Bull was sent unto him by Pope *Adrian*: the summe whereof is thus laid down in a second Bull, directed unto him by *Alexander* the *third*, the immediate successor of the other. [a] *Following the stepps of reverend Pope Adrian, and attending the fruit of your desire; we ratifie and confirme his grant concerning the dominion of the* KINGDOME *of Ireland conferred upon you: reserving unto St. Peter and the holy Church of Rome, as in England so in Ireland, the yearely pension of one penny out of every house.* In this sort did Pope *Adrian*, as much as lay in him, *give Ireland* unto King *Henry, hæreditario jure possidendam, to bee possessed by right of inheritance*; & withall [b] *sent unto him a ring of gold, set with a faire Emerauld, for his investiture in the right thereof*: as *Iohannes Sarisburiensis*, who was the principall agent betwixt them both in this businesse, doth expresly testifie. After this, in the year MCLXXI. the King himselfe came hither in person: where the *Archbishops* and *Bishops* of *Ireland* [c] *received him for their* KING *and Lord*. The King (saith *John Brampton*) [d] *received letters from every Archbishop and Bishop, with their seales hanging upon them in the manner*

z *Robert. de Monte. Roger. de Wendover. Matth. Paris. & Nicol. Trivett in Chronic. ann.* 1155.

a Venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inhærentes, vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes; concessionem eiusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (salvâ Beato Petro & sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, sicut in Angliâ sic in Hiberniâ, de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus & confirmamus. *Bul. Alexandri III. apud Giraldum Cambrens. lib. 2. Histor. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6. in codicibus MS. (in edito enim caput hoc mancum est) & Io. Rossum Warwicensem, in tract. De terris Coronæ Angliæ annexis.* b Annulum quoq; per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura iuris in gerenda Hibernia: idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archîo publico custodiri jussus est. *Io. Sarisbur. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42. de quo consulendus etiam est Giraldus Cambrens. lib. 2. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6.* c In Regem & Dominum receperunt. *Roger. Wendover, & Matth. Paris. in Historiâ maiori, an.* 1171. *Roger. Hoveden, in posteriore parte Annalium. Iohan. Brampton in Historiâ Ioralanensi, & Bartholomæus de Cotton, in Histor. Anglor. MS.* d Recepit ab unoquoque Archiepiscopo & Episcopo literas, cum sigillis suis in modum Chartæ pendentibus; regnum Hiberniæ sibi & hæredibus suis confirmantes, & testimonium perhibentes ipsos in Hiberniâ eum & hæredes suos sibi in Reges & Dominos in perpetuum constituisse. *Io. Brampton. ibid.*

of

of an Indenture; confirming the KINGDOME *of Ireland unto him and his heyres, and bearing witneſſe that they in Ireland had ordained him and his heyres to bee their* KINGS *and Lords for ever.* At *Waterford* (ſaith *Roger Hoveden*)[e] *all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots of Ireland came unto the King of England, and received him for* KING *and Lord of Ireland; ſwearing fealty to him and to his heyres, and power to reigne over them for ever: and hereof they gave him their Inſtruments. The Kings alſo and Princes of Ireland, by the example of the Clergie, did in like manner receive Henry King of England for Lord and* KING *of Ireland; and became his men* (or, *did him homage*) *and ſwore fealty to him and his heyres againſt all men.*

e Venerunt ibidem ad regem Angliæ omnes Archiepiſcopi, Epiſcopi, Abbates totius Hiberniæ, & receperunt eum in Regem & Dominum Hiberniæ; jurantes ei & hæredibus ſuis fidelitatem, & regnandi ſuper eos poteſtatē in perpetuum: & inde dederunt ei chartas ſuas.

Theſe things were preſently after confirmed in the Nationall Synod held at *Caſhell*: the Acts whereof in *Giraldus Cambrenſis* are thus concluded. [f] *For it is fit and moſt meet, that as Ireland by Gods appointment hath gotten a Lord and a* KING *from England; ſo alſo they ſhould from thence receive a better forme of living.* King *Henry* alſo at the ſame time [g] *ſent a tranſcript of the Inſtruments of all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of Ireland, unto Pope Alexander: who by his Apoſtolicall authority* (for ſo was it in thoſe

Exemplo autem clericorum, prædicti Reges & Principes Hiberniæ, receperunt ſimili modo Henricum regem Angliæ in Dominum & Regem Hiberniæ; & homines ſui devenerunt, & ei & hæredibus ſuis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines. *Rog. Hoveden. ad ann.* 1171. f Dignum etenim & juſtiſſimum eſt, ut ſicut Dominum & Regem ex Angliâ ſortita eſt divinitùs Hibernia; ſic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. *Girald. Cambrenſ. Hibern. Expugnat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 34. g Rex Angliæ miſit tranſcriptum Chartarum univerſorum Archiepiſcoporum & Epiſcoporum Hiberniæ, ad Alexandrum Papam: & ipſe authoritate Apoſtolicâ confirmavit illi & hæredibus ſuis regnum Hiberniæ, ſecundùm formam Chartarum Archiepiſcoporum & Epiſcoporum Hiberniæ. *Rog. Hoveden.*

dayes

dayes of darkneſſe eſteemed to bee) *did confirme the* KINGDOME *of Ireland unto him and his heyres, (according to the forme of the Inſtruments of the Archbiſhops & Biſhops of Ireland)* [h] *and made them* KINGS *thereof for ever.* The King alſo [i] obtained further from Pope *Alexander*, *that it might bee lawfull for him to make which of his ſonnes hee pleaſed,* KING *of Ireland, and to crowne him accordingly; and to ſubdue the Kings and great ones of that land, which would not ſubject themſelves unto him.* Whereupon, in a grand Councell held at *Oxford* in the yeere of our Lord MCLXXVII. [k] *before the Biſhops and Peeres of the Kingdome hee conſtituted his ſonne Iohn* KING *of Ireland;* [l] *according to that grant and confirmation of Pope Alexander.* And to make the matter yet more ſure, in the yeere MCLXXXVI. hee obtained a new licence from Pope *Vrban* the *third*; [m] *that one of his ſonnes, whom hee himſelfe would, ſhould bee crowned for the* KINGDOME *of Ireland.* And this the Pope did not onely *confirme by his Bull*: but alſo the yeere following purpoſely ſent over Cardinall *Octavian* and *Hugo de Nunant* (or *Novant*) [n] his Legates into *Ireland*, to crowne *Iohn* the Kings ſonne there.

By all this wee may ſee, how farre King *Henry* the *ſecond* proceeded in this buſineſſe: which I doe not

h Nam ſummus Pontifex regnum illud ſibi & hæredibus ſuis auctoritate Apoſtolicâ confirmavit; & in perpetuum eos conſtituit inde Reges. *Io. Brampton.*

i Perquiſierat ab Alexandro ſummo Pontifice, quòd liceret ei filium ſuum quem vellet Regem Hiberniæ facere, & ſimiliter coronare; ac Reges & potentes ejuſdem terræ, qui ſubjectionem ei facere nollent, debellare. *Id. ad ann.* 1177.

k Iohannem filium ſuum coram Epiſcopis & regni ſui principibus Regem Hiberniæ conſtituit. *Id. ibid. & Gualterus Coventrenſis, in ejuſdem anni hiſtoriâ.* l Conſtituit Iohannem filium ſuum Regem in Hiberniâ, conceſſione & confirmatione Alexandri ſummi Pontificis. *Rog. Hoveden. Annal. part. 2. ad an.* 1177. m Ab eo impetravit; quòd unus quem vellet de filiis ſuis coronaretur de regno Hiberniæ. & hoc confirmavit ei Dominus Papa Bullâ ſuâ: & in argumentum voluntatis & confirmationis ſuæ, miſit ei coronam de pennâ pavonis auro contextam. *Id. ad an.* 1185. n Quibus ipſe commiſit legatiam in Hiberniam, ad coronandum ibi Iohannem filium Regis. Sed Dominus Rex coronationem illam diſtulit. *Id. ad an.* 1187.

ſo

ſo much note, to convince the ſtolidity of *Oſullevan*, who would faine perſwade fooles, that he was preferred onely to bee collector of the Popes Peterpence: as to ſhew, that *Ireland* at that time was eſteemed a *Kingdome*, and the Kings of *England* accounted no leſſe than *Kings* thereof. And therefore * *Paul* the *fourth* needed not make all that noyſe, and trouble ° *the whole Court of heaven* with the matter: when in the yeere MDLV. he tooke upon him by his *Apoſtolicall authority* (ſuch I am ſure, as none of the *Apoſtles* of *Chriſt* did ever aſſume unto themſelves) to erect *Ireland* unto the title and dignity of a *Kingdome*. Whereas hee might have found, even in his owne * *Romane Provinciall*, that *Ireland* was reckoned among the *Kingdomes* of Chriſtendome, before hee was borne. Inſomuch, that in the yeere MCCCCXVII. when the Legates of the King of *England* and the *French* Kings Ambaſſadours fell at variance in the Councell of *Conſtance* for precedencie; the *Engliſh* Orators, among other arguments, alledged this alſo for themſelves. P *It is well knowne,*

* Paulus IIII noſtris temporibus Hiberniam inſulam in regni titulum ac dignitatem erexit. *Gabutius in vitâ Pij V.*

° Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem & gloriam, ac gloriosiſſimæ ejus genitricis Virginis Mariæ, totiuſq; Curiæ cœleſtis honorem, & fidei Catholicæ exaltationem, Philippo Rege & Mariâ Reginâ nobis ſuper hoc humiliter ſupplicantibus, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio & Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, Apoſtolicâ authoritate Inſulam Hiberniæ in Regnum perpetuò erigimus; ac titulo, dignitate, honore, facultatibus, juribus, inſigniis, prærogativis, antelationibus, præeminentiis regiis, ac quibus alia Chriſti fidelium Regna utuntur, potiuntur, & gaudent, ac uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt quomodo libet, in futurum inſignimus & decoramus. *Bulla Pauli IV. in Rotulo Patentium, ann. 2. & 3. Philippi & Mariæ, in Cancellariâ Hiberniæ.* * *Provinciale ex archivis Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ edit. tomo 2. Tractat. Doctor. fol. 344. (impreſſ. Venet. an. 1548.)* P Satis conſtat, ſecundùm Albertum Magnum & Bartholomæum de proprietatibus rerum, quòd toto Mundo in tres partes diviſo (videlicèt Aſiam, Africam, & Europam) Europa in quatuor dividitur regna: primum videlicèt Romanum, ſecundum Conſtantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ quod jam tranſlatum eſt in Anglicos, & quartum regnum Hiſpaniæ. Ex quo patet, quòd rex Angliæ & regnum ſuum ſunt de eminentioribus antiquioribus Regibus & Regnis totius Europæ: quam prærogativam regnum Franciæ non fertur obtinere. *Act. Concil. Conſtant. Seſſ. 28. MS. in Bibliothecâ Regiâ.*

that according to Albertus Magnus and Bartholomæus in his booke De proprietatibus rerum, the whole world being divided into three parts (to wit, Asia, Africk and Europe) Europe is divided into foure Kingdomes: namely, the Romane for the first, the Constantinopolitane for the second, the third the Kingdome of Ireland which is now translated unto the English, and the fourth the Kingdome of Spain. Whereby it appeareth, that the King of England and his Kingdome are of the more eminent ancient Kings and Kingdomes of all Europe: which prerogative the Kingdome of France is not said to obtaine. And this have I here inserted the more willingly, because it maketh something for the honour of my Country (to which, I confesse, I am very much devoted) and in the printed Acts of the Councell it is not commonly to be had.

But now commeth forth *Osullevan* againe, and like a little furie flyeth upon [q] the *English-Irish* Priests of his owne religion, which in the late rebellion of the Earle of *Tirone* did *not deny that Hellish doctrine, fetcht out of Hell for the destruction of Catholickes, that it is lawfull for Catholickes to beare armes and fight for Heretickes against Catholickes and their country*. or rather (if you will have it in plainer termes) that it is lawfull for them of the *Romish* Religion, to beare armes and fight for their Soveraigne and fellow-subjects that are of another profession, against those of their own religion that trayterously rebell against their Prince and Country. and to shew, [r] *how madde*

q Cujus mali maxima culpa in aliquot Angloibernos Sacerdotes jure transferenda est; qui tartareum dogma ab Orco in Catholicorum perniciem emissum non negabant, licere Catholicis contra Catholicos & suam patriam pro Hæreticis gerere arma & dimicare. *Philip. Osullevan. Hist. Catholic. Iberniæ, tom. 4. lib. 3. cap. 5. fol. 263. edit. Vlissipon. an. 1621.*

r Hæc est Academiarum censura; quâ liquidò constat, quantâ ignoratione & caligine erraverint illi Iberni, qui in hoc bello Protestantibus opem tulerunt, & Catholicos oppugnârunt: quamque insanam & venenosam doctrinam attulerint nonnulli doctiores vulgò habiti, qui sæculares homines ad Reginæ partes sequendas exhortati, à fide tuendâ averterunt. *Id. tom. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7. fol. 204.*

and

and how venemous a doctrine they did bring (theſe bee the caitiffes owne termes) *that exhorted the laitie to follow the Queens ſide:* he ſetteth downe the cenſure of the Doctors of the Univerſity of *Salamanca* and *Vallodilid*, publiſhed in the yeere MDCIII. for the juſtification of that Rebellion, and the declaration of Pope *Clement* the *eights* letters touching the ſame; wherein he ſignifieth that [f] *the Engliſh ought to be ſet upon no leſſe than the Turkes, and impartcth the ſame favours unto ſuch as ſet upon them, that hee doth unto ſuch as fight againſt the Turkes.* Such wholeſome directions doth the Biſhop of *Rome* give vnto thoſe that will be ruled by him: far different (I wiſſe) from that holy doctrine, wherewith the Church of *Rome* was at firſt ſeaſoned by the Apoſtles. [t] *Let every ſoule bee ſubject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God:* was the leſſon that S. *Paul* taught to the ancient *Romanes.* Where if it bee demanded; [u] *whether that power alſo, which perſecuteth the ſervants of God, impugneth the faith, and ſubverteth religion, be of God?* our countryman *Sedulius* will teach us to anſwer with *Origen*; that *even ſuch a power as that, is given of God, for the revenge of the evill, and the praiſe of the good.* although he were as wicked, as eyther *Nero* among the *Romans*, or *Herod* among the *Iewes*: the one whereof moſt cruelly perſecuted the *Chriſtians*, the other *Chriſt* himſelfe.

And yet when the one of them ſwayed the ſcep-

f Cùm enim Pontifex dicat Anglos adverſus Catholicam Religionem pugnare, eoſque non minus ac Turcas oppugnari debere; eiſdemque gratiis eos oppugnantes proſequatur, quibus contra Turcas pugnantes proſequitur: quis dubitet, nullum ab Anglis adverſus exercitum Catholicum omninò iniquum geri? *Cenſur. Doct. Salmanticæ & Valliſolet. de Hiberniæ bello.*

t *Rom.* 13. 1.

u Quid, & illa poteſtas, quæ ſervos Dei perſequitur, fidem impugnat, religionem ſubvertit, à Deo eſt? Ad quod reſpondendum, quòd etiam talis poteſtas à Deo data eſt, ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem verò bonorum. *Sedul. in Rom.* 13.

ter, Saint *Paul* told the Chriſtian *Romanes*; that they
x Rom.13.5. x *muſt needes be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake*: and of the cauſeleſſe feare of the other, theſe Verſes of *Sedulius* are ſolemnly ſung in the Church of *Rome*, even unto this day.

y *Sedul.in Hymno acroſtich.de Vitâ Chriſti.*

y *Herodes hoſtis impie,*
Chriſtum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cæleſtia.
Why, wicked Herod, doſt thou feare
And at Chriſts comming frowne?
The mortall he takes not away,
That gives the heavenly crowne.

a better paraphraſe whereof you cannot have, than this which *Claudius* hath inſerted into his Collections upon St. *Matthew*. z *That King which is borne, doth not come to overcome Kings by fighting, but to ſubdue them after a wonderfull manner by dying: neither is he borne to the end that hee may ſucceed thee, but that the world may faithfully beleeve in him. For he is come, not that hee may fight being alive, but that hee may triumph being ſlaine: nor that he may with gold get an ar-*

z Rex iſte qui natus eſt, non venit Reges pugnando ſuperare, ſed moriendo mirabiliter ſubjugare: neque ideò natus eſt ut tibi ſuccedat, ſed ut in eum mundus fideliter credat. Venit enim, non ut regnet vivus, ſed ut triumphet occiſus: nec ſibi de aliis gentibus auro exercitum quærat; ſed ut pro ſalvandis gentibus pretioſum ſanguinem fundat. Inaniter invidendo timuiſti ſucceſſorem, quem credendo debuiſti quærere ſalvatorem: quia ſi in eum crederes, cum eo regnares; & ſicut ab illo accepiſti temporale regnum, acciperes etiam ſempiternum. Hujus enim pueri regnum non eſt de hoc mundo; ſed per ipſum regnatur in hoc mundo. Ipſe eſt etiam Sapientia Dei, quæ dicit in Proverbiis: Per me Reges regnant. Puer iſte Verbum Dei eſt, Puer iſte Virtus & Sapientia Dei eſt. Si potes, contra Dei ſapientiam cogita: in tuam perniciem verſaris, & neſcis. Tu enim regnum nullatenus habuiſſes, niſi ab iſto Puero qui nunc natus eſt accepiſſes. *Claud. lib.1.in Matth.*

mie

mie unto himſelfe out of other nations, but that hee may ſhed his precious bloud for the ſaving of the nations. Vainly didſt thou by envying feare him to bee thy ſucceſſor, whom by beleeving thou oughteſt to ſeeke as thy Saviour: becauſe if thou diddeſt beleeve in him, thou ſhouldeſt reigne with him; and as thou haſt received a temporall kingdome from him, thou ſhouldeſt alſo receive from him an everlaſting. For the kingdome of this Childe is not of this world, but by him it is that men do reign in this world. He is the Wiſedome of God, which ſaith in the Proverbs: By mee Kings reigne. This Childe is the Word of God: this Childe is the Power and Wiſedome of God: If thou canſt, thinke againſt the Wiſedome of God: thou workeſt thine owne deſtruction, and doſt not know it. For thou by no meanes ſhouldeſt have had thy kingdome, unleſſe thou hadſt received it from that Childe which now is borne.

As for the Cenſure of the Doctors of *Salamanca* and *Vallodilid*: our Nobility and Gentry, by the faithfull ſervice which at that time they performed unto the Crowne of *England*, did make a reall confutation of it. Of whoſe fidelity in this kinde I am ſo well perſwaded, that I doe aſſure my ſelfe, that neither the names of *Franciſcus Zumel* and *Althonſus Curiel* (how great Schoole-men ſoever they were) nor of the *Fathers of the Society* (*Iohannes de Ziguenza*, *Emanuel de Roias*, and *Gaſpar de Mena*) nor of the *Pope* himſelfe, upon whoſe ſentence they wholly ground their Reſolution; eyther then was or hereafter will be of any force, to remove them one whit from the allegeance and duty which they doe owe

unto their King and Country. Nay I am in good hope, that their loyall mindes will ſo farre diſtaſte that evill leſſon, which thoſe great *Rabbies* of theirs would have them learne, that it will teach them to unlearne another bad leſſon, wherewith they have beene moſt miſerably deluded. For whereas heretofore [a] wiſe men did learne to give credence to the truth, *by whoſoevers mouth it ſhould be delivered:* now men are made ſuch fooles, that they are taught [b] *to attend in the doctrine of Religion, not what the thing is that is ſaid, but what the perſon is that ſpeaketh it.*

But how dangerous a thing it is, to have the faith of our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt* in reſpect of perſons; and to give entertainment to the truth, not ſo much for it ſelfe as for the regard that is had to the deliverer of it: I wiſh men would learne otherwiſe, than by wofull experience in themſelves. [c] *The truth* (ſaith *Claudius*) *is to bee loved for it ſelfe, not for the Man, or for the Angell, by whom it is preached. For he that doth love it in reſpect of the preachers of it, may love lyes alſo, if they peradventure ſhall deliver any.* as here without all *peradventure*, the Pope and his Doctors have done: unleſſe the teaching of flat Rebellion and high Treaſon may paſſe in the account of Catholicke verities. The Lord of his mercie open their eyes, that they

a Veritas ſapienti nitet, cujuſcunque ore prolata fuerit. *Gildas, in Codice Canonum Cottoniano tit.* De veritate credendâ, quocunque ore prolata fuerit. *Similiter Nennius, præfat. in in Hiſtoriam Brittonum* (*MS. in publicâ Cantabrigienſis academiæ Bibliothecâ:*) Non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, ſed quid dictum ſit, veritatis teſtimonio magis attendendum eſſe probatur.

b In doctrinâ religionis non quid dicatur, ſed quis loquatur attendendum eſſe. *Thom. Stapleton. Defenſ. Eccleſiaſtic. authorit. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonſtrat. Principior. Doctrinal. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

c Veritas propter ſeipſam diligenda eſt, non propter Hominem, aut propter Angelum, per quem adnunciatur. Qui enim propter adnunciatores eam diligit, poteſt & mendacia diligere, ſiqua forcè ipſi ſua protulerint. *Claud. in Galat. 1.*

may

may ſee the light; and give them grace to *receive the love of the truth, that they may be ſaved.* The Lord likewiſe grant (if it bee his bleſſed will) that *Truth* and *Peace* may meet togerher in our dayes, that we may bee all gathered into [d] *one fold* under *one ſhepheard*, and that [e] *the whole earth may be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen.*

d *Iohn* 10.16.
e *Pſal.* 72.19.

FINIS.

Faults in ſome Copies.

IN *the Ieſuites Challenge, pag.*3. *lin.*2. *read*, contrary. *pag.*4. *lin.*9. *for* ſhould, *read* ſhall.
In the Anſwer, *pag.*4. *l.*26. likewiſe. *p.*5. *l.*21. ſatisfie. *p.*12. *l.*7. continued. *p.*16. *l.*22. Penitentiall. *p.*26. *l.*6. knew. *p.*27. *l.*26. Auguſtin. *p.*50. *l.*23. (*ſaith* ▫ Fulgentius) *p.*51. *l.*6. when he is found to be that. *p.*62. *l.*3. Antoninus. *p.*64. *l.*12. after Chriſt. *p.*72. *l.*4. *for* τ *put* τ. *p.*75. *l.*6. *croſſe out*, of Mets firſt and afterwards. *p.*76. *l.*3. Cariſiacum *or* Creſsy. *p.*96. *l.*9. ſecretly. *p.*123. *l.*26. commanded. *p.*124. *l.*5. ſinnes. *p.*126. *l.*17. interceſsion. *ibid. l.*19. *for the* comma *put a* full point; *and in the next line for the* full point *put a* comma. *p.*136. *l.*1. Anaſtaſius. *p.*139. *l.*4. Scriptures. *ibid. l.*7. Levite. 146. *l.*31. inſtrumentally. *p.*147. *l.*22. death. *pag.*154. *l.*25. Auguſtine. *p.*156. *l.*2. and. *p.*162. *l.*19. medicine. *p.*171. *l.*16. the. *p.*172. *l.*14. *for* theſe, *read* their. *p.*185. *l.*2. Olympiodorus. *p.*188. *l.*10. (about 243. *p.*190. *l.*4. who very. *p.*194. *l.*16. (with. *ibid. l.*18. *for* pid, *read* paide. *p.*195. *l.*6. intended. *p.*205. *l.*15. Halleluia. *p.*206. *l.*8. *for* drive, *read* not drive. *p.*221. *l.*1. write. *p.*226. *l.*19. in the Romane Pontificall. *p.*228. *l.*17. apocryphal. *p.*234. *l.*7. entring againe into. *p.*253. *l.*8. forme. *p.*264. *l.*5. kindes. *p.*270. *l.*18. *for* ceaſing, *read* eaſing. *p.*277. *l.*26. aſcenſion. *p.*281. *l.*23. δὺ *p.*284. *l.*5. expounding that place in. *p.*291. *l.*1. entring again into. *p.*307. *l.*14. apocryphall. *p.*310. *l.*1. *croſſe out*, Vs. *p.*323. *l.*17. Stenchius. *p.*328. *l.*20, 21. with that which Olympiodorus writeth upon the ſame chapter. *p.*330. *l.*3. diviſion. *p.*343. *l.*5. *croſſe out the laſt* comma. *l.*22. palace. *p.*359. *l.*28. of it. *p.*361. *l.*27. iudgments. *p.*368. *l.*6. *for* giveth, *read* goeth. *p.*376. *l.*25. ſiſter. *p.*379. *l.*12. comming. *p.*391. *l.*26. כעיף *p.*395. *l.*26. *for* depravation, *r.* depriva-

tion. *p.*398. *l.*2. κακεῖ δότοιν. *l.*18. ἴσαν. *p.*427. *l.*9. *for* excepting, *r.* accepting. *l.*15. invocation. *l.*16. ſalvation. *l.*18. noted. *l.*20. call. *p.*428. *l.*19. *inſtead of* for, *r.* of. *p.*437. *l.*6. Anaſtaſius. *p.*439. *l.*6. were in. *p.*441. *l.*16. Iliads. *p.*443. *l.*4. tryed. *p.*449. *l.*11. congruitie. *p.*453. *l.*14. here a. *p.*454. *l.*25. there of. *p.*461. *l.*26. deſcend. *p.*469. *l.*17. of Ang. *p.*471. *l.*30. Collections. *p.*472. *l.*5. Coloſsians. *l.*22. Phrygia. *p.*473. *l.*6. *for* mad, *r.* made. *l.*18. the word. *p.*476. *l.*17. (ſaith. *l.*28. ſpeake.) *p.*491. *l.*4. m Bleſsed. *p.*492. *l.*10. deſpiſe. *p.*497, 500, 501. *and* 504. *in the tit'e, r.* Of Images. *p.*497. *l.*21. *for* confirme, *r.* conforme. *p.*503. *l.*12. Origen. *p.*505. *l.*8. ideaes and divers. *p.*506. *l.*13. prevaile. *p.*508. *l.*9. a whoring. *p.*516. *l.*15. deſtitute. *p.*518. *l.*3. piue. *pag.*521. *l.*19. to bew. *p.*525. *l.*15. obſerveth. *p.*535. *l.*12. pray. *p.*538. *l.*6. iuvet. *p.*539. *l.*30. hortatuq; *p.*540. *l.*2. ex fracto. *p.*542. *l.*17. inſpiration. *p.*547. *l.*27. hereby. *p.*548. *l.*10. therefore. *p.*556. *l.*7. in the. *p.*557. *l.*6. freely. *p.*561. *l.*10. receiving. *p.*569. *l.*24. ſubſtantiall.

*In the Margent. Pag.*17. *after the letter* i, *lin.*3. *read* Monaſterii. *p.*29. *g. l.*10. præſcientiam. *p.*31. *n. l.*1. in 2. 2. *p.*42. *k. l.*8. ἀγ. *l. lin.*5. ὁδὸν. *p.*43. *o. l.*8. presbyter. *p.*45. *b. l.*2. videtis. *l.*8. apud Fulgentium in fine libelli de Baptiſmo AEthiopis; Bedam, &c. *p.*46. *l. ult.* Pſalmum. *p.*49. *l.*14. ἀνδρώπε. *p.*50. *n. l.*6. invenitur. Fulgentius (in fine libelli de Baptiſmo AEthiopis) Auguſtini nomine citatus apud Bed. &c. *p.*54. *a. l* 18. αὐτοῦ. *p.*66. *r. l.*5. divinâ autem iſtum. *p.*72. *p. l.*1. Removeantur. *p.*73. *t. l.*4. τῇ. *p.*74. *c. l.*7. ὦ. *p.*76. *i. l.*2. efficiatur. *ibid. k.* Suprà. *p.*77. *r. l.*1. myſterium. *p.*82. *h. l.*8. Colleg. *p.*87. *l. lin.*16 *for* 162. *read* 262. *p.*88. *o. l.*2. ἀμνὸν. *ibid q. l.*4. αὐτοῦ ὑόν. *p.*94. *l. l.*25. ὡς δυνατὸν. *ibid. l.*30. δημιλείας. *p.*104. *l. lin. ult.* inter. *p.*111. *o. l.*10. quod. *p.*116. *g. l.*3. non. *p.*119. *ſ. l.*2. ἐλεγεῖα. *p.*121. *g. l.*3. δὴ. *p.*123. *a. l.*3. Sacerdotio. *p.*124. *g. l.*6. Theophylact in Ioh. 8. *p.*126. *u. l.*11. Voſsio. *p.*128. *f. l.*14. inedit. *ibid. k. l.*3. miſericordiam. *p.*129. ▫ *l.*1. *for* Καὶ, *r.* Ναὶ. *p.*143. *i. l.*4. וטהרו *p* 152. *t. l.*2. ignoret. *p.*156. *l. lin. ult.* Aquiſgran. ſub Ludovico Pio, cap. 37. *p.*157. *m. l.*1. illum. *ibid. l.*27. Iidem. *p.*167. *e. l.*13. quæſt. *p.*171. *o. l.*33. oſtendendi. *p.*177. *x. l.*4. ἐκάτη. *ibid. y. l.*2. ἐυδυς. *p.*180. *h. l.*18. *for* τε, *r.* τὸν. *p.*182. *ſ. l.*10. κἀντοῦθεν. *p.*187. *m. l.*17. σὲ τὸν. *p.*188. *o. l.*27. corripimur. *p.*189. *p. l.*23. *after* converſat. *inſert this parentheſis* (cuius author Eligius Noviomenſis) *p.*192. *d l.*2. ἐκκλησίας. *p.*196. *d. l.*4. offerimus. *ibid. l.*13. *croſſe out*, & 178. *ibid. g. l.*8. ἀνθρώπων. *p.*197. *i. l.*15. *blot out the point after* τῆς. *ibid. k. l.*2. Apoſtolis. *p.*198. *n. l.*5. διοτάνω. *p.*199. *ſ. l.*3. fruitur. *ibid. l.*5. contextione. *p.*202. *h. l.*25. referri. *p.*205. *o. l.*2. τίς. *p.*206. *u. l.*2. *for* μοι, *r.* μὴ *p.*208. *c. l.*6. quos. *p.*209. *g. l.*4. Græcâ. *p.*210. *n. l.*4. Beneventani) *p.*211. *r. l.*10. *for* in *r.* ix. *p.*213. *y. l.*6. Meneſii. *p.*214. §. *l.*1. רוחת הין *p.*215. ▫ *l.*19. pareret. *p.*218. *i. l.*9. ἐδωκα. & *l.*13. ἐδωκε.

*p.*232. *l.*6. conſequuntur. *ibid. y. l. ult. col.*2. 28 e. *p.*228. *q. l.*2. Apocrypha. *p.*231. *a. l.*14. invenire. *p.*232. *c. l.*10. ἐδω. *p.*235. *q. l.*10. præceſserunt videantur uſque ad iudicii diem, per plurimum ſcilicet temporis, debitâ ſibi remuneratione, &c. *p.*236. *x. l.*29. *for* 206. *r.* 220. *p.*237. *a. l.*3. γαίνη. *ibid. c. l.*22. Epheſius. *p.*238. ▫ *l.*3. ὦ. & *l.*8. κακῶν. *ibid. z. l.*14. ὑὸς. & *l.*17. ἀπειθοῦσης. *p.*241. *k. l.*6. ἔκεσον. *p.*245. *a. l.*2. ὑὸν. *p.*246. *f. l.*6. Euchologio. *p.*247. *m. l.*1. ὑὸ *p.*248. *n. l.*6. τῷ *p.*253. *h. l.*1. Volaterran. *ibid. l.*6. Rupe. *p.*254. *o. l.*1. ὦ. *p.*255. *r. l.*12. ἐχέτων. *p.*260. *e. l.*10. ὦν. *p.*262. *d. l.*29. ἀγνοία. *p.*263. *e. l.*16. αὐτοῦ. *p.*264. *h. l.*3, 4. γεγυμνασμένος. *p.*265. *l. lin.*8. ἀμνὸς. *ibid. l.*9. φασὶν. *ibid. l.*13. γένηται. *ibid. l. l. ult.* 138. *p.*269. *l.*3, 4. δίηγμα. *p.*272. *l. l.*22. μεμαθήκειν. *ibid. l.*37. καθενείας. *p.*273. *t. l.*5. θεῶ. *ibid. l.*9. διατασσῶν. *p.*275. *h. l.*6. *for* auferre, *r.* offerre. *p.*278. *m. l.*2. *for* ζωῶν τε, *r.* ζωλῶν τε. *p.*282. *g. l.*24. donec. *p.*284. *p. l.*2. τίμιον. *p.*286. *a. l.*10. δίκαιον. *p.*287. *h. l.*9. ἀδικεῖ. *ibid. l.*11. Aſterius. *p.*290. *l. l.*4. ἰδεῖν. *p.*291. *z. l.*11. *croſſe out* in. *ibid. l.*14. Lugd. *p.*292. *l. lin.*3. ἄξιον. *p.*293. *n. l.*9. ἐπέλυσεν. *ibid. r. l. ult.* intravit. *p.*294. *u. l.*6. *croſſe out*, in fine. *p.*295. *z. l.*6. paupertatis. *p.*297. *h. l.*10. infernum. *p.*299. *q. l.*3. infernum. *ibid. ſ. l.*1. κρατῆν. *ibid. u. l.*1. γαμεῖται. *l.*2. ὀφθεὶς. *p.*300. *x. l.*3. ἀναπαμένα; ἴτα. *ibid. z. l.*11. γαμεῖν.

l.18.ἢ ἀε. p.301.g.l.3. καθειργμένοις. ibid.m.l.3. διαζῶλον. ibid.n.l.4. laudantes. p.303.z.l.1.2. καιμηθέλες. p.308.y.l.4.αὐτὸς. p.313.y.l.1. *for* mortuorum,*r.* mortuum.p.318.l. ופה ibid.*.l.3. לטינום ibid.m.l.1.

כפשוטו p.319. p. l.12. uruntur. ibid. l.14. m. Annæus Seneca, lib.8. ibid.r.l.10. καταδίει. p.323.o. l.19.fallo. p.325.c.l.1.Ibidem in. p.327.f.l.y.ἀειδὲς. p.328.u.l.8.recidant ibid.x.l.4,5.φροσιτάξας. ibid.z. *in stead of the Latin, put the Greek.* Οὐ κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δοκιμαζειν; Οὐχ ἁδὴς ἅπασι ὁ οἶκος; Οὐκ ἐκεῖ πάντες τῶν ἐνθάδε καταλήψει τῶν πόνων, Olympiod. Caten. Græc. in Iob 17. p.333.n.l.1. בפל

p.342.*.l.13,14. phasada for corruption. p.343.f.l.1. Ὁ λίθος. p.346.u.l.4. τῷ αὐτῷ. ibid.y.l.2. παρξάμας. p.347.b.l.2,3. ὑποκειμένῳ. p.348.d.l.9. ἀγαμμένων. p.349.h.l.3. ἀδλῶν. p.350.m.l.10. *crosse out the* comma. p.351.f.ἐπίγνωσιας. p.352.a.l.3. ἀδλῶν. ibid.l.4.αἰῶνος. ibid.l.4.αἰῶνων. p.353.b...2.δοκύζει. ib...6. ὑπηρεῖαν p.357. n.l.25.Num.16.30,33. ib.o.l.10.αὐγλη.p.361.d.l.10.ἔδωκάν.ib.l.18, 19.ἐρωτήζης, καν. ib.l.24. αλήθειαν.p.362. h.l.2.ηὐξατο. ib.l.3.ἐλπίδα. p.363.i. l.ult. *for* 238. *put* 137.p. 364.t.l.6 αγ- ib.x.l.1 ἡμεῖς. p.366.l.1. c.Antholog. ib.c.l.8,9. ἰδάλων παρὰ θεῶν. p.367.a.apud. p.369.1.*put the* comma *before, not after* ὦ. p.370.b.l.2. Ἑλλωικῶν. p.371.k.l.1.Πιλίκον.ib.l.lin.1. Ὁ μὲν. ib.o.l.1.κατασκευάζοντα. p.376.k.l.4.positam. p.377.l.lin. 18. στοιχεῖα. ib.m.l.8.ψυχῆς. ib.l.18 διασημαίνειν. ib.n.l.ult.πανδοχευτὴν, p.378.o.l.12.μηδὲν p.379.u.l.31.Numer. p.383.k.l.2 *crosse out*, 294.&. p.384.r.l.2. *r.*οὐτ p.386.*.l.16.*for* 349.*r.*939. ib.a.l.13.Ad. p.387.a.l.17 πνὶς. ib.l.19.παρεάδισος. p.391.a.l.2.Ἐι. p.394.c.l.10.Spoletinus. p.401.z.l.6. ἀπεφήνατο. ib.l.9.εἰκοδομήσατο p.403.l.lin.1.ἁδλε. p.404.r.l.18.*for* 308.*put* 309. p.407.i.l.1.ἑκατέρα. ib.l.4.φύσεως. ib.k.l.1.κίνησις p.422.o. l.4. ἴλεω, ib.l.19.πλμᾶν, ib.l.20.συγχύνονται, p.423.r.l.2. αὖ φιλ. ib.f.l.1.τούτῳ, p.425.x.l..δικαιοσύνης, p.428.b.l.11,12.τῷ παγεὶ συνάπλαν, p.431.m.l.ult. *for* 242 *put* 241. p.432.o.*for* contr.*put* conc.p.436.d.l.9 supplicia. ib.g.l.5. *for* εἰς, *put* εἰς, p.417.h.l.25. ὑπανομένας, p.438.l.1.k.Sic, p.440.q.l.8. ἠπάτησαν, ib.l.29 ἀφίνσι, p.441.u.l.4.λογικώτερον.ib.z.l.2.ὦ, ib.l.7.ἐρῶ π, p.442.a.l.15.ῦ περ, ib.l.22. μειδιᾶν, p.444.d.l.3.δὶ p.446.l.lin.4,5.*for* initio pag.392.*put* pag.435.ad y.literam.p.452.*.l.16.quæstiones, ib.l.18.*for*, auctorum, *r.* sanctorum. p.453.m.l.15.Vi, p.457.y.l.6.*for*, audiens,*r.* audens, p.458.g.l.ult.καὶν, p.460.k l.4.χρημάτων ib l.14. διαλεχθῶω, ib.l.16.ἀνάγκη, ib.l 27. Ἐπὶ, ib.l.29.με- ib.l.32.in Matth.*and*, in Eclogis.ib.l.lin.5. αὐτὸν, p.461.m.l.7. ἄρχοντα. ib.n.l.2,3. ὃςιν ἐαν θέλης, ib.o.l.4.διαλεχθῶ, p.462.q.l.10 ὦ; ib.r.l.ult.ἀλλ'. p.463.l.5,6.δενδῆς. ἐχ' οὕτος, ib.l.26.πεφσιόντων, p.464.y.l.7. μυείων, p.467.*.l.2.Ferrand, p.469.t.l.1. λεῖνος. ib.u.l.9 ᾗ, ib.l.20.ἐπίμοσά, p.473.i.l.4.Origin, ib.l.l.2.νοειν, p.474.o.l.5.quirogæ. ib p.l 4.τὸν Κ. p.475.l.πεφσκυνείδω, p.476.u.l.8.honorari, p.477.a.l.7. ὲ, ib.b.l.1. πιμῆ, lin.3.αἰσθεὲ, ib.e.l.ult.εἰδωλοπρεῖε, p.485.h.l.18.AEneid, p.490.d.l.2.tribulationis p.491.q.l.1.Miserere, p.502.x.l.5. ἀνθρώποις, ib.z.l.3.ἀνα- p.506.u.l.1.Ου, l.6.ἐν- p.507.z.l.3. καρδίαις, p.508.b.l.2. ἅπνα, p.509.l.17.*for*, ἐδικῆ,*r.* ἐθνικῆ, p.514.l.1.2. Ὅ'θεν, p.116.l.1.f. Quis à nostrûm. p.518.x.l.3.istis,*r.* estis, p.519.y.l.5.ut sit. p.523 l.lin. 22.aliqua, l 27. æquitatem,inesse, p.526.a appetere, p.537 i Prosper, p 538 k.l.11. cùm, p.540.*.l 25 Baron,p.542.x.l 2. viribus, p 543 a.l.ult.Augustini, p 548.c.l.2 quam, p.553.*.l.5.merue- p.554.*.l.7.εἰς,p.555.g.l.10 σωτηρίας, ib.l 17 νομήμως ib.l,21.εἰς, p.556.m.lin 5.Proœmium. ib.n l.4,5.ἀπαθεέργῳ καρδίᾳ, ib p.l.2 ἀμφόπερθι, p 557 q l.1.πᾶσαν, ib f.l 5 δωρεᾶς, ib t.l 1.μυρεάκης, ib.κἂν, ib u.l.2.αὐτῶ, p.558 x.l.10. δοθῶω, ib.a.l 1.ὅλος,l. 1.ἴσος, l 3.αἰώνιον, l 4. ἐπαγγελία, l 6 ἄξια, l.8 *after* ὅξιν *put* a full point; *and after* ἐχειῶν, *in lin* 9. γῇ πάσῃ, l 11. ἑκατονταπλ. p.562.k.l.2 ὑπερκαίχονλος, p.563.n l.18.resecar, ib.p.l.3. comparari, p 564.q.l.6.*blot out the* point *after* Θεῷ, ibid r.l 4,5 *read the place thus*; quippiam iustum, non respondebo, sed meum iudicem deprecabor. Velut si apertiùs fatearur, dicens: Etsi ad opus virtutis excrevero, &c. p.565.t l 2.Beda, p 573.a.l 3. bona, p.576 q.Enchirid, p.580 p.l.10. condignæ, p.581.q.l.8.quidam, p.582.v.l.4.Origin, ib.z.l.15.Cassidor, ib.a.l.2. ἀποφῆνας.

In the Catalogue of the Authors at the end; *referre* Tatianus *to the yeare* 170. *at the yeare* 290. *put* Pamphilus, *for* Pamphylus. *at the yeare* 475. Faustus Regensis, *for* Repensis. *referre* Concilium Aquisgranense sub Pipino, *to the yeare* 836. *at the yeare* 893. *let* Asser Menevensis *be placed*.

TO THE READER.

IN judging of the Religion of our anceſtors, wee are not to build our concluſion upon every ſingle propoſition wherein they eyther agree with, or diſſent from us; but upon the maine bulke of the ſubſtantiall points of doctrine which are controverted betwixt us at this day. Therefore the Adverſary muſt not imagin, that I intend here to make ſuch ſimple collections as theſe. Such a man held ſuch a point with us: Therefore he was a Proteſtant. *no more than I will allow him to frame the like.* Such a man was a Monke, or in ſuch or ſuch a particular agreed with the now Church of Rome: Therefore he was a Papiſt. *And forasmuch as for any one man wee have not ſufficient evidences left unto us, whereby it may appeare what hee held in every particular: the only way that now remaineth is to joyne all of them together, with this preſumption, that what one man of note hath delivered, the contrary whereof is not to be found in others of his countrey-men who lived about the ſame time; that is to bee ſuppoſed to have beene the doctrine which was commonly received in thoſe countries at that time.*

Hence it is that I oftentimes chaine together the saying of divers authors into one context; and insert also sometimes certaine sentences of theirs, which doe not so much make for any controversie, as for the apt connexion of the points, and the illustration of the present head of doctrine there treated of. And although my principall intention in this discourse was to produce such evidences as might shew the agreement that was betwixt our ancestors and us in matter of Religion, and to leave the instances which might bee alledged for the contrary to them unto whom the maintaining of that part did properly belong: yet I have upon occasion touched upon that part also, and brought to light some things which I met with all in such hidden antiquities, as in all likelihood would not have come unto their notice without my discovery.

The printed *bookes which I cite, lye as open to them, as they have done to me; neither neede they our helpe for the collecting of such things out of them as may seeme to make for their purpose: I would we were halfe as carefull for the maintenance of the truth that way, as they every day shew themselves to bee in not letting slip any manner of advantage which may countenance their superstitions and errors. As for the* Manuscripts *which I use, they are partly known to some of them, partly notified in the marginall quotations of the Treatise it selfe: where the place is noted, in which they may be found. A great part whereof being gathered together in the rare treasurie of that worthy Baronet, Sir* Robert Cotton; *I thought it not amisse to marke all such with an asterisk (*) in the following Catalogue: to the end, that if any of the other side will bee pleased to looke into these things, hee may with more ease satisfie himselfe by perusing the chiefe of these monuments brought thus together into one place; and so aswell*

aſwell examine the truth of my allegations, as take up what hee ſhall thinke meet for the patronage of his owne cauſe. my intention herein being to deale fairely, and not to deſire the concealing of any thing, that may tend to the true diſcovery of the ſtate of former times; whether it may ſeeme to make for me, or againſt me.

A Catalogue of the Authors (cited in this Diſcourſe:) according to the *times wherein they flouriſhed.*

300. EVmenius Rhetor
317. Conſtantinus Magnus: *cui ineptiſſima afficta eſt Donatio*
330. Euſebius
380. Amphilochius
400. Io. Chryſoſtomus
410. Hieronymus
414. Pelagius & Celeſtius hæretici
420. Auguſtinus
433. Proſper Aquitanicus
440.* Patricius
448. Secundinus
450. Synodus Patricii, Auxilii & Iſſernini
490. Sedulius
494. Concilium Romanum ſub Gelaſio
530. Damaſcius
540. Gildas
* Cogitoſus
580. Venantius Fortunatus
592. Gregorius I.
600. Columbanus
610. Laurentius, Mellitus & Iuſtus: *quorum epiſtolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam*
620. Talieſsinus Bardus
630. Gallus
634. Honorius I. *cujus epiſtolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam*
639. Clerus Romanus: *cujus epiſtolæ ad Hibernos fragmentum habetur apud Bedam*

640. Ionas
650. * Cummianus
657. Author libri de Mirabilibus S. Scripturæ
660. Hildephonsus Toletanus
664. Strenesthalchana Synodus: *cui interfuerunt* Colmanus & Wilfridus
680. Theodorus Campidonensis, vel quicunque author fuit Vitæ Magni sive Magnoaldi
680. * Author Vitæ Fursei
690. Adamnanus
690. Aldhelmus
700. * Collectio Canonum Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ
720. * Stephanus presbyter
730. * Author fragmenti de Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum origine
731. Beda
745. Bonifacius Moguntinus
745. Concilium Romanum II. sub Zachariâ P.
760. * Egbertus
795. Alcuinus
800. Egilwardus, vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Kiliani
815. Claudius Scotus
840. Walafridus Strabus
850. Anonymus author vitæ Chrysostomi
850. Iohannes Erigena
858. * Nennius
860. Photius
885. Ælfredus Rex
890. Leo Imperator
893. Asser Menevensis
914. * Howelus Dha
950. * Fridegodus
Probus
Brito
1010. Calvus Perennis
1022. * Burgenses Dublin.
1022. * Henricus I. Rex Angliæ.
1074. * Lanfrancus
1080. * Gregorius VII.
1082. * Marianus Scotus
1085. * Iohannes, Sulgeni filius
1090. Ricemarchus, filius ejusdem
1095. Anselmus
1100. Gille sive Gillebertus Lumnicensis Episc.
1110. * Gotcelinus Bertinianus
1123. Eadmerus
1125. Hildebertus Cenomanensis
1130. Liber Landavensis Ecclesiæ, vocatus *Tilo*
1140. Guilielmus Malmesburiensis
1150. Bernardus Clarævallensis
1153. Henricus Saltereyensis
1155. Adrianus IIII.
1156. Caradocus Lancarvanensis
1158. Iohannes Sarisburiensis

1175.

1175. Alexander III.
1180. Iocelinus Furneſii monachus
1185.* Giraldus Cambrenſis
1204. Rogerus Hovedenus
1210 Robertus de Monte
1210. Innocentius III.
1215. Tuamenſis archiepiſc. & ſuffraganeorum reſcriptum ad eundem
1222. Cæſarius Heiſterbachenſis monachus
1226. Gualterus Coventrienſis
1235.* Rogerus de Wendover
1240.* Annalium Dublinienſium fragmentum
1250. Matthæus Pariſienſis
1281.* Iohannes Brampton
1292.* Bartholomæus de Cotton
* Annales Melroſenſis Cœnobii
1307. Nicolaus Trivetus
1347. Pembrigius, author prioris partis Annalium Hiberniæ à D. Camdeno editorum
1357. Richard⁹ Armachanus
1366.* Iohannes de Tinmouth, Anglicus vulgo dictus
1384. Guilielmus Andreæ, Midenſis epiſcopus
1392. Concilium Stanfordiæ ſub Guilielmo Cantuarienſi
1417. Oratores Angli in Conſtantienſi Concilio
1427.* Thomas Caſæus
1438. Marcus Epheſius
1460. Iohannes Capgravius
1461. Iohannes Hardingus
1480. Iohannes Roſſus
1490. Pomponius Lætus
1494. Baptiſta Mantuanus
1500. Io. Cuſpinianus
1533. Polydorus Virgilius

That which concerneth the Popes Supremacie and the union of other Churches with the Church of Rome, I have here handled at large: becauſe upon that only point the Romaniſts doe hazzard their whole cauſe, [a] acknowledging the ſtanding or falling of their Church abſolutely to depend thereupon. I have ſomewhat alſo inſiſted upon the ſupreme power which the Kings of England have in the Temporall State of this Realme, and diſcovered

[a] Etenim de quâ re agitur, cùm de primatu Pontificis agitur? breviſſimè dicam, de ſummâ rei Chriſtianæ. Id enim quæritur, debeatné Eccleſia diutiùs conſiſtere, an verò diſſolvi, & concidere. *Bellarm. Præfat. in libros de Rom. Pontif.*

the vanitie of the Popes claime unto it : the exerciſe of the Princes power in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, I have touched but incidently ; that being a queſtion which requireth explication rather than demonſtration. Wherein having been called by authoritie (the very ſame time wherein I was making up this Treatiſe) to give ſatisfaction in a publike place of juſtice unto ſuch as pretended ſome ſcruple of conſcience that way : I thought good to annexe that declaration as a kinde of a Supplement to this preſent diſcourſe ; together with his Majeſties Royall approbation of it. Which I have done, not for any vaine oſtentation (although I have good cauſe to rejoyce in the teſtimonie and perpetuall memory of my deare Maſter) but to ſtop the mouth of cavillers, who may perhaps object, that the king challengeth another manner of authoritie than that which I aſcribe unto him. Which no man will ſay, who knew king IAMES *to have beene, as the moſt learned and judicious Prince that ever ſate upon this Throne, ſo the moſt jealous of his Prerogative Royall, and the moſt impatient of the leaſt diminution of the rights and preheminences united unto his Imperiall Crowne. Whereby you may eaſily diſcerne, that ſuch as charge the taking that part of the Oath of Supremacie, which concerneth the kings authority in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, with* loathſome and baſe flattery, abominable and blaſphemous adulation, ſhamefull hereſie and untruth againſt nature (*theſe be the flowers of Cardinall* Allens *Rhetoricke*) *bewray themſelves to bee ſomewhat neere of kinne unto thoſe falſe teachers, that* ſpeake great ſwelling words of vanitie: *whoſe Characters S.*[b] Peter, *and S.*[c] Iude *have long ſince deciphered ; that not only, out of their preſumption and ſelfe conceitednesſe,* they are not affraid

b 2 Peter 2. verſ. 10, 12, 18.
c Iude verſ. 8, 10.

affraid to ſpeake evill of dignities, *but alſo after a brutiſh manner take the boldneſſe to* ſpeak evill of thoſe things which they underſtand not. *from whoſe ſeductions I beſeech God deliver all his Majeſties true-hearted Subjects.*

After this Diſcourſe was printed, there came directions from the Author to put a paſſage in page 8. *line* 7. *thus:*

Of the Pſalter there are extant foure or five Latin tranſlations out of the *Greeke*, (namely, the old *Italian*, the *Gallican*, the *Romane*, the *Gothick*, and that of *Millayne*:) and one out of the *Hebrew*, compoſed by St. *Hierom*: which though it be now excluded out of the body of the Bible, and the *Gallican* admitted in the roome thereof; yet in ſome * Manuſcript copies it ſtill retayneth his ancient place. three whereof I have ſeene my ſelfe in Cambridge; one in Trinitie, another in Benet, and the third in Ieſus Colledge library, &c.

And pag. 142. *in marg. lin.* 35. *for* MS. *put* MSS.

* Gothicis noſtrorum libris antiquiſſimis adjuti ſumus: in quibus magis ſincera ſacrorum librorum verſio ab Hieronymo facta conſervatur, argumento præter alia, eius etiam in Pſalmos interpretationem iis libris contineri, pro quâ noſtri codices Septuaginta interpretum verſionem in illos mutârunt. *Io. Marian. Præfat. Scholior. in Biblia, ad Card. Bellarmin.*

A

SPEECH

DELIVERED

IN THE CASTLE-CHAMBER AT DVBLIN, the XXII. of November, Anno 1622.

AT THE CENSVRING of certaine Officers, who refused to take the Oath of SUPREMACIE.

BY

IAMES Biſhop of Meath.

LONDON,
Printed by R. Y. for the Partners of the Iriſh Stocke. 1631.

A Speech delivered in the CASTLE-CHAMBER concerning the Oath of SUPREMACIE.

WHat the danger of the *Law* is, for refuſing this *Oath*, hath beene ſufficiently opened by my Lords the *Iudges*; and the *qualitie* and *quantitie* of that offence hath been aggravated to the full by thoſe that have ſpoken after them. The part which is moſt proper for me to deale in, is the information of the *Conſcience*, touching the truth and equitie of the matters contained in the *Oath*: which I alſo have made choice the rather to inſiſt upon, becauſe both the forme of the *Oath* it ſelfe requireth herein a full reſolution of the conſci-

ence (as appeareth by thoſe words in the very beginning thereof; *I doe utterly teſtifie and declare in my conſcience*, &c.) and the perſons that ſtand here to be cenſured for refuſing the ſame, have alledged nothing in their owne defence but only the ſimple plea of *Ignorance*.

That this point therefore may bee cleared, and all needleſſe ſcruples removed out of mens minds: two maine branches there bee of this *Oath*, which require ſpeciall conſideration. The one *poſitive*: acknowledging the *Supremacy* of the governement of theſe Realmes, in all cauſes whatſoever, to reſt in the Kings Highneſſe onely. The other *negative*: renouncing all iuriſdictions and authorities of any forreine Prince or Prelate within his Maieſties dominions.

For the better underſtanding of the former, we are in the firſt place to call unto our remembrance that exhortation of St. *Peter*.

a 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14 a *Submit your ſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake: whether it bee unto the King, as having the preheminence; or unto Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evill doers, and for the praiſe of them that doe well.* By this we are taught to reſpect the King, not as *the only governour* of his dominions

nions ſimply (for wee ſee there bee other *Governours* placed under him) but ὡς ὑπερέχουσα, as him that *excelleth*, and hath the preeminence over the reſt, that is to ſay, (according to the tenure of the *Oath*) as him that is *the onely ſupreme Governour* of his Realmes. Vpon which ground we may ſafely build this concluſion; that whatſoever power is incident unto the King by vertue of his place, muſt be acknowledged to be in him *ſupreme*: there being nothing ſo contrary to the nature of Soveraigntie, as to have another ſuperiour power to over-rule it.

Qui Rex eſt, Regem (Maxime) non habeat.

In the *ſecond* place wee are to conſider, that God for the better ſettling of piety and honeſty among men, and the repreſſing of prophaneneſſe and other vices, hath eſtabliſhed two diſtinct powers upon earth: the one of the *Keyes*, committed to the Church; the other of the *Sword*, committed to the Civill Magiſtrate. That of the *Keyes* is ordained to worke upon the inner man; having immediate relation to the b *remitting* or *retaining* of ſins. That of the *Sword* is appointed to work upon the outward man; yeelding protection to the obedient, and inflicting externall puniſhment

b Iohn 20.23.

niſhment upon the rebellious and diſobedient. By the former, the ſpirituall officers of
c 1.*Tim.*5.17. the Church of Chriſt are inabled to [c] *governe*
d *Tit.*2.15. *well*, to [d] *ſpeak* and *exhort* and *rebuke* with all
e *Matth.*16.19. & 18.18. *authoritie*, to [e] *looſe* ſuch as are penitent, to commit others unto the Lords priſon, untill their amendment, or to binde them over unto the iudgment of the great day, if they ſhal perſiſt in their wilfulneſſe and obſtinacie. By the other, Princes have an imperious power aſsigned by God unto them, for the defence of ſuch as doe well, and executing
f *Rom.*13.4. [f] *revenge* and *wrath* upon ſuch as doe evill;
g *Ezra* 7.26. whether [g] by *death*, or *baniſhment*, or *confiſcation of goods*, or *impriſonment*, according to the qualitie of the offence.

When St. *Peter*, that had the *Keyes* committed unto him, made bold to draw the
h *Mat.*26.52. *Sword*; he was commanded to [h] put it up, as a weapon that he had no authoritie to meddle withall. And on the other ſide, when *Vzziah* the King would venture upon the execution of the Prieſts office, it was ſaid unto
i 2.*Chr.*26.18. him; [i] *It pertaineth not unto thee, Vzziah, to burn incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts the ſons of Aaron, that are conſecrated to burne incenſe.* Let this therefore be our ſecond concluſion:

that

that the power of the *Sword* and of the *Keyes* are two diſtinct ordinances of God; and that the Prince hath no more authoritie to enter upon the execution of any part of the Prieſts function, than the Prieſt hath to intrude upon any part of the office of the Prince.

In the *third* place we are to obſerve, that the power of the *civill ſword*, (the *ſupreme* managing wherof belongeth to the King alone) is not to bee reſtrained unto *temporall* cauſes only; but is by Gods ordinance to be extended likewiſe unto *all Spirituall or Eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes.* that as the ſpirituall Rulers of the Church doe exerciſe their kinde of governement, in bringing men unto obedience, not of the duties of the *firſt* Table alone (which concerneth piety and the religious ſervice which man is bound to performe unto his Creator) but alſo of the *ſecond* (which reſpecteth morall honeſty, and the offices that man doth owe unto man:) ſo the civill Magiſtrate is to uſe his authority alſo in redreſsing the abuſes committed againſt the *firſt* Table, aſwell as againſt the *ſecond*, that is to ſay, aſwell in puniſhing of an *heretick*, or an *idolater*, or a *blaſphemer*, as of a *thiefe*, or a *murtherer*, or a *traytor*; and in providing by all

all good meanes, that ſuch as live under his
k 1 Tim. 2. 2. government [k] may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all *piety* and *honeſty*.

And howſoever by this meanes we make both *Prince* and *Prieſt* to bee in their ſeverall places *Cuſtodes utriuſque tabulæ*, Keepers of both Gods tables: yet do we not hereby any way confound both of their offices together. for though the *matter* wherein their government is exerciſed may be the ſame; yet is the *forme* and *manner* of governing therein alwaies different. the one reaching to the *outward* man onely, the other to the *inward*: the one binding or looſing the *ſoule*, the other laying hold on the *body* and the things belonging thereunto: the one having ſpeciall reference to the iudgement of the *world to come*, the other reſpecting the preſent retaining or looſing of ſome of the comforts of *this life*.

That there is ſuch a * *civill government* as this in *cauſes ſpirituall or Eccleſiaſticall*, no man of iudgement can deny. For muſt not *Hereſie* (for example) bee acknowledged to be a cauſe meerly *ſpirituall* or *Eccleſiaſticall*? and yet by what power is an *Hereticke* put to death? The officers of the Church have no autho-

* As on the other ſide, that a *ſpirituall or eccleſiaſticall government* is exerciſed in cauſes *civill or temporall*. For is not *Excommunication* a maine part of Eccleſiaſticall government and *Foreſt laws* a ſpeciall branch of cauſes Temporall? yet we ſee in *Sententiâ latâ ſuper chartas*, anno 12. R. H. 3. that the Biſhops of England pronounce a ſolemne ſentence of *Excommunication* againſt the infringers of the liberties contained in *Chartâ de Foreſtâ*.

authority to take away the life of any man: it muſt be done therefore *per brachium ſeculare*; and conſequently it muſt bee yeelded without contradiction, that the temporall Magiſtrate doth exerciſe therein a part of his *civill government*, in puniſhing a crime that is of it owne nature *ſpirituall* or *Eccleſiaſticall*.

But here it will be ſaid. The words of the *Oath* being generall; that the King is *the only ſupreme governour of this Realme and of all other his highneſſe dominions and countries*: how may it appeare that the power of the *civill ſword* only is meant by that government, and that the power of the *Keyes* is not comprehended therein? I anſwere: *firſt*, that where a civill Magiſtrate is affirmed to bee *the governour of his owne dominions and countryes*; by common intendement this muſt needs be underſtood of a *civill governement*, and may in no reaſon be extended to that which is meerely of another kinde. *Secondly* I ſay, that where an ambiguitie is conceived to bee in any part of an *Oath*; it ought to bee taken according to the underſtanding of him for whoſe ſatisfaction the *Oath* was miniſtred. Now in this caſe it hath been ſufficiently declared by publick authority, that no other thing is meant by the

government here mentioned; but that of the *civill ſword* onely.

For in the booke of *Articles* agreed upon by the Archbiſhops & Biſhops & the whole Clergie in the Convocation holden at London *anno* 1562. thus we read. *Where we attribute to the Queenes Majeſty the chiefe government, (by which titles wee underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous folkes to be offended:) we give not to our Princes the miniſtring either of Gods Word or of the Sacraments (the which thing the Injunctions alſo lately ſet forth by Elizabeth our Queene doth moſt plainly teſtifie:) but that onely prerogative which we ſee to have beene given alwaies to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himſelfe, that is, that they ſhould rule all eſtates and degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, and reſtraine with the Civill ſword the ſtubborne and evill doers.*

If it be here objected that the authority of the *Convocation* is not a ſufficient ground for the expoſitiõ of that which was enacted in *Parliament*: I anſwer, that theſe *Articles* ſtand confirmed not onely by the Royall aſſent of the Prince, (for the eſtabliſhing of whoſe *Supremacy* the Oath was framed) but alſo by a ſpeciall

ciall Act of *Parliament*; which is to be found among the ſtatutes in the thirteenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, chap. 12. Seeing therfore the makers of the Law have full authority to expound the Law; and they have ſufficiently manifeſted, that by the *ſupreme government* given to the Prince they underſtand that kind of government only which is exerciſed *with the Civill ſword*: I conclude, that nothing can be more plaine than this; that without all ſcruple of conſcience, the *Kings Majeſty* may be acknowledged in this ſenſe to bee *the only ſupreme governour of all his Highneſſe dominions and countries, as well in all ſpirituall or Eccleſiaſticall things or cauſes as temporall.* And ſo have I cleered the *firſt* maine branch of the *Oath.*

I come now unto the *ſecond*; which is propounded *negatively*: that *no forrein Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, preheminence or authority, Eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall within this Realme.* The forreiner that challengeth this *Eccleſiaſticall* or *ſpirituall* juriſdiction over us, is the *Biſhop of Rome*: and the title whereby he claimeth this power over us, is the ſame whereby he claimeth it o-

ver the whole world; becauſe he is S. *Peters* ſucceſſor, forlooth. And indeed, if S. *Peter* himſelfe had beene now alive, I ſhould freely confeſſe, that hee ought to have ſpirituall authoritie and ſuperioritie within this kingdome. But ſo would I ſay alſo, if S. *Andrew*, S. *Bartholmew*, S. *Thomas*, or any of the other *Apoſtles* had beene alive. For I know that their commiſsion was verie large; to [1] *goe into all the world, and to preach the Goſpel unto every creature*. ſo that in what part of the world ſoever they lived, they could not bee ſaid to be out of their charge; their *Apoſtleſhip* being a kind of an *Univerſall Biſhoprick*. If therefore the Biſhop of Rome can prove himſelfe to bee one of this ranke: the Oath muſt be amended; and wee muſt acknowledge that hee hath Eccleſiaſticall authoritie within this Realme.

1 *Mark* 16.15.

True it is, that our Lawyers in their Yearbookes by the name of the *Apoſtle* do uſually deſigne the *Pope*. But if they had examined his title to that *Apoſtleſhip*, as they would try an ordinary mans title to a piece of land: they might eaſily have found a number of flawes and maine defects therein. For *firſt* it would be enquired, whether the *Apoſtleſhip*

was

was not ordained by our Saviour Christ as a speciall Commission; which being personall onely, was to determine with the death of the first *Apostles*. For howsoever at their first entry into the execution of this commission, we finde that [m] *Matthias* was admitted to the *Apostleship* in the roome of *Iudas*: yet afterwards when *Iames* the brother of *Iohn* was slaine by *Herod*, wee doe not reade that any other was substituted in his place. Nay we know that the Apostles generally left no successors in this kinde: neither did any of the Bishops (he of Rome only excepted) that sate in those famous Churches, wherein the *Apostles* exercised their ministery, challenge an *Apostleship* or an *Universall Bishoprick*, by vertue of that succession.

[m] *Acts* 1. 25, 26.

It would *secondly* therefore bee inquired, what sound evidence they can produce, to shew that *one* of the company was to hold the *Apostleshipp* as it were in *fee*, for him and his successors for ever; and that the other *eleven* should hold the same for terme of life only. *Thirdly*, if this state of perpetuity was to be cast upon one: how came it to fall upon S. *Peter*, rather than upon S. *Iohn*; who outlived all the rest of his fellowes, and so as

a *Iur-*

a *ſurviving feoffee* had the faireſt right to retaine the ſame in himſelf & his ſucceſſors for ever? *Fourthly*, if that ſtate were wholly ſettled upon S. *Peter* : ſeeing the Romaniſts themſelves acknowledge that he was Biſhop of *Antioch* before he was Biſhop of *Rome*; we require them to ſhew, why ſo great an inheritance as this, ſhould deſcend unto the *yonger* brother (as it were by *Burrough-engliſh*) rather than to the *elder*, (according to the ordinary manner of deſcents.) Eſpecially ſeeing *Rome* hath little elſe to alledge for this preferment, but only that *S. Peter* was crucified in it : which was a very ſlender reaſon to move the Apoſtle ſo to reſpect it. Seeing therfore the grounds of this great claime of the Biſhop of Rome appeare to be ſo vaine and frivolous : I may ſafely conclude, that he *ought to have no Eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall authority within this Realme*; which is the principall point contained in the ſecond part of the *Oath*.

FINIS.

IAMES REX.

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor, wee greet you well. You have not deceived our expectation, nor the gracious opinion we ever conceived both of your abilities in learning, and of your faithfullnesse to us and our service. Whereof as we have received sundry testimonies both from our precedent Deputies, as likewise from our Right trusty & welbeloved Cousin & Counsellor the Viscount Falkland our present Deputy of that Realm; so have we now of late in one particular had a further evidence of your duty and affection well expressed by your late carriage in our Castle-Chamber there, at the censure of those disobedient Magistrates, who refused to take the oath of Supremacy. Wherein your zeale to the maintenance of our just and lawfull power, defended with so much learning and reason, deserves our Princely and gracious thankes; which we doe by this our letter unto you, and so bid you farewell. Given under our Signet at our Court at White-hall the eleventh of January, 1622. In the 20 yeare of our Raigne of great Brittaigne, France and Ireland.

To the right Reverend Father in God, and our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor, the *Bishop of Meath.*